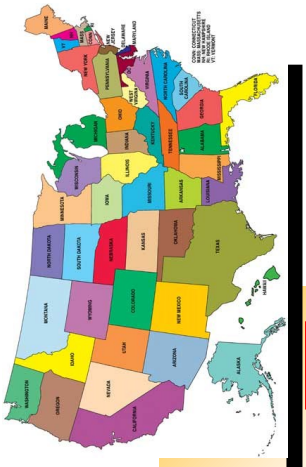

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TERRITORIAL GROWTH

COLONIAL PERIOD: 1775

- Original Thirteen Colonies
- Other British territories

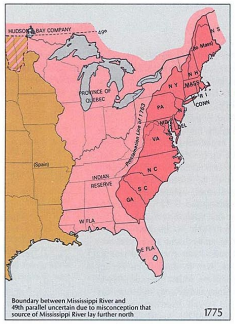
UNITED STATES: 1790–1920

- States
- State claims
- Special status areas
- Territories
- Unorganized territories
- Claimed areas
- Foreign areas

1803 Dates of territorial acquisitions
1858 Dates of initial territorial organization
(1858) Dates of latest change within given time period
1912 Dates of admission to the Union

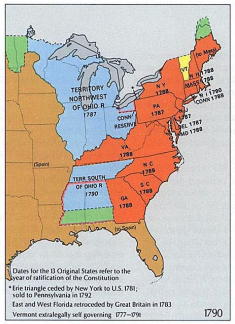
Map scale 1:34,000,000

Compiled by H. George Stoll, Hammond Incorporated, 1967; rev. by U.S. Geological Survey, 1970



Boundary between Mississippi River and 49th parallel uncertain due to misconception that source of Mississippi River lay further north

1775



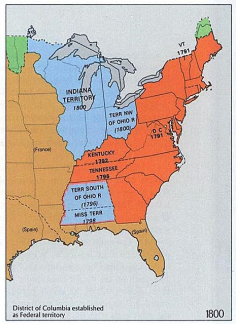
Dates for the 13 Original States refer to the year of ratification of the Constitution

*Erie triangle ceded by New York to U.S. 1781; sold to Pennsylvania in 1792

East and West Florida retroceded by Great Britain in 1783

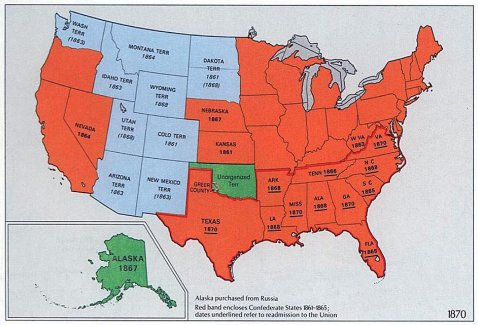
Vermont extralegally self governing 1777–1791

1790



District of Columbia established as Federal territory

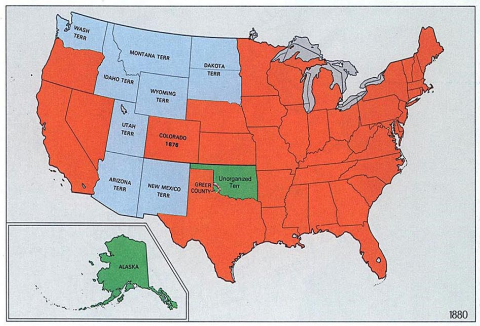
1800



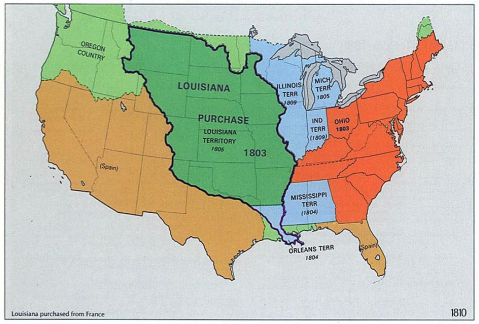
Alaska purchased from Russia

Red band encloses Confederate States 1861–1865; dates underlined refer to readmission to the Union

1870

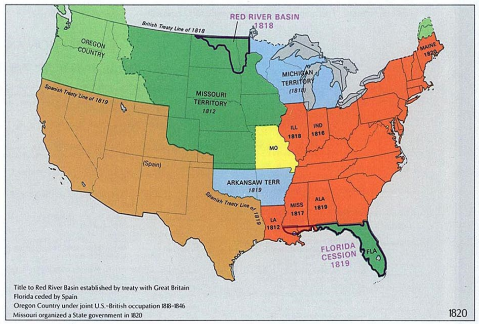


1880



Louisiana purchased from France

1810



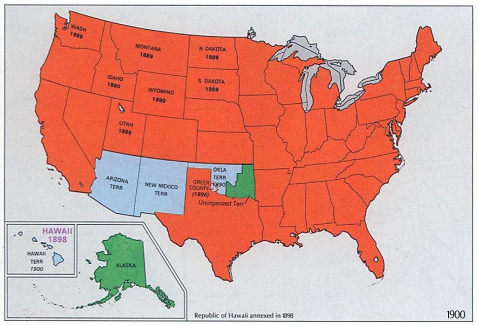
Title to Red River Basin established by treaty with Great Britain

Florida ceded by Spain

Oregon Country under joint U.S.-British occupation 1818–1846

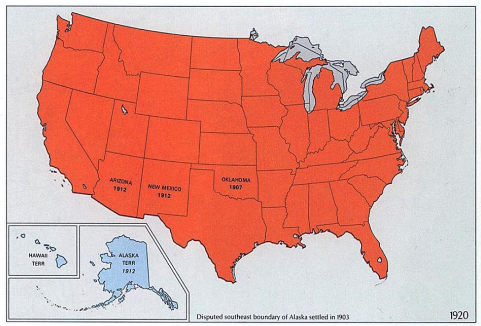
Missouri organized a State government in 1820

1820



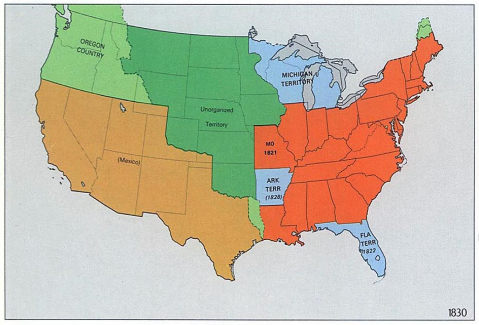
Republic of Hawaii annexed in 1898

1900

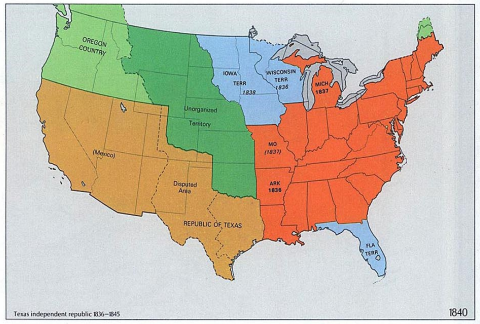


Disputed southeast boundary of Alaska settled in 1903

1920

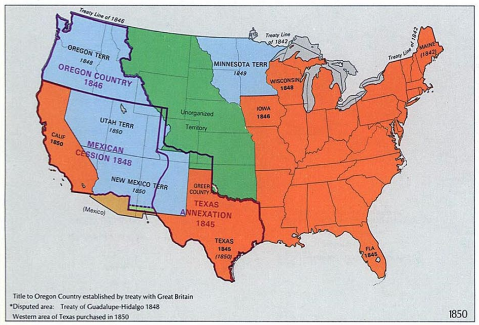


1830



Texas independent republic 1836–1845

1840

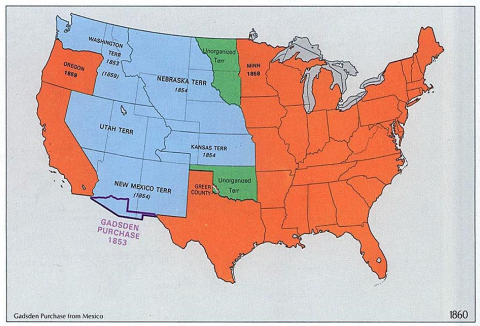


Title to Oregon Country established by treaty with Great Britain

*Disputed area: Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo 1848

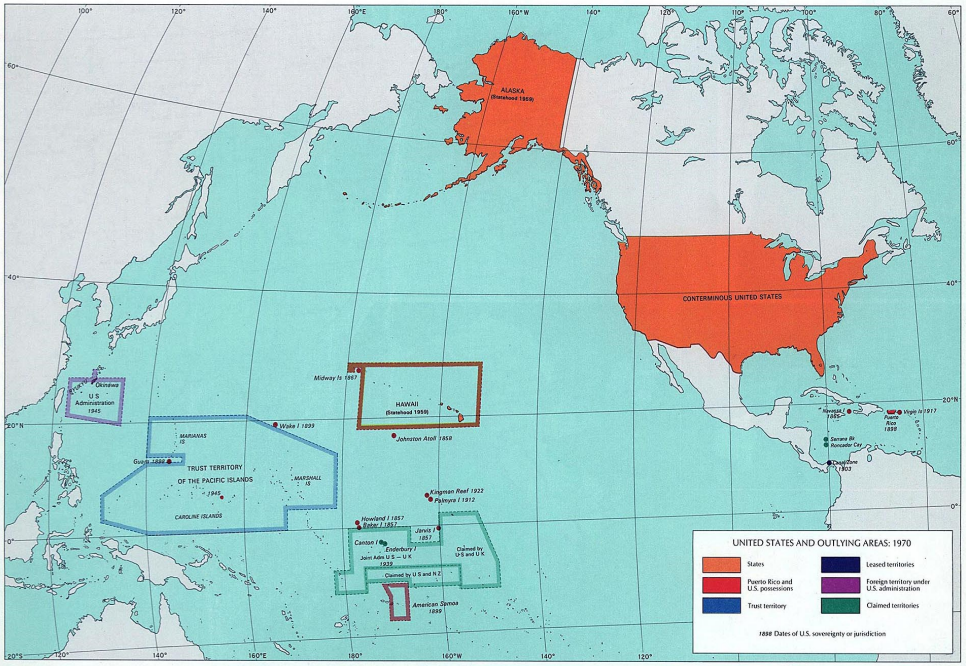
Western area of Texas purchased in 1850

1850



Gadsden Purchase from Mexico

1860



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Conceived, Designed & Executed
Prof Dr S Ramalingam
Joint Registrar – Languages

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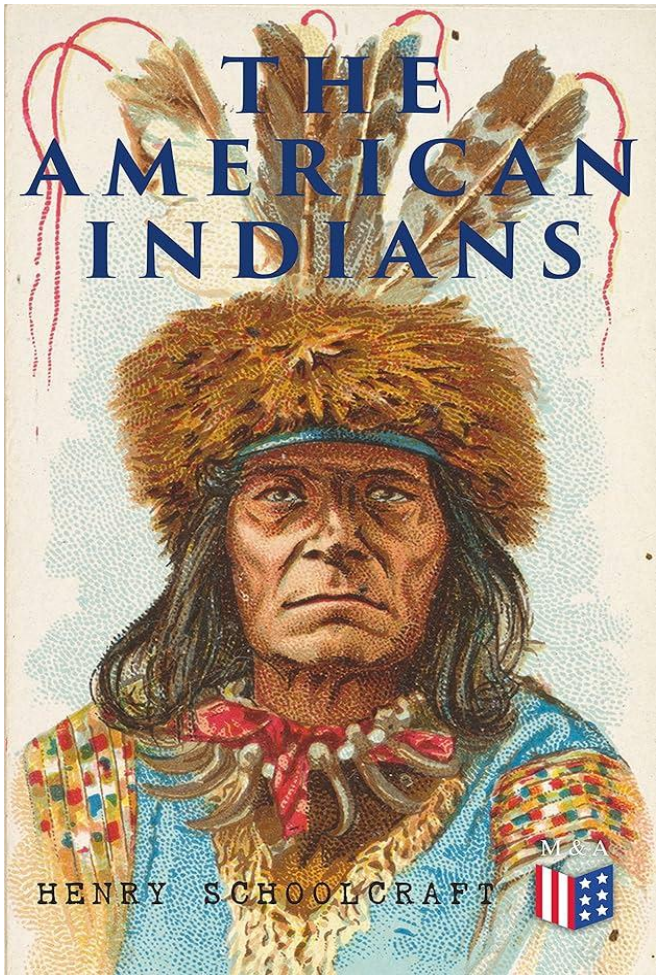

Indigenous Americans (Native Americans) faced centuries of profound hardships and injustices, beginning with colonization viz., systemic suffering, forced displacement, mass casualties from European diseases, Historical Dispossession & Genocide, Forced Assimilation & Boarding Schools, Reservation Conditions, Health Disparities, etc.,

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Contents

S.No.	Chapters	Pages
Part I: Macrolevel History		
1	History of US	1
2	Thirteen Colonies	32
3	Boston Tea Party	65
4	American Revolution	80
5	Slavery in the Colony	120
6	Atlantic Slave Trade	139
7	Abolitionism in USA	219
8	New Great Migration	259
9	The American Civil War	266
10	Bibliography of Slavery in the US	329
11	African American Founding Fathers of the US	342
12	Reconstruction Era	352
13	Glorious Revolution	367
14	California Gold Rush	401
15	State Capitals in US	447
16	American Century	495
Part II: Presidents of US		
17	US Presidents & Timeline	504
18	George Washington	515
19	Adam James	551
20	Thomas Jefferson	565
21	James Madison	616
22	James Manroe	632
23	John Quincy Adams	645
24	Andrew Jackson	664
25	Martin Van Buren	692
26	William Henry Harrison	704
27	John Taylor	721
28	James K Polk	731
29	Zachary Taylor	746

30	Millard Fillmore	756
31	Franklin Piece	766
32	James Buchanan	777
33	Abraham Lincoln	790
34	Andrew Johnson	831
35	Ulysses S Grant	850
36	Rutherford B Hayes	870
37	James A Garfield	880
38	Chester A. Arthur	898
39	Grover Cleveland	908
40	Benjamin Harrison	921
41	William McKinley	931
42	Theodore Roosevelt	948
43	William Howard Taft	969
44	Woodrow Wilson	983
45	Warren G. Harding	1007
46	Calvin Coolidge	1017
47	Herbert Hoover	1034
48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1050
49	Harry S. Truman	1127
50	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1145
51	John F. Kennedy	1178
52	Lyndon B. Johnson	1218
53	Richard M. Nixon	1248
54	Gerald Ford	1279
55	Jimmy Carter	1295
56	Ronald Reagan	1325
57	George H.W. Bush	1361
58	Bill Clinton	1385
59	George W. Bush	1410
60	Barack Obama	1467
61	Donald Trump	1526
62	Joe Biden	1602

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Part I

Macrolevel History

History of the United States

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_United_States

The history of the land which became the United States spans tens of thousands of years of continuous Indigenous societies; their descendants include but may not be limited to 575 federally recognized tribes. The history of the present-day United States began in 1607 with the establishment of Jamestown in modern-day Virginia by settlers who arrived from the Kingdom of England, and the landing of the *Mayflower* by English pilgrims to Plymouth in 1620. In the late 15th century, European colonization began and largely decimated Indigenous societies through genocides, wars, and epidemics. By the 1760s, the Thirteen Colonies, then part of British America and by extension the Kingdom of Great Britain, were established. The Southern Colonies built an agricultural system on slave labor and enslaving millions from Africa. After the British victory over the Kingdom of France in the French and Indian Wars, Parliament imposed a series of taxes and issued the Intolerable Acts on the colonies in 1773, which were designed to end self-governance. Tensions between the colonies and British authorities subsequently intensified, leading to the Revolutionary War, which commenced with the Battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. In June 1775, the Second Continental Congress established the Continental Army and unanimously selected George Washington as its commander-in-chief. The following year, on July 2, 1776, the Second Continental Congress voted for the Lee Resolution which created the new nation, and on July 4th formalized its independence by issuing the United States Declaration of Independence. On September 3, 1783, in the Treaty of Paris, the British acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the Thirteen Colonies, leading to the establishment of the United States. On September 17, 1787, the U.S. Constitution was signed by a majority of delegates, and was later ratified by the Thirteen Colonies, leading to the first modern U.S. government.

In the 1788-89 presidential election, Washington was elected the nation's first president. Along with his Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, Washington

sought to create a relatively stronger central government than that favored by other founders, including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. On March 4, 1789, the new nation debated, adopted, and ratified the U.S. Constitution, which is now the oldest and longest-standing written and codified national constitution in the world.[1] In 1791, a Bill of Rights was added to guarantee inalienable rights. In 1803, Jefferson, then serving as the nation's third president, negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, which doubled the size of the country. Encouraged by available, inexpensive land, and the notion of manifest destiny, the country underwent westward expansion in a project of settler colonialism marked by a series of conflicts with the continent's indigenous inhabitants. The most notable advocate of manifest destiny was President James K. Polk, who annexed Texas in 1845, and declared war on Mexico the next year. An overwhelming U.S. victory in the Mexican-American War led to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, where the U.S. acquired much of the American Southwest from Mexico. Whether or not slavery should be legal in the expanded territories was an issue of national contention, and led to increasing tensions over slavery.

Following the election of Abraham Lincoln as the nation's 16th president in the 1860 presidential election, southern states seceded and formed the pro-slavery Confederate States of America. In April 1861, at the Battle of Fort Sumter, Confederates launched the Civil War. However, the Union's victory at the Battle of Gettysburg, the deadliest battle in American military history with over 50,000 casualties, proved a turning point in the war, leading to the Union's victory in 1865, which preserved the nation. On April 15, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated. The Confederates' defeat led to the abolition of slavery. In the subsequent Reconstruction era from 1865 to 1877, the national government gained explicit duty to protect individual rights. In 1877, white southern Democrats regained political power in the South, often using paramilitary suppression of voting and Jim Crow laws to maintain white supremacy. During the Gilded Age from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, the United States emerged as the world's leading industrial power, largely due to entrepreneurship, industrialization, and the arrival of millions of immigrant workers. Dissatisfaction with corruption, inefficiency, and traditional politics

stimulated the Progressive movement, leading to reforms, including to the federal income tax, direct election of U.S. Senators, citizenship for many Indigenous people, alcohol prohibition, and women's suffrage.

Initially neutral during World War I, the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, joining the successful Allies. After the prosperous Roaring Twenties, the Wall Street crash of 1929 marked the onset of a decade-long global Great Depression. President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched New Deal programs, including unemployment relief and Social Security.[2][3][4] Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States entered World War II, helping defeat the Axis powers; Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in the European theater and, in the Pacific War, Imperial Japan after using nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The war led to the US led Allied occupation of Japan until 1952 and the Allied-occupied Germany. Following the end of World War II, the Cold War commenced with the United States and the Soviet Union emerging as superpower rivals; the two countries largely confronted each other indirectly in the arms race, the Space Race, propaganda campaigns, and proxy wars, which included the Korean War and the Vietnam War. In the 1960s, due largely to the civil rights movement, social reforms enforced African Americans' constitutional rights of voting and freedom of movement. In 1991, the United States led a coalition and invaded Iraq during the Gulf War. Later in the year, the Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, leaving the United States as the world's sole superpower.

In the post-Cold War era, the United States has been drawn into conflicts in the Middle East, especially following the September 11 attacks, with the war on terror. In the 21st century, the country was negatively impacted by the Great Recession of 2007 to 2009 and the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 to 2023. Recently, the U.S. withdrew from the war in Afghanistan, intervened in the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and became militarily involved in the Middle Eastern crisis, and both the 2025 and 2026 strikes in Iran during the Iran–Israel war. The U.S. also refocused on space exploration in the 2020s with its Artemis Program, aiming to create a permanent moonbase.

@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@

Outline of the history of the United States

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Outline_of_the_history_of_the_United_States

The following outline is provided as an overview of and a topical guide to the **history of the United States**.

By period

- Prehistory of the United States
- History of the United States
    - Pre-Columbian era
    - Colonial history of the United States
    - 1776–1789
    - 1789–1815
    - 1815–1849
    - 1849–1865
    - 1865–1917
    - 1917–1945
    - 1945–1964
    - 1964–1980
    - 1980–1991
    - 1991–2016
    - 2016–present

Named eras and periods

These multi-year periods are commonly identified in American history. The existence and dating of some of these periods is debated by historians.

- Plantation era (c. 1700 – c. 1860)
- First Great Awakening (1730s–1740s)
- American Revolution (1775–1783)
- Confederation period (1781–1789)
- Federalist Era (1788–1800)
- Second Great Awakening (c. 1800 – c. 1840)
- First-wave feminism (19th century–early 20th century)
- Manifest Destiny (c. 1812 – c. 1860)
- Era of Good Feelings (c. 1817 – c. 1825)
- Jacksonian Era (c. 1820 – c. 1845)
- The Slave Power (c. 1840 – c. 1875)

- California Gold Rush (1848–1855)
- Greater Reconstruction (c. 1848 – c. 1898)
- American Civil War (1861–1865)
- Reconstruction era (c. 1865–1877)
- Gilded Age (1869–c. 1896)
- Jim Crow era (1876–1965)
- Gay Nineties (1890s)
- Nadir of American race relations (c. 1890–1940)
- Progressive Era (1890s–1920s)
- Lochner era (c. 1897 – c. 1937)
- American Century (20th century)
- Great Migration (c. 1910 – c. 1940)
- World War I (c. 1914 – c. 1918)
- First Red Scare (1917–1920)
- Prohibition in the United States (1919–1933)
- Roaring Twenties (1920s)
- Jazz Age (1920s)
- Great Depression (1929–1939)
- Dust Bowl (1930–1936)
- New Deal era (1933–1938)
- World War II (1939-1945)
- Second Great Migration (c. 1941 – c. 1970)
- Cold War (1947–1991)
- Second Red Scare (1947–1957)
- Civil rights era (1954–1968)
- Space Race (1957–1975)
- Second-wave feminism (1960s–1970s)
- New Great Migration (1965–present)
- Détente (c. 1969–1979)
- 1970s energy crisis (1973–1980)
- Reagan Era (1980–1992)
- Neoconservatism (1980s–2000s)
- Dot-com bubble (c. 1995–2000)
- United States housing bubble (c. 2001 – c. 2005)
- War on terror (2001–2021)

Political parties

These periods are commonly identified as the large changes within political parties. Newer Party Systems are typically disputed by experts and historians due to the complexity of changes in political parties.

- First Party System (c. 1788 – c. 1824)
- Second Party System (c. 1828 – c. 1854)
- Third Party System (c. 1854 – c. 1894)
- Fourth Party System (c. 1896 – c. 1930)
- Fifth Party System (c. 1932 – c. 1976)

- Sixth Party System (c. 1980–present)

Wars

See List of wars involving the United States.

Timelines and lists

- Timeline of pre–United States history
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1760–1789)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1790–1819)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1820–1859)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1860–1899)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1900–1929)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1930–1949)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1950–1969)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1970–1989)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (1990–2009)
- Timeline of the history of the United States (2010–present)
- List of years in the United States

Pre–1776

- On October 12, 1492, three Spanish ships under the command of *Cristoforo Colombo* (Christopher Columbus) landed on the Lucayan island of *Guanahani* which he names *San Salvador* (The Savior).
- On November 14, 1493, a Spanish fleet under the command of Columbus lands on a large inhabited island which he names *Santa Cruz* (Holy Cross, now Saint Croix). Columbus then visits and names *San Tomas* (Saint Thomas) and *San Juan* (Saint John). Columbus names the archipelago *Santa Ursula y las Once Mil Vírgenes* (Saint Ursula and her 11,000 virgins, now the Virgin Islands).
- On November 19, 1493, Columbus lands on the large Taíno island of Borikén which he names *San Juan Bautista* (Saint John the Baptist, now Puerto Rico and part of the United States).
- On August 8, 1508, Spanish conquistador Juan Ponce de León establishes Capárra, the first European settlement on the island of *San Juan Bautista* in Puerto Rico.
- On Easter Sunday, April 2, 1513, a Spanish expedition led by Juan Ponce de León lands on a huge inhabited island (later determined to be a continental peninsula) which he names *La Pascua Florida* (the Feast of Flowers, now Florida).

- On March 6, 1521, three Spanish ships under the command of *Fernão de Magalhães* (Ferdinand Magellan) land on the Island of Guam after a seemingly endless eleven week voyage across the Pacific Ocean. Magellan names the archipelago *Las Isles de las Velas Latinas* (The Islands of the Latine Sails). When the Spaniards refuse to pay for supplies, natives take iron from the ships. Magellan renames the archipelago *Las Islas de los Ladrones* (The Islands of the Thieves).
- In May 1539, Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto lands nine ships at southern Tampa Bay in Florida with 620 men and 220 horses.
- In 1540, Hernando de Soto leads his expedition through Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi.
- In May 1541, Hernando de Soto reaches the Mississippi River and explores Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee and Oklahoma.
- A Spanish expedition led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo lands at a bay of the Pacific Ocean which he names *San Miguel* (Saint Michael, now San Diego, California) on September 28, 1542.
- A Spanish expedition led by Tristán de Luna y Arellano establishes a colony at *Santa Maria de Ochuse* (Pensacola, Florida) on August 15, 1559.
    - A hurricane destroys most of the Ochuse colony five weeks later on September 19, 1559.
- Jean Ribault explores the Atlantic coast of Florida for France in 1562.
- French Huguenots led by René Goulaine de Laudonnière establish Fort de la Caroline on June 22, 1564
- Spanish Governor Pedro Menéndez de Avilés establishes a colony about 10 leagues (56 kilometers or 35 miles) farther south at *San Agustín* (St. Augustine, Florida) on September 8, 1565
- Spanish Governor Pedro Menéndez de Avilés captures *Fort de la Caroline* on September 20, 1565
    - Governor Menéndez orders the execution of 140 Huguenots from *Fort de la Caroline* and orders fort rebuilt as *Fuerte San Mateo* on September 29, 1565
    - Governor Menéndez orders the execution of Jean Ribault and 350 shipwrecked Huguenots on October 12, 1565
- French raiders led by Dominique de Gourgues destroy *Fuerte San Mateo* and murder all its defenders on April 27–28, 1567
- Spanish Jesuit priests establish *Mission Santa Maria* on *Ajacán* (the Virginia Peninsula) on September 10, 1570 – 1572
- Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth adopt the new Gregorian calendar on October 15, 1582 (New Style)

- English establish Roanoke Colony on Roanoke Island in Virginia (now North Carolina) in July 1585
- On August 18, 1590, a resupply party finds the Roanoke Colony dismantled and deserted. The fate of the settlers remains a mystery.
- Spanish Governor Juan de Oñate Salazar founds the colony of *Santa Fé de Nuevo Méjico* (New Mexico) at *San Juan de los Caballeros* on July 11, 1598
- French establish the colony of *l'Acadie* (Acadia) on *Île Sainte-Croix* (Saint Croix Island, Maine), June 1604 – 1605
- English establish the Virginia Colony on Jamestown Island on May 14, 1607
- English establish the Popham Colony along the Kennebec River (Maine) on August 13, 1607 – August 1607
- First Anglo-Powhatan War, 1609–1613
- Spanish Governor Pedro de Peralta moves the capital of *Santa Fé de Nuevo Méjico* (New Mexico) from *San Juan de los Caballeros* to *La Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asís* (Santa Fe) in 1610
- The first slave ship arrives in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619
- English Puritans establish the Plymouth Colony on November 11, 1620
- Netherlands establish the province of *Nieuw-Nederland* (New Netherland) along the Hudson River in May 1624
- English Puritans establish the Newe-England Colony on September 6, 1628
- King Charles I of England grants the Newe-England Colony a royal charter as the Governour and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe-England on March 4, 1629
- The Town of Boston is chartered and named capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, September 7, 1630
- English Puritans establish the Saybrook Colony along the Connecticut River, 1635
- English Puritans establish the River Colony along the Connecticut River, March 3, 1636
- Roger Williams establishes the Colony of Providence, June 1636
- Pequot War, July 20, 1636 – May 26, 1637
- Swedish establish the colony of *Nya Sverige* (New Sweden) along the Delaware River, March 29, 1638
- English establish the Newe-Haven Colony, April 14, 1638
- Anne Hutchinson establishes the first of the colonies of Rhode Island, 1638
- King Charles II grants a charter for the Colony of Providence Plantations including the Colony of Providence and the colonies of Rhode Island, March 1644
- Second Anglo-Powhatan War, 1644–1646
- The Connecticut Colony annexes the Saybrook Colony, 1644

- King Charles II of England grants the River Colony a royal charter as the Colony of Connecticut, May 1662
- King Charles II of England grants a royal charter for the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1663
- England seizes New Netherland from the Netherlands, August 27, 1664. England splits New Netherland into the Province of New-York and the Province of New-Jersey.
- The Colony of Connecticut annexes the New-Haven Colony, January 5, 1665
- Second Anglo-Dutch War, March 4, 1665 – July 31, 1667
- Third Anglo-Dutch War, April 7, 1672 – March 5, 1674
    - A Netherlands fleet under the command of Cornelis Evertsen de Jongste captures the Province of New-York, August 1673.
    - Netherlands military government of New Netherland, August 1673 – March 5, 1674
    - Treaty of Westminster, February 19, 1674
    - England regains control of the Province of New-York, March 5, 1674
- The Province of New-Jersey is split into the Province of East Jersey and the Province of West Jersey, March 18, 1673
- King Philip's War, June 8, 1675 – August 12, 1676
- Pueblo Revolt in Santa Fé de Nuevo Méjico, August 10, 1680 – September 14, 1692
    - Popé leads revolt of Puebloan peoples against Spanish rule, European culture, and Christian religion, August 10, 1680
    - Spanish settlers flee Santa Fé for El Paso del Norte, August 21, 1680
    - New Spanish Governor Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras reconquers Santa Fé de Nuevo Méjico, September 14, 1692
- King Charles II of England grants William Penn a charter for the Province of Pennsylvania, March 4, 1681
- William Penn leases the three lower counties on the Delaware River (Delaware) from James, Duke of York, March 1682
- William Penn writes the first Frame of Government of Pennsylvania (including the three lower counties on the Delaware River), April 2, 1682
- Dominion of New-England in America, June 3, 1686 – May 18, 1689
    - England creates the Dominion of New-England in America to rule the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Colony of New-Plymouth,

the Province of New-Hampshire, the Province of Main, and the Narraganset Country or King's Province, June 3, 1686
    - England adds the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and the Connecticut Colony to the Dominion of New England in America, September 9, 1686
    - England adds the Province of New-York, the Province of East Jersey, and the Province of West Jersey to the Dominion of New-England in America, May 7, 1688
    - The government of the Dominion of New-England in America collapses, May 18, 1689. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Colony of New-Plymouth, the Province of New-Hampshire, the Province of Main, the Narraganset Country or King's Province as the Dominion of New-England in America, the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the Connecticut Colony, the Province of New-York, the Province of East Jersey, and the Province of West Jersey resume their previous self-governance.
- King William's War, 1689 – September 20, 1697
    - Treaty of Ryswick, September 20, 1697
- English diarchs William III and Mary II organize the Province of Massachusetts Bay as a crown colony including the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the New-Plymouth Colony, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket Island, the Province of Maine, and the English claims in Nova Scotia, October 7, 1691
- Governor Francis Nicholson moves the capital of the Province of Maryland from Saint Mary's City to Anne Arundel's Towne which he renames Annapolis, 1694
- England reunites the Province of East Jersey and the Province of West Jersey as the Province of New-Jersey
- Queen Anne's War, 1702 – April 11, 1713
    - Treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713
- William Penn grants the three lower counties on the Delaware River their own General Assembly, making Delaware a semi-autonomous region of the Province of Pennsylvania, November 1704 – July 4, 1776
- The Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland unite to become the Kingdom of Great Britain on May 1, 1707. England's colonies become British colonies.
- Tuscarora War, 1711 – February 11, 1715
- France cedes *l'Acadie* to England with the Treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713
- Yamasee War, 1715–1717

- Dummer's War, 1721–1725
- King George II of Great Britain grants James Oglethorpe a charter for the Province of Georgia, April 21, 1732
- War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739–1748
- King George's War, 1740 – October 18, 1748
    - Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 18, 1748
- Spain establishes *El Presidio Reál San Ignacio de Tubac* in *Sonora y Sinaloa* (now Arizona), June 2, 1752
- The Kingdom of Great Britain and the British Empire adopt the Gregorian calendar, September 14, 1752
- French and Indian War, May 28, 1754 – February 10, 1763
    - Britain orders all French Acadians to leave Nova Scotia in *Le Grand Dérangement*, August 11, 1755
    - Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763
- Pontiac's Rebellion, 1763–1767
- Royal Proclamation of 1763, October 7, 1763
    - British Indian Reserve, October 7, 1763 – September 3, 1783
- War of the Regulation, 1764–1771
- Spain establishes *El Presidio Reál de San Diego* in *California*, May 14, 1769
- British troops kill five civilians in Boston on March 5, 1770
- Spain establishes colony of *Las Californias*, June 3, 1770 – March 26, 1804
    - Spain establishes *El Presidio Reál de San Carlos de Monterey* on June 3, 1770
- Dunmore's War, 1773–1774
- The Parliament of Great Britain passes the Massachusetts Government Act on May 20, 1774
    - The Massachusetts Provincial Congress is organized on October 7, 1774, in response to the Massachusetts Government Act
- American Revolutionary War, April 19, 1775 – September 3, 1783
    - Battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775

1776–1825

- The Province of New Hampshire adopts a constitution for an independent State of New Hampshire, January 5, 1776
- The Province of South Carolina adopts a constitution for an independent State of South Carolina on March 15, 1776
- The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations declares its independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain on May 4, 1776

- The Colony of Connecticut declares its independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain on June 18, 1776
- The Colony of Virginia adopts a constitution for an independent Commonwealth of Virginia on June 29, 1776
- The Province of New Jersey adopts a constitution for an independent State of New Jersey on July 2, 1776
- The 13 British North American provinces of Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Delaware, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia united as the United States of America declare their independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain on July 4, 1776
- The Republic of New Connecticut declares its independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain on January 15, 1777
- The Republic of New Connecticut changes its name to Vermont on June 2, 1777
- Battles of Saratoga on September 19 and October 7, 1777
- Battle of the Chesapeake on September 5, 1781
- Siege of Yorktown, September 28 – October 19, 1781
- Treaty of Paris signed on September 3, 1783
- Spain establishes *El Presidio Reál de San Francisco de Asis* in *Las Californias*, September 17, 1776
- English explorer James Cook becomes the first European to visit the Hawaiian Islands which he names the Sandwich Islands, January 18, 1778
- The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts takes effect on October 25, 1780, changing the name of the State of Massachusetts Bay.
- Spain establishes *El Presidio Reál de Santa Barbara* in *Las Californias*, April 21, 1782
- Northwest Indian War, 1785 – August 3, 1795
    - Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795
- Shays' Rebellion, August 29, 1786 – May 25, 1787
- The Philadelphia Convention writes a new Constitution of the United States, May 25 – September 17, 1787
- The Congress of the Confederation organizes the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, July 13, 1787
- The State of Delaware becomes the 1st state to ratify the Constitution, December 7, 1787
- The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania becomes the 2nd state to ratify the Constitution, December 12, 1787

- The State of New Jersey becomes the 3rd state to ratify the Constitution, December 18, 1787
- The State of Georgia becomes the 4th state to ratify the Constitution, January 2, 1788
- The State of Connecticut becomes the 5th state to ratify the Constitution, January 9, 1788
- The Commonwealth of Massachusetts becomes the 6th state to ratify the Constitution, February 6, 1788
- The State of Maryland becomes the 7th state to ratify the Constitution, April 28, 1788
- The State of South Carolina becomes the 8th state to ratify the Constitution, May 23, 1788
- The Constitution takes effect when the State of New Hampshire becomes the 9th state to ratify the document, June 21, 1788
- The Commonwealth of Virginia becomes the 10th state to ratify the Constitution, June 25, 1788
- The State of New York becomes the 11th state to ratify the Constitution, July 26, 1788
- A new government under the Constitution is formed on March 4, 1789
- George Washington becomes the 1st president of the United States on April 30, 1789
- The State of North Carolina becomes the 12th state to ratify the Constitution, November 21, 1789
- The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations becomes the 13th state to ratify the Constitution, May 29, 1790
- The Vermont Republic is admitted to the Union as the State of Vermont (the 14th state) on March 4, 1791
- Whiskey Rebellion, 1791–1794
- The United States Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, takes effect on December 15, 1791
- The United States sells the Erie Triangle to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, March 3, 1792
- The District of Kentucky of the Commonwealth of Virginia is admitted to the Union as the Commonwealth of Kentucky (the 15th state) on June 1, 1792
- The Eleventh Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, February 7, 1795
- The Territory South of the River Ohio is admitted to the Union as the State of Tennessee (the 16th state) on June 1, 1796
- John Adams becomes the 2nd president of the United States on March 4, 1797

- The Territory of Mississippi is organized, April 7, 1798
- Quasi-War, 1798–1800
- The Territory of Indiana is organized, May 7, 1800
- Thomas Jefferson becomes the 3rd president of the United States on March 4, 1801
- First Barbary War, 1801–1805
- The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio is admitted to the Union as the State of Ohio (the 17th state) on March 1, 1803
- The United States takes possession of the Louisiana Purchase, December 20, 1803
- Spain creates the colony of *Alta California* from northern portion of *Las Californias*, March 26, 1804 – August 24, 1821
- Lewis and Clark Expedition, May 14, 1804 – September 23, 1806
    - Lewis and Clark Expedition reaches the Pacific Ocean, November 18, 1805
- The Twelfth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, June 15, 1804
- Battle of Sitka, October 1804
- The Territory of Orleans is organized and the District of Louisiana is created, October 1, 1804
- The Territory of Michigan is organized, June 30, 1805
- The Territory of Louisiana is organized, July 4, 1805
- Pike Expedition, July 15, 1806 – July 1, 1807
    - Spanish cavalry arrests Pike Expedition, February 26, 1807
- The Territory of Illinois is organized, March 1, 1809
- James Madison becomes the 4th president of the United States on March 4, 1809
- Mexican War of Independence, September 16, 1810 – August 24, 1821
    - Grito de Dolores on September 16, 1810
    - Treaty of Córdoba signed on August 24, 1821
- The Republic of West Florida declares its independence from Spain, September 23, 1810
- The United States unilaterally annexes the Florida Parishes of Spanish Florida Occidental, October 27, 1810
- Tecumseh's War, 1811
- A tremendous earthquake strikes the region around New Madrid in the Territory of Louisiana (Missouri), February 7, 1812
- The Territory of Orleans is admitted to the Union as the State of Louisiana (the 18th state) on April 30, 1812

- The Territory of Louisiana is renamed the Territory of Missouri on June 4, 1812
- War of 1812, June 18, 1812 – March 23, 1815
    - The United States declares war on the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on June 18, 1812
    - Battle of Lake Erie on September 10, 1813
    - Battle of Bladensburg on August 24, 1814
    - Burning of Washington on August 24, 1814
    - Battle of Plattsburgh, September 6–11, 1814
    - Battle of Baltimore, September 12–15, 1814
    - Treaty of Ghent signed on December 24, 1814
    - Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815
- Creek War, 1813–1814
- First Seminole War, 1814–1819
- Second Barbary War, March 3, 1815 – December 23, 1816
    - The United States declares war on Algiers, March 3, 1815
- The Territory of Indiana is admitted to the Union as the State of Indiana (the 19th state) on December 11, 1816
- The Territory of Alabama is organized, March 3, 1817
- James Monroe becomes the 5th president of the United States on March 4, 1817
- The Territory of Mississippi is admitted to the Union as the State of Mississippi (the 20th state) on December 10, 1817
- The Territory of Illinois is admitted to the Union as the State of Illinois (the 21st state) on December 3, 1818.
- The Territory of Arkansaw is organized, July 4, 1819
- The Territory of Alabama is admitted to the Union as the State of Alabama (the 22nd state) on December 14, 1819
- The District of Maine of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is admitted to the Union as the State of Maine (the 23rd state) on March 15, 1820
- The Adams–Onís Treaty establishes the boundary between the United States and the Kingdom of Spain, February 22, 1821
- The southeastern portion of the Territory of Missouri is admitted to the Union as the State of Missouri (the 24th state) on August 10, 1821. The remainder of the Missouri Territory becomes unorganized.
- The Territory of Florida is organized, March 30, 1822
- The Russo-American Treaty establishes the boundary between Russian Alaska and the Oregon Country at the parallel 54°40′ north, January 12, 1825

- John Quincy Adams becomes the 6th president of the United States on March 4, 1825

1826–1875

- Winnebago War, 1827
- Andrew Jackson becomes the 7th president of the United States on March 4, 1829
- Nat Turner's slave rebellion, August 21–22, 1831
- Black Hawk War, 1832
- Second Seminole War, 1835–1842
- Toledo War, 1835–1836
- Texas Revolution, October 2, 1835 – October 2, 1836
    - Battle of the Alamo, February 23, 1836 – March 6, 1836
    - Texas Declaration of Independence, March 2, 1836
    - Battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836
- Texas-Indian Wars, May 19, 1836 – June 2, 1875
    - Fort Parker massacre, May 19, 1836
    - Council House massacre, March 19, 1840
- The Territory of Arkansaw is admitted to the Union as the State of Arkansas (the 25th state) on June 15, 1836
- The Territory of Wisconsin is organized, July 3, 1836
- The United States buys the Platte Purchase from the recently relocated Iowa, Sac, and Fox nations, September 17, 1836. The purchase includes the region east of the Missouri River, south of Sullivan Line, and west of the mouth of the Kaw (Kansas) River.
- The Territory of Michigan is admitted to the Union as the State of Michigan (the 26th state) on January 26, 1837
- Martin Van Buren becomes the 8th president of the United States on March 4, 1837
- The Platte Purchase is annexed to the State of Missouri, March 28, 1837
- Missouri Mormon War, August 6 – November 1, 1838
- The Territory of Iowa is organized, July 4, 1838
- Aroostook War, 1838–1839
- Honey War, 1839
- William Henry Harrison becomes the 9th president of the United States on March 4, 1841
- John Tyler becomes the 10th president of the United States upon the death of President William Henry Harrison on April 4, 1841
- The extralegal Provisional Government of Oregon governs the Oregon Country, May 2, 1843 – August 14, 1848

- Illinois Mormon War, June 7, 1844 – September 17, 1846
    - Assassination of Joseph Smith, Jr. on June 27, 1844
    - Battle of Nauvoo, September 12, 1846 – September 17, 1846
- Treaty of Wanghia, July 3, 1844
- The Territory of Florida is admitted to the Union as the State of Florida (the 27th state) on March 3, 1845
- James K. Polk becomes the 11th president of the United States on March 4, 1845
- The Republic of Texas is admitted to the Union as the State of Texas (the 28th state) on December 29, 1845
- Mexican–American War, April 23, 1846 – February 2, 1848
    - The United States declares war on Mexico, May 11, 1846
    - Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed on February 2, 1848
- Biddle Expedition arrives at Uraga Harbor in Japan, July 20, 1846
- The southeastern portion of the Territory of Iowa is admitted to the Union as the State of Iowa (the 29th state) on December 28, 1846. The remainder of the Iowa Territory becomes unorganized.
- Cayuse War, November 29, 1847 – June 11, 1855
    - Walla Walla Treaty, June 11, 1855
- The southeastern portion of the Territory of Wisconsin is admitted to the Union as the State of Wisconsin (the 30th state) on May 29, 1848. The remainder of the Wisconsin Territory becomes unorganized.
- The Territory of Oregon is organized, August 14, 1848
- The Territory of Minnesota is organized, March 3, 1849
- The extralegal State of Deseret governs the Great Basin region, May 3, 1849 – September 9, 1850
- Zachary Taylor becomes the 12th president of the United States on March 4, 1849
- Millard Fillmore becomes the 13th president of the United States upon the death of President Zachary Taylor on July 9, 1850
- The State of California is admitted to the Union as the 31st state on September 9, 1850
- The Territory of New Mexico and the Territory of Utah are organized, September 9, 1850
- The Territory of Washington is organized, February 8, 1853
- Franklin Pierce becomes the 14th president of the United States on March 4, 1853
- Perry Expedition arrives at Uraga Harbor in Japan, July 14, 1853
    - Convention of Kanagawa, March 31, 1854

- The Territory of Kansas and the Territory of Nebraska are organized, May 20, 1854
- Sioux Wars, August 19, 1854 – December 29, 1890
    - Grattan massacre, August 19, 1854
    - Wounded Knee Massacre, December 29, 1890
- James Buchanan becomes the 15th president of the United States on March 4, 1857
- Utah Mormon War, May 28, 1857 – July 8, 1858
    - Mountain Meadows massacre, September 11, 1857
- The eastern portion of the Territory of Minnesota is admitted to the Union as the State of Minnesota (the 32nd state) on May 11, 1858. The remainder of the Minnesota Territory becomes unorganized.
- The extralegal Territory of Jefferson governs the Southern Rocky Mountains region, October 24, 1859 – February 28, 1861
- The western portion of the Oregon Territory is admitted to the Union as the State of Oregon (the 33rd state) on February 14, 1859. The remainder of the Oregon Territory is annexed to the Washington Territory.
- The State of South Carolina becomes the 1st state to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860
- The State of Mississippi becomes the 2nd state to secede from the Union on January 9, 1861
- The State of Florida becomes the 3rd state to secede from the Union on January 10, 1861
- The State of Alabama becomes the 4th state to secede from the Union on January 11, 1861
- The State of Georgia becomes the 5th state to secede from the Union on January 19, 1861
- The State of Louisiana becomes the 6th state to secede from the Union on January 26, 1861
- The eastern portion of the Territory of Kansas is admitted to the Union as the State of Kansas (the 34th state) on January 29, 1861. The remainder of the Kansas territory becomes unorganized.
- The State of Texas becomes the 7th state to secede from the Union on February 1, 1861
- The 7 States of South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas create the Confederate States of America on February 4, 1861
- The Territory of Colorado is organized, February 28, 1861
- The Territory of Nevada is organized, March 2, 1861
- The Territory of Dakota is organized, March 2, 1861

- Abraham Lincoln becomes the 16th president of the United States on March 4, 1861
- A rump government declares itself the Confederate Territory of Arizona on March 16, 1861
- American Civil War, April 12, 1861 – May 13, 1865
    - Battle of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861 – April 13, 1861
    - The Commonwealth of Virginia becomes the 8th state to secede from the Union on April 17, 1861
    - Union naval blockade of the Confederacy, April 19, 1861 – April 9, 1865
    - The State of Arkansas becomes the 9th state to secede from the Union on May 6, 1861
    - The Commonwealth of Virginia becomes the 8th state admitted to the Confederacy on May 7, 1861
    - The State of North Carolina becomes the 10th state to secede from the Union on May 20, 1861
    - The State of Arkansas becomes the 9th state admitted to the Confederacy on May 18, 1861
    - The State of North Carolina becomes the 10th state admitted to the Confederacy on May 21, 1861
    - The State of Tennessee becomes the 11th state to secede from the Union on June 8, 1861
    - The State of Tennessee becomes the 11th state admitted to the Confederacy on July 2, 1861
    - First Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861
    - A rump government claiming to represent the State of Missouri declares its secession from the Union on October 31, 1861
    - A rump government claiming to represent the Commonwealth of Kentucky declares its secession from the Union on November 20, 1861
    - The rump government of the State of Missouri becomes the 12th state admitted to the Confederacy on November 28, 1861
    - The rump government of the Commonwealth of Kentucky becomes the 13th state admitted to the Confederacy on December 10, 1861
    - The rump government of the Confederate Territory of Arizona becomes the only Confederate Territory on February 14, 1862
    - Battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862 – April 7, 1862

        - Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862
        - The Territory of Arizona is organized, February 24, 1863
        - The Territory of Idaho is organized, March 4, 1863
        - Siege of Vicksburg, May 18, 1863 – July 4, 1863
        - The northwestern region of the Commonwealth of Virginia is admitted to the Union as the State of West Virginia (the 35th state) on June 20, 1863
        - Battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 1863 – July 3, 1863
        - President Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1863
        - Siege of Atlanta, May 7, 1864 – September 2, 1864
        - The Territory of Montana is organized, May 28, 1864
        - The State of Nevada is admitted to the Union as the 36th state on October 31, 1864
        - Battle of Appomattox Courthouse, April 9, 1865
        - Assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1865
            - President Abraham Lincoln dies on April 15, 1865
            - Andrew Johnson becomes 17th president of the United States on April 15, 1865
    - The Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, December 18, 1865
    - The State of Tennessee becomes the 1st Confederate State readmitted to the Union on July 24, 1866
    - The Territory of Nebraska is admitted to the Union as the State of Nebraska (the 37th state) on March 1, 1867
    - President Andrew Johnson is impeached by the United States House of Representatives, February 24, 1868
        - President Andrew Johnson is acquitted by the United States Senate, May 16, 1868
    - The State of Arkansas becomes the 2nd Confederate State readmitted to the Union on June 22, 1868
    - The State of Florida becomes the 3rd Confederate State readmitted to the Union on June 25, 1868
    - The State of North Carolina becomes the 4th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on July 4, 1868
    - The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, July 9, 1868
    - The State of Louisiana becomes the 5th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on July 9, 1868

- The State of South Carolina becomes the 6th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on July 9, 1868
- The State of Alabama becomes the 7th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on July 13, 1868
- The Territory of Wyoming is organized, July 25, 1868
- Ulysses S. Grant becomes the 18th president of the United States on March 4, 1869
- The Transcontinental railroad is completed on May 10, 1869
- The Commonwealth of Virginia becomes the 8th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on January 26, 1870
- The Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, February 3, 1870
- The State of Mississippi becomes the 9th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on February 23, 1870
- The State of Texas becomes the 10th Confederate State readmitted to the Union on March 30, 1870
- The State of Georgia becomes the 11th and last Confederate State readmitted to the Union on July 15, 1870
- The United States attacks Korea, June 10, 1871 – July 3, 1871

1876–1925

- Black Hills War, March 17, 1876 – 1877
    - Battle of the Little Bighorn, June 25, 1876 – June 26, 1876
- The nation celebrates the Centennial of the United States of America despite news from the Little Bighorn, July 4, 1876
- The Territory of Colorado is admitted to the Union as the State of Colorado (the 38th state) on August 1, 1876
- Rutherford B. Hayes becomes the 19th president of the United States on March 4, 1877
- James A. Garfield becomes the 20th president of the United States on March 4, 1881
- Chester A. Arthur becomes the 21st president of the United States upon the assassination of President James Garfield on September 19, 1881
- The portion of the Dakota Territory south of the 42nd parallel north and west of the Missouri River is annexed to the State of Nebraska, March 28, 1882
- Grover Cleveland becomes the 22nd president of the United States on March 4, 1885
- Benjamin Harrison becomes the 23rd president of the United States on March 4, 1889

- The Territory of Dakota is admitted to the Union as the State of North Dakota and the State of South Dakota (the 39th state and the 40th state) on November 2, 1889[1]
- The Territory of Montana is admitted to the Union as the State of Montana (the 41st state) on November 8, 1889
- The Territory of Washington is admitted to the Union as the State of Washington (the 42nd state) on November 11, 1889
- The Territory of Oklahoma is organized, May 2, 1890
- The Territory of Idaho is admitted to the Union as the State of Idaho (the 43rd state) on July 3, 1890
- The Territory of Wyoming is admitted to the Union as the State of Wyoming (the 44th state) on July 10, 1890
- Grover Cleveland becomes the 24th (as well as the 22nd) president of the United States on March 4, 1893
- The Territory of Utah is admitted to the Union as the State of Utah (the 45th state) on January 4, 1896
- William McKinley becomes the 25th president of the United States on March 4, 1897
- Spanish–American War, April 23 – August 12, 1898
    - Teller Amendment blocks United States annexation of Cuba, April 20, 1898
    - The Spanish Empire declares war on the United States, April 23, 1898
    - Invasion of Guantánamo Bay, June 6, 1898 – June 10, 1898
    - Capture of Guam, June 20, 1898 – June 21, 1898
    - Battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898
    - Invasion of Puerto Rico, July 25, 1898 – August 13, 1898
    - Protocol of Peace signed on August 12, 1898
    - Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898
        - The United States annexes the Philippines, Porto Rico (sic), and Guam, December 10, 1898
        - The United States formally occupies Cuba, January 1, 1899 – May 20, 1902
    - Platt Amendment promotes United States hegemony of Cuba, March 2, 1901
- The Territory of Hawaii is organized, July 7, 1898
- Second Samoan Civil War, August 22, 1898 – November 14, 1899
    - Anglo-German Samoa Convention, November 14, 1899
        - The United States annexes Eastern Samoa, December 2, 1899

- Philippine–American War, June 2, 1899 – June 15, 1913
    - Philippine Declaration of Independence, June 12, 1898
    - The Philippines declares war on the United States, June 2, 1899
    - Moro Rebellion, May 2, 1902 – June 15, 1913
    - Organic Act for the Philippine Islands, July 1, 1902
    - President Theodore Roosevelt declares the end of Philippine–American War, July 4, 1902
- Boxer Rebellion, November 2, 1899 – September 7, 1901
    - The Society of Right and Harmonious Fists attacks Beijing, June 20, 1900
    - The Eight-Nation Alliance relieves Beijing, August 14, 1900
    - The Boxer Protocol is imposed on China, September 7, 1901
- A hurricane strikes Galveston, Texas, killing approximately 8,000 people, September 8, 1900
- Theodore Roosevelt becomes the 26th president of the United States upon the assassination of President William McKinley on September 14, 1901
- The United States recognizes the independence of the Republic of Cuba, May 20, 1902
    - The United States formally ends its occupation of Cuba, May 20, 1902
- The United States seizes opportunity to build a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama, January 22, 1903 – August 15, 1914
    - The United States and the Republic of Colombia sign the Hay–Herrán Treaty, January 22, 1903
    - The Congress of Colombia rejects the Hay–Herrán Treaty, August 12, 1903
    - The United States Navy patrol gunboat USS Nashville blocks Colombian attempts to suppress a Panamanian separatist movement, October 26, 1903 – March 4, 1904
    - The Republic of Panama declares its independence from the Republic of Colombia, November 3, 1903
    - United States Marines occupy region around proposed canal, November 4, 1903 – January 21, 1914
    - The United States and the Republic of Panama sign the Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty, November 18, 1903
        - The United States annexes the Panama Canal Zone, November 18, 1903
- A tremendous earthquake strikes the San Francisco region, April 18, 1906

- The United States reoccupies Cuba, September 29, 1906 – January 28, 1909
- The Territory of Oklahoma is admitted to the Union as the State of Oklahoma (the 46th state) on November 16, 1907
- William Howard Taft becomes the 27th president of the United States on March 4, 1909
- The Territory of New Mexico is admitted to the Union as the State of New Mexico (the 47th state) on January 6, 1912
- The Territory of Arizona is admitted to the Union as the State of Arizona (the 48th state) on February 14, 1912
- The District of Alaska is reorganized as the Territory of Alaska, August 24, 1912
- The Sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, February 3, 1913
- Woodrow Wilson becomes the 28th president of the United States on March 4, 1913
- The Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, April 8, 1913
- The United States occupation of Veracruz, April 21, 1914 – November 23, 1914
- The Panama Canal opens to shipping, August 15, 1914
- The United States occupation of Haiti, July 28, 1915 – August 11, 1934
- Doroteo Arango Arámbula (Pancho Villa) orders raid on Columbus, New Mexico, March 9, 1916
- General John Pershing leads Mexican Expedition, March 14, 1916 – February 7, 1917
- The United States occupation of the Dominican Republic, May 16, 1916 – July 13, 1924
- The United States purchases the Danish West Indies from Denmark, January 17, 1917
- World War I, June 28, 1914 – November 11, 1918
    - The United States declares war on the German Reich, April 6, 1917
    - Armistice with Germany, November 11, 1918
    - The Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations are signed, June 28, 1919
    - The United States Senate rejects the Treaty of Versailles primarily because of Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, March 20, 1920
    - The United States Congress declares end of war, July 2, 1921

- Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War, May 26, 1918 – April 1, 1920
    - The American Expeditionary Force Siberia, August 15, 1918 – April 1, 1920
    - The American Expeditionary Force North Russia, September 4, 1918 – August 5, 1919
- The Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, January 29, 1919
- The Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, August 18, 1920
- Warren G. Harding becomes the 29th president of the United States on March 4, 1921
- Calvin Coolidge becomes the 30th president of the United States upon the death of President Warren Harding on August 2, 1923

1926–1975

- Hurricane San Felipe Segundo strikes the Leeward Islands, Puerto Rico, the Bahamas, and Florida killing more than 4,000 people, September 6, 1928 – September 20, 1928
- Herbert Hoover becomes the 31st president of the United States on March 4, 1929
- Great Depression, September 3, 1929 – September 1, 1939
    - Wall Street Crash, September 3, 1929 – July 8, 1932
        - Black Tuesday, October 29, 1929
- The Twentieth Amendment to the United States Constitution is ratified, January 23, 1933
- Franklin D. Roosevelt becomes the 32nd president of the United States on March 4, 1933
- The Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment to the United States Constitution, December 5, 1933
- The United States assumes the defense of Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat), April 9, 1941 – 1946
- The United States assumes the defense of Iceland, July 27, 1941 – 1946
- The United States and Brazil assume the defense of Surinam, November 24, 1941 – 1946
- World War II, September 1, 1939 – September 2, 1945
    - The Empire of Japan invades Manchuria, September 19, 1931
    - The Italian Empire invades Ethiopia, October 3, 1935
    - The German Reich invades Poland, September 1, 1939
    - The Empire of Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

        - The United States declares war on the Empire of Japan, December 8, 1941
        - The German Reich declares war on the United States, December 11, 1941
        - The United States declares war on the German Reich and the Italian Empire, December 11, 1941
        - Aleutian Islands Campaign, June 3, 1942 – August 15, 1943
        - The United States declares war on Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, June 5, 1942
        - Allied Forces invade Sicily, July 9, 1943
        - Allied Forces invade Italy, September 3, 1943
        - Italy secretly signs an armistice with Allied Forces, September 3, 1943
        - Allied Forces invade Normandy, June 6, 1944
        - Japan launches Fu-Go balloon bombs into the northwestern United States, November 3, 1944 – April 15, 1945
        - Allied Forces invade Okinawa, March 18, 1945
        - German Instrument of Surrender signed May 7 and 8, 1945
        - The United States tests the first atomic bomb at the Trinity Site in New Mexico, July 16, 1945
        - The United States drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, August 6, 1945
        - The United States drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, August 9, 1945
        - Japanese Instrument of Surrender signed September 2, 1945
- Harry S. Truman becomes the 33rd president of the United States upon the death of President Franklin Roosevelt on April 12, 1945
- The United States and 50 other nations form the United Nations, October 24, 1945
- The League of Nations ceases operation, April 20, 1946
- Cold War, March 5, 1946 – December 25, 1991
        - Berlin Blockade, June 24, 1948 – May 11, 1949
            - Berlin Airlift, June 25, 1948 – September 30, 1949
- Korean War, June 25, 1950 – July 27, 1953
        - North Korea invades South Korea, June 25, 1950
        - The United Nations invade North Korea, September 15, 1950
        - China invades North Korea, November 1, 1950
        - China invades South Korea, January 1, 1951
        - Korean Armistice Agreement signed July 27, 1953

- The Twenty-second Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, February 27, 1951
- Dwight D. Eisenhower becomes the 34th president of the United States on January 20, 1953
- The Territory of Alaska is admitted to the Union as the State of Alaska (the 49th state) on January 3, 1959
- Vietnam War, September 26, 1959 – April 30, 1975
    - The United States sends military advisors to the Republic of Vietnam, February 12, 1955
    - The United States and the Vietnam People's Army wage covert war in Laos, October 1962 – 1975
    - The United States begins bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, August 2, 1964
    - The United States sends regular ground troops to the Republic of Vietnam, March 8, 1965
    - Battle of Khe Sanh, January 21 – April 8, 1968
    - Tet Offensive, January 30 – September 23, 1968
        - Battle of Hue, January 30 – March 3, 1968
    - The United States covertly bombs Vietnam People's Army military targets in Cambodia, 1968–1970
    - Battle of Hamburger Hill, May 10–20, 1969
    - The United States and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam invade Cambodia, April 29 – July 22, 1970
    - Paris Peace Accords, January 27, 1973
    - The United States removes regular ground troops from the Republic of Vietnam, March 27, 1973
    - Fall of Saigon, April 30, 1975
- The Territory of Hawaii is admitted to the Union as the State of Hawai'i (the 50th state) on August 21, 1959
- Cuba confiscates property of United States companies and citizens, July 5, 1960
- John F. Kennedy becomes the 35th president of the United States on January 20, 1961
- The Twenty-third Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, March 29, 1961
- Cuban exiles supported by the United States invade Cuba, April 17–19, 1961
- United States embargo against Cuba, since February 7, 1962
- Cuban Missile Crisis, October 15–28, 1962

        - United States naval quarantine of Cuba, October 24 – December 31, 1962
    - Lyndon B. Johnson becomes the 36th president of the United States upon the assassination of President John Kennedy on November 22, 1963
    - The Twenty-fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, January 23, 1964
    - A tremendous earthquake strikes the region around Anchorage, Alaska, on Good Friday, March 27, 1964
    - The United States and allies invade the Dominican Republic, April 28, 1965 – September 1966
    - The Twenty-fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution is ratified, February 10, 1967
    - Richard Nixon becomes the 37th president of the United States on January 20, 1969
    - Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin are first people to walk on the Moon, July 20–21, 1969
    - The Twenty-sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, July 1, 1971
    - Eugene Cernan and Harrison Schmitt are the last Apollo astronauts to walk on the Moon, December 11–14, 1972
    - The United States airlifts military supplies to Israel during the Yom Kippur War, October 12 – November 14, 1973
    - Gerald Ford becomes the 38th president of the United States upon the resignation of President Richard Nixon on August 9, 1974

1976–2025

- The nation celebrates the Bicentennial of the United States of America, July 4, 1976
- Jimmy Carter becomes the 39th president of the United States on January 20, 1977
- Iran hostage crisis, November 4, 1979 – January 20, 1981
- The United States transfers sovereignty of the Panama Canal Zone back to the Republic of Panama, October 1, 1979
- Mount St. Helens erupts, May 18, 1980
- Ronald Reagan becomes the 40th president of the United States on January 20, 1981
- The United States joins Multinational Force in Lebanon, August 29, 1982 – February 26, 1984
    - Truck bombings kill 307 in Beirut, October 23, 1983
- The United States invades Grenada, October 25 – December 15, 1983

- The United States pursues the Strategic Defense Initiative, March 27, 1984 – May 13, 1993
    - President Ronald Reagan presents Star Wars speech, March 23, 1983
- Black Monday, October 19, 1987
- Somali Civil War, since 1988
    - The United Nations intervenes in the Somali Civil War, July 27, 1992 – March 3, 1995
        - The United States leads the Unified Task Force, December 9, 1992 – May 4, 1993
        - The United States deploys independent Task Force Ranger, August 8, 1993 – March 31, 1994
            - Battle of Mogadishu, October 3–4, 1993
- George H. W. Bush becomes the 41st president of the United States on January 20, 1989
- The United States invades Panama, December 20, 1989 – February 13, 1990
- Persian Gulf War, August 2, 1990 – February 28, 1991
    - The Republic of Iraq invades the State of Kuwait, August 2, 1990
    - The United States and allies invade Kuwait and Iraq, February 24, 1991
- The United States and allies enforce a no-fly zone over Iraq north of the 36th parallel north, April 7, 1991 – December 31, 1996
- War in Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 1, 1992 – December 14, 1995
    - The United Nations airlifts humanitarian aid to Bosnia and Hercegovina, July 2, 1992 – January 9, 1996
    - NATO enforces ban on unauthorized military flights over Bosnia and Hercegovina, April 13, 1993 – August 30, 1995
    - NATO bombs Bosnian Serb Army in Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 30 – September 20, 1995
- The Twenty-seventh Amendment to the United States Constitution takes effect, May 5, 1992
- The United States and allies enforce a no-fly zone over Iraq south of the 32nd parallel north, August 27, 1992 – September 4, 1996
- Bill Clinton becomes the 42nd president of the United States on January 20, 1993
- The United States contributes troops for United Nations peacekeeping in Macedonia, July 9, 1993 –[*clarification needed*]
- The United States and allies invade Haiti, September 19, 1994 – March 31, 1995

- Dot-com bubble, January 4, 1995 – March 10, 2000
- Kosovo War, April 22, 1996 – June 11, 1999
    - NATO bombs the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, March 24 – June 10, 1999
- The United States and allies enforce an expanded no-fly zone over Iraq south of the 33rd parallel north, September 4, 1996 – April 30, 2003
- Al-Qaeda simultaneously bombs United States embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, August 7, 1998. The car bombs kill 223 people and injure more than 4000.
- The United States and the United Kingdom bomb Iraq, December 16, 1998 – December 19, 1998
- The United States House of Representatives impeaches President Bill Clinton, December 19, 1998
    - The United States Senate acquits President Bill Clinton, February 12, 1999
- The United States transfers ownership of the Panama Canal to the Republic of Panama, December 31, 1999
- Dot-com collapse on March 10, 2000 – October 10, 2002.
- United States housing bubble, 2000–2006.
- Al-Qaeda attack on the USS Cole at Aden in Yemen on October 12, 2000.
- George W. Bush becomes the 43rd president of the United States on January 20, 2001.
- Al-Qaeda attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001.
- War in Afghanistan, October 7, 2001 – August 30, 2021.
    - The United States and allies invade Afghanistan on October 7, 2001.
    - The War in Afghanistan ended with the remaining troops leaving the country on August 30, 2021.
- President George W. Bush declares Iran, Iraq, and North Korea to be the "Axis of Evil" on January 29, 2002.
- Iraq War, March 20, 2003 – December 15, 2011.
    - The United States and allies invade Iraq on March 20, 2003.
    - The Iraq War is declared formally over on December 15, 2011.
- Hurricane Katrina strikes Florida on August 25 and Louisiana and Mississippi on August 29, 2005. Subsequent failure of drainage canals floods 80% of New Orleans.
- United States housing collapse since 2006.
- 2008 financial crisis.
- Barack Obama becomes the 44th president of the United States on January 20, 2009.

- Tea Party movement begins in 2009.
- Libyan Rebellion in 2011.
- Protesters Occupy Wall Street in 2011.
- The United States and allies enforce no-fly zone over Libya, March 19, 2011 – October 31, 2011.
- Osama bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda and the mastermind of the September 11 attacks, is killed in Pakistan by Navy SEALs on May 2, 2011.
- Donald Trump becomes the 45th president of the United States on January 20, 2017.
- The COVID-19 pandemic shuts down most businesses and activities, arriving on January 13, 2020.
- Following the 2020 United States Presidential Election, a pro-Trump mob attacks the United States Capitol on January 6, 2021.
- Joe Biden becomes the 46th president of the United States on January 20, 2021.
- The War in Afghanistan ends following a withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021.
- Donald Trump becomes the 47th president of the United States on January 20, 2025.

2026–present

- Donald Trump invades Venezuela and kidnaps president Nicolás Maduro on January 3, 2026.
- ICE agents shoot and kill Renée Good and Alex Pretti, sparking national protests in January 2026.
- Donald Trump enters the Iran war with Israel on February 28, 2026.

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VIDEO

The ENTIRE History of the United States of America | 4K Documentary (USA US) [Full Movie]

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hxdSr03ULdM

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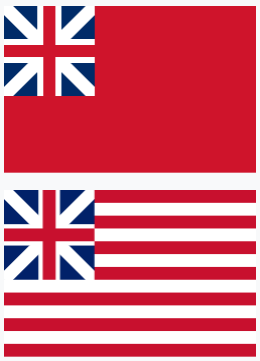
Thirteen Colonies

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thirteen_Colonies

Thirteen Colonies

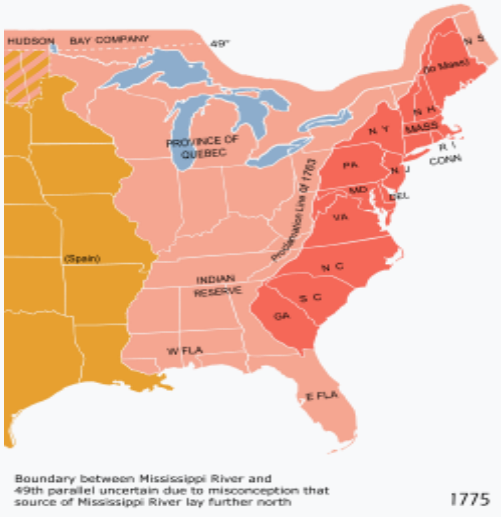
1607–1776



Flag of British America (1707–1775)
Flag of the United Colonies (1775–1777)

Anthem: God Save the King

Duration: 3 minutes and 0 seconds.3:00



Boundary between Mississippi River and 49th parallel uncertain due to misconception that source of Mississippi River lay further north

1775

The Thirteen Colonies (shown in red) in 1775 with modern borders overlaid	
Status	Colonies
Government	Various colonial arrangements
Monarch	
1607–1625	James I and VI (first)
1760–1776	George III (last)
History	
Roanoke Colony	1585
Virginia Colony	1607
New England	1620
Rhode Island Royal Charter	1663
New Netherland ceded to England	1667
Treaty of Utrecht	1713
Province of Georgia	1732
French and Indian War	1754–1763
Articles of Association	1774
Independence declared	1776
Treaty of Paris	1783

Population	
1625	1,980[1]
1775	2,400,000[1]

Preceded by	Succeeded by
Pre-colonial North America New Netherland	United Colonies

Today part of	United States

The **Thirteen Colonies** were the British colonies on the Atlantic coast of North America which broke away from the British Crown in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), and joined to form the United States of America.

The Thirteen Colonies in their traditional groupings were: the New England Colonies (Province of New Hampshire, Province of Massachusetts Bay, Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and Connecticut Colony); the Middle Colonies (Province of New York, Province of New Jersey, Province of Pennsylvania, and Delaware Colony); and the Southern Colonies (Province of Maryland, Colony of Virginia, Province of North Carolina, Province of South Carolina, and Province of Georgia).[2] These colonies were part of British America, which also included territory in the Floridas, the Caribbean, and what is today Canada.[3]

The Thirteen Colonies were separately administered under the Crown, but had similar political, constitutional, and legal systems, and each was dominated by Protestant English-speakers. The first of the colonies, Virginia, was established at Jamestown in 1607. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the New England Colonies were substantially motivated by their founders' concerns related to the practice of religion.

The other colonies were founded for business and economic expansion. The Middle Colonies were established on the former Dutch colony of New Netherland.

Between 1625 and 1775, the colonial population grew from 2 thousand to 2.4 million, largely displacing the region's Native Americans. The population included people subject to a system of slavery, which was legal in all of the colonies. In the 18th century, the British government operated under a policy of mercantilism, in which the central government administered its colonies for Britain's economic benefit.

The 13 colonies had a degree of self-governance and active local elections,[a] and they resisted London's demands for more control over them. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) against France and its Indian allies led to growing tensions between Britain and the 13 colonies. During the 1750s, the colonies began collaborating instead of dealing directly with Britain. With the help of colonial printers and newspapers, these inter-colonial activities and concerns were shared and led to calls for protection of the colonists' "Rights as Englishmen", especially the principle of "no taxation without representation".

Late 18th century conflicts with the British government over taxes and rights led to the American Revolution, in which the Thirteen Colonies joined for the first time to form the Continental Congress and raised the Continental Army, declaring independence in 1776. They fought the Revolutionary War with the aid of the Kingdom of France and, to a much lesser degree, the Dutch Republic and the Kingdom of Spain.[6]

British colonies

The Thirteen Colonies of British America:
(dark red): New England Colonies
(red-brown): Middle Colonies
(brown): Southern Colonies

In 1606, King James I of England granted charters to both the Plymouth Company and the London Company for the purpose of establishing permanent settlements in America. The London Company established the Colony of Virginia in 1607, the first permanently settled English colony on the continent. The Plymouth Company founded the Popham Colony on the Kennebec River, but it was short-lived. The Plymouth Council for New England sponsored several colonization projects, culminating with Plymouth Colony in 1620 which was settled by English Puritan separatists, known today as the Pilgrims.[7] The Dutch, Swedish, and French also established successful American colonies at roughly the same time as the English, but they eventually came under the English crown. The Thirteen Colonies were complete with the establishment of the Province of Georgia in 1732, although the term "Thirteen Colonies" became current only in the context of the American Revolution.[b]

In London, beginning in 1660, all colonies were governed through a state department known as the Southern Department, and a committee of the Privy Council called the Board of Trade and Plantations. In 1768, a specific state department was created for America, but it was disbanded in 1782 when the Home Office took responsibility.[10]

New England colonies

A 1584 map of the east coast from Chesapeake Bay to Cape Lookout, drawn by the English colonial governor, explorer, artist, and cartographer John White; in 1607, Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement, was established in this region.

1. Province of Massachusetts Bay, chartered as a royal colony in 1691
    - Popham Colony, established in 1607; abandoned in 1608
    - Plymouth Colony, established in 1620; merged with Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691
    - Province of Maine, patent issued in 1622 by Council for New England; patent reissued by Charles I in 1639; absorbed by Massachusetts Bay Colony by 1658
    - Massachusetts Bay Colony, established in 1628; merged with Plymouth Colony in 1691
2. Province of New Hampshire, established in 1629; merged with Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1641; chartered as royal colony in 1679
3. Connecticut Colony, established in 1636; chartered as royal colony in 1662
    - Saybrook Colony, established in 1635; merged with Connecticut Colony in 1644

- New Haven Colony, established in 1638; merged with Connecticut Colony in 1664

4. Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations chartered as royal colony in 1663
    - Providence Plantations, established by Roger Williams in 1636
    - Portsmouth, established in 1638 by John Clarke, William Coddington, and others
    - Newport, established in 1639 after a disagreement and split among the settlers in Portsmouth
    - Warwick, established in 1642 by Samuel Gorton
    - These four settlements merged into a single Royal colony in 1663

Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven Colonies formed the New England Confederation in 1643, and all New England colonies were included in the Dominion of New England (1686–1689).

Middle colonies

5. Delaware Colony (before 1776, the *Lower Counties on Delaware*), established in 1664 as proprietary colony
6. Province of New York, established as a proprietary colony in 1664; chartered as royal colony in 1686; included in the Dominion of New England (1686–1689)
7. Province of New Jersey, established as a proprietary colony in 1664; chartered as a royal colony in 1702
    - East Jersey, established in 1674; merged with West Jersey to re-form Province of New Jersey in 1702; included in the Dominion of New England
    - West Jersey, established in 1674; merged with East Jersey to re-form Province of New Jersey in 1702; included in the Dominion of New England
8. Province of Pennsylvania, established in 1681 as a proprietary colony

Southern colonies

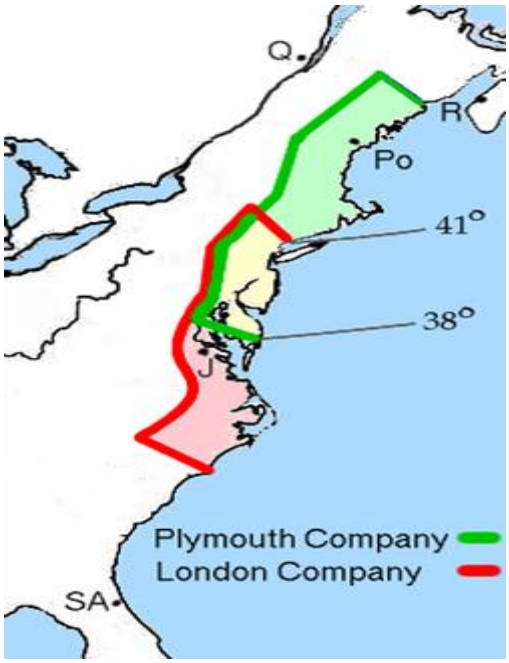
9. Colony of Virginia, established in 1607 as a proprietary colony; chartered as a royal colony in 1624.

10. Province of Maryland, established 1632 as a proprietary colony.
11. Province of North Carolina, previously part of the Carolina province (see below) until 1712; chartered as a royal colony in 1729.
12. Province of South Carolina, previously part of the Carolina province (see below) until 1712; chartered as a royal colony in 1729.
13. Province of Georgia, established as a proprietary colony in 1732; royal colony from 1752.

The Province of Carolina was initially chartered in 1629, and initial settlements were established after 1651. That charter was voided in 1660 by Charles II, and a new charter was issued in 1663, making it a proprietary colony. The Carolina province was divided into separate proprietary colonies, north and south, in 1712, before both became royal colonies in 1729.

Earlier, along the coast, the Roanoke Colony was established in 1585, re-established in 1587, and found abandoned in 1590.

17th century



The 1606 grants by James I to the London and Plymouth companies. The overlapping area (in yellow) was granted to both companies on the stipulation that neither would establish a settlement within 100 miles (160 km) of each other. The location of early settlements is shown, including Jamestown (J), Quebec (Q), Popham (Po), Port Royal (R), and St. Augustine (SA).

Southern colonies

The first British colony was Jamestown, established on May 14, 1607, near Chesapeake Bay. The business venture was financed and coordinated by the London Virginia Company, a joint-stock company looking for gold. Its first years were extremely difficult, with very high death rates from disease and starvation, wars with local Indians, and little gold. The colony survived and flourished by turning to tobacco as a cash crop.[11][12]

In 1632, King Charles I granted the charter for the Province of Maryland to Cecil Calvert, 2nd Baron Baltimore. Calvert's father had been a prominent Catholic official who encouraged Catholic immigration to the English colonies. The charter offered no guidelines on religion.[13]

The Province of Carolina was the second attempted English settlement south of Virginia, the first being the failed attempt at Roanoke. It was a private venture, financed by a group of English Lords Proprietors who obtained a Royal Charter to the Carolinas in 1663, hoping that a new colony in the south would become profitable like Jamestown. Carolina was not settled until 1670, and even then, the first attempt failed because there was no incentive for emigration to that area. Eventually, however, the Lords combined their remaining capital and financed a settlement mission to the area led by Sir John Colleton. The expedition located fertile and defensible ground at Charleston, originally Charles Town for Charles II of England.[14]

Middle colonies

New Netherland with 17th-century Dutch claims in areas that later became English colonies shown in red and yellow. Present U.S. states are shown in gray. Four British colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, are referred to as the middle colonies.

Beginning in 1609, Dutch traders established fur trading posts on the Hudson River, Delaware River, and Connecticut River, seeking to protect their interests in the fur trade. The Dutch West India Company established permanent settlements on the Hudson River, creating the Dutch colony of New Netherland.[15]

In 1626, Peter Minuit purchased the island of Manhattan from the Lenape Indians and established the outpost of New Amsterdam. Relatively few Dutch settled in New Netherland, but the colony came to dominate the regional fur trade. It also served as the base for extensive trade with the English colonies, and many products from New England and Virginia were carried to Europe on Dutch ships. The Dutch also engaged in the burgeoning Atlantic slave trade, bringing some enslaved Africans to the English colonies in North America, although many more were sent to Barbados and Brazil. The West India Company desired to grow New Netherland as it became commercially successful, yet the colony failed to attract the same level of settlement as the English colonies did. Many of those who did immigrate to the colony were English, German, Walloon, or Sephardim.[16]

In 1638, Sweden established the colony of New Sweden in the Delaware Valley. The operation was led by former members of the Dutch West India Company, including Peter Minuit. New Sweden established extensive trading contacts with English colonies to the south and shipped much of the tobacco produced in Virginia. The colony was conquered by the Dutch in 1655, while Sweden was engaged in the Second Northern War.[17]

Beginning in the 1650s, the English and Dutch engaged in a series of wars, and the English sought to conquer New Netherland. Richard Nicolls captured the lightly defended New Amsterdam in 1664, and his subordinates quickly captured the remainder of New Netherland. The 1667 Treaty of Breda ended the Second Anglo-Dutch War and confirmed English control of the region. The Dutch briefly regained control of parts of New Netherland in the Third Anglo-Dutch War but surrendered

claim to the territory in the 1674 Treaty of Westminster, ending the Dutch colonial presence in America.[18]

The British renamed the colony of New Amsterdam to "York City" or "New York". Large numbers of Dutch remained in the colony, dominating the rural areas between Manhattan and Albany, while people from New England started moving in, as well as immigrants from Germany. New York City attracted a large polyglot population, including a large black slave population.[19] In 1674, the proprietary colonies of East Jersey and West Jersey were created from lands formerly part of New York.[20]

Pennsylvania was founded in 1681 as a proprietary colony of Quaker William Penn. The main population elements included the Quaker population based in Philadelphia, a Scotch-Irish population on the Western frontier, and numerous German colonies in between.[21] Philadelphia became the largest city in the colonies with its central location, excellent port, and a population of about 30,000.[22]

New England

The Pilgrims were a small group of Puritan separatists who felt that they needed to distance themselves physically from the Church of England, which they perceived as corrupted. They initially moved to the Netherlands, but eventually sailed to America in 1620 on the *Mayflower*. Upon their arrival, they drew up the Mayflower Compact, by which they bound themselves together as a united community, thus establishing the small Plymouth Colony. William Bradford was their main leader. After its founding, other settlers traveled from England to join the colony.[23]

More Puritans immigrated in 1629 and established the Massachusetts Bay Colony with 400 settlers. They sought to reform the Church of England by creating a new, ideologically pure church in the New World. By 1640, 20,000 had arrived; many died soon after arrival, but the others found a healthy climate and an ample food supply. The Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies together spawned other Puritan colonies in New England, including the New Haven, Saybrook, and Connecticut colonies. During the 17th century, the New Haven and Saybrook colonies were absorbed by Connecticut.[24]

Roger Williams established Providence Plantations in 1636 on land provided by Narragansett sachem Canonicus. Williams was a Puritan who preached religious tolerance, separation of church and state, and a complete break with the Church of England. He was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony over theological disagreements; he founded the settlement based on an egalitarian constitution, providing for majority rule "in civil things" and "liberty of conscience" in religious matters.[25][26]

In 1637, a second group, including Anne Hutchinson, established a second settlement on Rhode Island, today called Aquidneck. Samuel Gorton and others established a settlement near Providence Plantations, which they called Shawomet. However, Massachusetts Bay attempted to seize the land and put it under its own authority, so Gorton travelled to London to gain a charter from the King. Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick assisted him in gaining the charter, so he changed the name of the settlement to Warwick. Roger Williams secured a Royal Charter from the King in 1663, which united all four settlements into the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Other colonists settled to the north, mingling with adventurers and profit-oriented settlers to establish more religiously diverse colonies in New Hampshire and Maine. Massachusetts absorbed these small settlements when it made significant land claims in the 1640s and 1650s, but New Hampshire was eventually given a separate charter in 1679. Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until achieving statehood in 1820.

In 1685, King James II of England closed the legislatures and consolidated the New England colonies into the Dominion of New England, putting the region under the control of Governor Edmund Andros. In 1688, the colonies of New York, West Jersey, and East Jersey were added to the dominion. Andros was overthrown, and the dominion was closed in 1689, after the Glorious Revolution deposed King James II; the former colonies were re-established.[27] According to Guy Miller, the Rebellion of 1689 was the "climax of the 60-year-old struggle between the government in England and the Puritans of Massachusetts over the question of who was to rule the Bay colony."[28]

18th century

In 1702, East and West Jersey were combined to form the Province of New Jersey.

Fort George and New York, c. 1731

The northern and southern sections of the Carolina colony operated more or less independently until 1691, when Philip Ludwell was appointed governor of the entire province. From that time until 1708, the northern and southern settlements remained under one government. However, during this period, the two halves of the province began increasingly to be known as North Carolina and South Carolina, as the descendants of the colony's proprietors fought over the direction of the colony.[29] The colonists of Charles Town finally deposed their governor and elected their own government. This marked the start of separate governments in the Province of North-Carolina and the Province of South Carolina. In 1729, the king formally revoked Carolina's colonial charter and established both North Carolina and South Carolina as crown colonies.[30]

In the 1730s, Parliamentarian James Oglethorpe proposed that the area south of the Carolinas be colonized with the "worthy poor" of England to provide an alternative to the overcrowded debtors' prisons. Oglethorpe and other English philanthropists secured a royal charter as the Trustees of the colony of Georgia on June 9, 1732.[31] Oglethorpe and his compatriots hoped to establish a utopian colony that banned slavery and recruited only the most worthy settlers, but by 1750, the colony remained sparsely populated. The proprietors gave up their charter in 1752, at which point Georgia became a crown colony.[32]

The population of the Thirteen Colonies grew immensely in the 18th century. According to historian Alan Taylor, the population was 1.5 million in 1750, which represented four-fifths of the population of British North America.[33] More than 90

percent of the colonists lived as farmers, though some seaports also flourished. In 1760, the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston had a population of more than 16,000, which was small by European standards.[34] By 1770, the economic output of the Thirteen Colonies made up forty percent of the gross domestic product of the entire British Empire.[35]

As the 18th century progressed, colonists began to settle far from the Atlantic coast. Pennsylvania, Virginia, Connecticut, and Maryland all laid claim to the land in the Ohio River valley. The colonies engaged in a scramble to purchase land from Indian tribes, as the British insisted that claims to land should rest on legitimate purchases.[36] Virginia was particularly intent on western expansion, and most of the elite Virginia families invested in the Ohio Company to promote the settlement of the Ohio Country.[37]

Global trade and immigration

The British American colonies became part of the global British trading network, as the value tripled for exports from America to Britain between 1700 and 1754. The colonists were restricted in trading with other European powers, but they found profitable trade partners in the other British colonies, particularly in the Caribbean. The colonists traded foodstuffs, wood, tobacco, and various other resources for Asian tea, West Indian coffee, and West Indian sugar, among other items. American Indians far from the Atlantic coast supplied the Atlantic market with beaver fur and deerskins. America had an advantage in natural resources and established its own thriving shipbuilding industry, and many American merchants engaged in the transatlantic trade.[38]

Improved economic conditions and easing of religious persecution in Europe made it more difficult to recruit labor to the colonies, and many colonies became increasingly reliant on slave labor, particularly in the South. The population of slaves in America grew dramatically between 1680 and 1750, and the growth was driven by a mixture of forced immigration and the reproduction of slaves. Slaves supported vast plantation economies in the South, while slaves in the North worked in a variety of occupations.

There were a few local attempted slave revolts, such as the Stono Rebellion and the New York Conspiracy of 1741, but these uprisings were suppressed.[39]

While the colonies also attracted immigrants from other European countries, English migrants formed the majority of the settler population after 1700. Immigrants from the rest of Europe travelled to all of the colonies, but the Middle Colonies attracted the most and continued to be more ethnically diverse than the other colonies.[40] Numerous settlers immigrated from Ireland,[41] including some Catholics and many Protestants—particularly "New Light" Ulster Presbyterians.[42] Protestant Germans also immigrated in large numbers, particularly to Pennsylvania.[43] In the 1740s, the Thirteen Colonies underwent a religious revival known as the First Great Awakening.[44]

French and Indian War

Territorial changes following the French and Indian War; land held by the British before 1763 is shown in red and land gained by Britain in 1763 is shown in pink

In 1738, an incident involving a Welsh mariner named Robert Jenkins sparked the War of Jenkins' Ear between Britain and Spain. Hundreds of North Americans volunteered for Admiral Edward Vernon's assault on Cartagena de Indias, a Spanish city in South America.[45] The war against Spain merged into a broader conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession, but most colonists called it King George's War.[46] In 1745, British and colonial forces captured the town of Louisbourg, and the war came to an end with the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. However, many colonists were angered when Britain returned Louisbourg to France in return for Madras and other territories.[47] In the aftermath of the war, both the British and French sought to expand into the Ohio River valley.[48]

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) was the American extension of the general European conflict known as the Seven Years' War. Previous colonial wars in North America had started in Europe and then spread to the colonies, but the French and Indian War is notable for having started in North America and spread to Europe. One of the primary causes of the war was increasing competition between Britain and France, especially in the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley.[49]

The French and Indian War took on a new significance for the British North American colonists when William Pitt the Elder decided that major military resources needed to be devoted to North America to win the war against France. For the first time, the continent became one of the main theaters of what could be termed a world war. During the war, it became increasingly apparent to American colonists that they were under the authority of the British Empire, as British military and civilian officials took on an increased presence in their lives.

The war also increased a sense of American unity in other ways. It caused men to travel across the continent who might otherwise have never left their own colony, fighting alongside men from decidedly different backgrounds who were nonetheless still American. Throughout the course of the war, British officers trained Americans for battle, most notably George Washington, which benefited the American cause during the Revolution. Also, colonial legislatures and officials had to cooperate intensively in pursuit of the continent-wide military effort.[49] The relations were not always positive between the British military establishment and the colonists, setting the stage for later distrust and dislike of British troops.

At the 1754 Albany Congress, Pennsylvania colonist Benjamin Franklin proposed the Albany Plan which would have created a unified government of the Thirteen Colonies for coordination of defense and other matters, but the plan was rejected by the leaders of most colonies.[50]

In the Treaty of Paris (1763), France formally ceded to Britain the eastern part of its vast North American empire, having secretly given to Spain the territory of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River the previous year. Before the war, Britain held the thirteen American colonies, most of present-day Nova Scotia, and most of

the Hudson Bay watershed. Following the war, Britain gained all French territory east of the Mississippi River, including Quebec, the Great Lakes, and the Ohio River valley. Britain also gained Spanish Florida, from which it formed the colonies of East and West Florida. In removing a major foreign threat to the thirteen colonies, the war also largely removed the colonists' need for colonial protection.

The British and colonists triumphed jointly over a common foe. The colonists' loyalty to the mother country was stronger than ever before. However, disunity was beginning to form. British Prime Minister William Pitt the Elder had decided to wage the war in the colonies with the use of troops from the colonies and tax funds from Britain itself. This was a successful wartime strategy, but after the war was over, each side believed that it had borne a greater burden than the other. The British elite, the most heavily taxed of any in Europe, pointed out angrily that the colonists paid little to the royal coffers. The colonists replied that their sons had fought and died in a war that served European interests more than their own. This dispute was a link in the chain of events that soon brought about the American Revolution.[49]

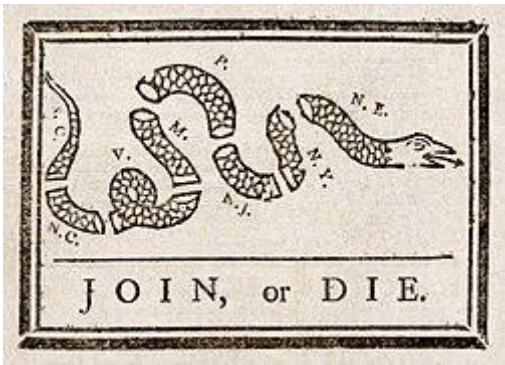
Growing dissent

A map of the Thirteen Colonies (in red) and nearby colonial areas (1763–1775) just before the Revolutionary War

The British were left with large debts following the French and Indian War, so British leaders decided to increase taxation and control of the Thirteen Colonies.[51] They imposed several new taxes, beginning with the Sugar Act 1764. Later acts included the Currency Act 1764, the Stamp Act 1765, and the Townshend Acts of 1767.[52] Colonial newspapers and printers in particular took strong exception against the Stamp Act which imposed a tax on newspapers and official documents, and played a central role in disseminating literature among the colonists against such taxes and the idea of taxation without colonial representation.[53]

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 restricted settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains, as this was designated an Indian Reserve.[54] Some groups of settlers disregarded the proclamation, however, and continued to move west and establish farms.[55] The proclamation was modified and was no longer a hindrance to settlement, but the fact angered the colonists that it had been promulgated without their prior consultation.[56]

American Revolution



Join, or Die **by Benjamin Franklin was recycled to encourage the former colonies to unite against British rule.**

Parliament had directly levied duties and excise taxes on the colonies, bypassing the colonial legislatures, and Americans began to insist on the principle of "no taxation without representation" with intense protests over the Stamp Act of 1765.[57] They argued that the colonies had no representation in the British Parliament, so it was a violation of their rights as Englishmen for taxes to be imposed upon them. Parliament rejected the colonial protests and asserted its authority by passing new taxes.

Colonial discontent grew with the passage of the 1773 Tea Act, which reduced taxes on tea sold by the East India Company in an effort to undercut the competition, and Prime Minister North's ministry hoped that this would establish a precedent of colonists accepting British taxation policies. Trouble escalated over the tea tax, as Americans in each colony boycotted the tea, and those in Boston dumped the tea in the harbor during the Boston Tea Party in 1773 when the Sons of Liberty dumped thousands of pounds of tea into the water. Tensions escalated in 1774 as Parliament passed the laws known as the Intolerable Acts, which greatly restricted self-government in the colony of Massachusetts. These laws also allowed British military commanders to claim colonial homes for the quartering of soldiers, regardless of whether the American

civilians were willing or not to have soldiers in their homes. The laws further revoked colonial rights to hold trials in cases involving soldiers or crown officials, forcing such trials to be held in England rather than in America. Parliament also sent Thomas Gage to serve as Governor of Massachusetts and as the commander of British forces in North America.[58]

By 1774, colonists still hoped to remain part of the British Empire, but discontentment was widespread concerning British rule throughout the Thirteen Colonies.[59] Colonists elected delegates to the First Continental Congress, which convened in Philadelphia in September 1774. In the aftermath of the Intolerable Acts, the delegates asserted that the colonies owed allegiance only to the king; they would accept royal governors as agents of the king, but they were no longer willing to recognize Parliament's right to pass legislation affecting the colonies. Most delegates opposed an attack on the British position in Boston, and the Continental Congress instead agreed to the imposition of a boycott known as the Continental Association. The boycott proved effective, and the value of British imports dropped dramatically.[60] The Thirteen Colonies became increasingly divided between Patriots opposed to British rule and Loyalists who supported it.[61]

Population of Thirteen Colonies

Population of the thirteen British colonies[d]

Year	Estimated Population
1610	350
1620	2,302
1630	4,246
1640	25,734

1650	49,368
1660	75,058
1670	111,935
1680	151,507
1690	210,372
1700	250,588
1710	331,711
1720	466,185
1730	629,445
1740	905,563
1750	1,170,760
1760	1,593,625
1770	2,148,076

The colonial population rose to a quarter of a million during the 17th century, and to nearly 2.5 million on the eve of the American Revolution. The estimates do not include the Indian tribes outside the jurisdiction of the colonies. Good health was important for the growth of the colonies: "Fewer deaths among the young meant that a higher proportion of the population reached reproductive age, and that fact alone helps to

explain why the colonies grew so rapidly."[69] There were many other reasons for the population growth besides good health, such as the Great Migration.[*dubious – discuss*]

By 1776, about 85% of the white population's ancestry originated in the British Isles (English, Scots-Irish, Scottish, Welsh), 9% of German origin, 4% Dutch, and 2% Huguenot French and other minorities. Over 90% were farmers, with several small cities that were also seaports linking the colonial economy to the larger British Empire. These populations continued to grow at a rapid rate during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, primarily because of high birth rates and relatively low death rates. Immigration was a minor factor from 1774 to 1830.[70]

According to the United States Historical Census Database (USHCDB), the ethnic populations in the British American Colonies of 1700, 1755, and 1775 were:

Ethnic composition in the British American Colonies of 1700, 1755, 1775					
1700	**Percent**	**1755**	**Percent**	**1775**	**Percent**
English and Welsh	80.0%	English and Welsh	52.0%	English	48.7%
African	11.0%	African	20.0%	African	20.0%
Dutch	4.0%	German	7.0%	Scots-Irish	7.8%
Scottish	3.0%	Scots-Irish	7.0%	German	6.9%
Other European	2.0%	Irish	5.0%	Scottish	6.6%
		Scottish	4.0%	Dutch	2.7%
		Dutch	3.0%	French	1.4%
		Other European	2.0%	Swedish	0.6%
				Other	5.3%
Colonies	**100%**	**Colonies**	100%	**Thirteen Colonies**	100%

Slavery

Chattel slavery was legal and practiced in all of the Thirteen Colonies.[74] In most places, it involved house servants or farm workers. It was of economic importance in the export-oriented tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland and on the rice and indigo plantations of South Carolina.[75] About 287,000 slaves were imported into the Thirteen Colonies over a period of 160 years, or 2% of the estimated 12 million taken from Africa to the Americas via the Atlantic slave trade. The great majority went to sugar colonies in the Caribbean and to Brazil, where life expectancy was short and the numbers had to be continually replenished. By the mid-18th century, life expectancy was much higher in the American colonies.[76]

Slaves imported into Colonial America

1620–1700	1701–1760	1761–1770	1771–1780	Total
21,000	189,000	63,000	15,000	**288,000**

The numbers grew rapidly through a very high birth rate and low mortality rate, reaching nearly four million by the 1860 census. From 1770 until 1860, the rate of natural growth of North American slaves was much greater than for the population of any nation in Europe, and was nearly twice as rapid as that in England.

The legal status of chattel slavery has been explained by William M. Wiecek:[78]

By the time of the Revolution, each of the mainland colonies had at least the rudiments of a statutory law of slavery...and nine of them had fairly elaborate slave codes that specified four basic legal characteristics of American slavery. First, the statutes defined slavery as a lifetime condition, distinguishing it from servitude and other forms of unfree status, which lasted only for a term of years. Second, slave status was made heritable through the mother. In so providing, the American colonies reversed the common-law rule that personal status followed the condition of the father.... The third fundamental statutory characteristic of American slavery was racial identification....The fourth and most troublesome of the elements of slavery for colonial legislators was the precise legal status of a slave as property.... southern jurisdictions ...settled on the legal definition of a slave as a "chattel personal."

Women

Women who were colonists were a minority of the population overall and their life varied depending on location and social status.[79] The exact composition of males and females is unknown as there was no central census among all the colonies that was undertaken prior to the Revolution but select colonies did undertake them.[80]

Unmarried women had the same level of rights as single men did. Single women could own property, enter contracts, file lawsuits or be subjected to them and make wills. Widowed and spinster (old unmarried women) had these abilities as well. When a woman got married under the common law system, she would need her husband's permission to make legal decisions.[81] Although women could not hold office they could legally vote in some states with the exception of South Carolina, Delaware and Pennsylvania but this was often not exercised. Another way women participated in the political process was through political organizations.[82]

Disease

The diseases that afflicted the early immigrant settlers were a dangerous threat to life. Some of the diseases were new, and treatments were ineffective. Malaria was deadly to many new arrivals, especially in the Southern colonies. Of newly arrived able-bodied young men, over one-fourth of the Anglican missionaries died within five years of their arrival in the Carolinas.[83] Mortality was high for infants and small children, especially for diphtheria, smallpox, yellow fever, and malaria. Most sick people turned to local healers and used folk remedies. Others relied upon the minister-physicians, barber-surgeons, apothecaries, midwives, and ministers; a few used colonial physicians trained either in Britain or through an apprenticeship in the colonies. One common treatment was blood letting. The method was crude due to a lack of knowledge about germs and infection among medical practitioners. There was little government control, regulation of medical care, or attention to public health. By the 18th century, Colonial physicians, following the models in England and Scotland, introduced modern medicine to the cities in the 18th century, and made some advances in vaccination, pathology, anatomy, and pharmacology.[84][85][86]

Religion

According to Patricia Bonomi, "early Americans in all sections lived not in a spiritual desert but in a world where religion formed a key component of their mental landscape."[87] Protestantism was the predominant religious affiliation in the Thirteen Colonies. There were also a few Catholics in Maryland, as well as Jews and deists; many colonists had no religious connection. The Church of England was officially established in most of the South. The Puritan movement divided into the Congregational and the Unitarian denominations, and was the established religious affiliation in Massachusetts and Connecticut into the 19th century.[88] In practice, this meant that tax revenues were allocated to church expenses. The Anglican parishes in the South were under the control of local vestries and had public functions such as the repair of the roads and the relief of the poor. After 1700, the vestry no longer dominated the minister.[89][90]

The colonies were religiously diverse, with different Protestant denominations brought by British, German, Dutch, and other immigrants. The Reformed tradition was the foundation for Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Continental Reformed denominations. French Huguenots set up their own Reformed congregations. The Dutch Reformed Church was strong among Dutch Americans in New York and New Jersey, while Lutheranism was prevalent among German immigrants. Germans also brought diverse forms of Anabaptism, especially the Mennonite variety. Reformed Baptist preacher Roger Williams founded Providence Plantations which became the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Jews were clustered in a few port cities. The Baltimore family founded Maryland and brought in fellow Catholics from England.[91] Catholics were about 1.6% of the population or 40,000 in 1775. Of the 200–250,000 Irish who came to the Colonies between 1701 and 1775, less than 20,000 were Catholic, many of whom hid their faith or lapsed because of prejudice and discrimination. Between 1770 and 1775 3,900 Irish Catholics arrived out of almost 45,000 white immigrants (7,000 English, 15,000 Scots, 13,200 Scots-Irish, 5,200 Germans).[92] Most Catholics were English Recusants, Germans, Irish, or blacks; half lived in Maryland, with large populations also in New York and Pennsylvania. Presbyterians were chiefly immigrants from Scotland and Ulster who favored the back-country and frontier districts.[93]

Quakers were well established in Pennsylvania, where they controlled the governorship and the legislature for many years.[94] Quakers were also numerous in Rhode Island. Baptists and Methodists were growing rapidly during the First Great Awakening of the 1740s.[95] Many denominations sponsored missions to the local Indians.[96]

Education

Map of higher education in the 13 Colonies immediately prior to the American Revolution.

Higher education was available for young men in the north, and most students were aspiring Protestant ministers.[*citation needed*] Nine institutions of higher education were chartered during the colonial era. These colleges, known collectively as the colonial colleges were New College (Harvard), the College of William & Mary, Yale College (Yale), the College of New Jersey (Princeton), King's College (Columbia), the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), the College of Rhode Island (Brown), Queen's College (Rutgers) and Dartmouth College. The College of William & Mary and Queen's College later became public institutions, while the other institutions account for seven of the eight private Ivy League universities.

Except for the College of William and Mary, these institutions were all located in New England and the Middle Colonies. The southern colonies held the belief that the family

had the responsibility of educating their children, mirroring the common belief in Europe. Wealthy families either used tutors and governesses from Britain or sent children to school in England. By the 1700s, university students based in the colonies began to act as tutors.[97]

Most New England towns sponsored public schools for boys, but public schooling was rare elsewhere. Girls were educated at home or by small local private schools, and they had no access to college. Aspiring physicians and lawyers typically learned as apprentices to an established practitioner, although some young men went to medical schools in Scotland.[98]

Government

Main article: Colonial government in the Thirteen Colonies

The three forms of colonial government in 1776 were provincial (royal colony), proprietary, and charter. These governments were all subordinate to the British monarch with no representation in the Parliament of Great Britain. The administration of all British colonies was overseen by the Board of Trade in London beginning late in the 17th century.

The provincial colony was governed by commissions created at the pleasure of the king. A governor and his council were appointed by the crown. The governor was invested with general executive powers and authorized to call a locally elected assembly. The governor's council would sit as an upper house when the assembly was in session, in addition to its role in advising the governor. Assemblies were made up of representatives elected by the freeholders and planters (landowners) of the province. The governor had the power of absolute veto and could prorogue (i.e., delay) and dissolve the assembly. The assembly's role was to make all local laws and ordinances, ensuring that they were not inconsistent with the laws of Britain. In practice, this did not always occur, since many of the provincial assemblies sought to expand their powers and limit those of the governor and crown. Laws could be examined by the British Privy Council or Board of Trade, which also held veto power over legislation. New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were crown colonies. Massachusetts became a crown colony at the end of the 17th century.

Proprietary colonies were governed much as royal colonies, except that lord proprietors appointed the governor rather than the king. They were set up after the English Restoration of 1660 and typically enjoyed greater civil and religious liberty. Pennsylvania (which included Delaware), New Jersey, and Maryland were proprietary colonies.[99]

Charter governments were political corporations created by letters patent, giving the grantees control of the land and the powers of legislative government. The charters provided a fundamental constitution and divided powers among legislative, executive, and judicial functions, with those powers being vested in officials. Massachusetts, Providence Plantation, Rhode Island, Warwick, and Connecticut were charter colonies. The Massachusetts charter was revoked in 1684 and was replaced by a provincial charter that was issued in 1691.[100] Providence Plantations merged with the settlements at Rhode Island and Warwick to form the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, which also became a charter colony in 1636.

British role

After 1680, the imperial government in London took an increasing interest in the affairs of the colonies, which were growing rapidly in population and wealth. In 1680, only Virginia was a royal colony; by 1720, half were under the control of royal governors. These governors were appointees closely tied to the government in London.

Historians before the 1880s emphasized American nationalism. However, scholarship after that time was heavily influenced by the "Imperial school" led by Herbert L. Osgood, George Louis Beer, Charles McLean Andrews, and Lawrence H. Gipson. This viewpoint dominated colonial historiography into the 1940s, and it emphasized and often praised the attention that London gave to all the colonies. In this view, there was never a threat (before the 1770s) that any colony would revolt or seek independence.[101]

Political culture

Settlers did not come to the American colonies with the intention of creating a democratic system; yet they quickly created a broad electorate. The 13 colonies had no hereditary aristocrats, as in Europe. There were no rich gentry who owned all the

farmland and rented it out to tenants, as in England and in the Dutch settlements in upstate New York. Instead, there was a political system of local control that was governed by men elected in fair elections. The colonies offered a broader base than Britain or indeed any other country. Any property owner could vote for members of the lower house of the legislature. Governors were appointed in London but colonists elected the governor in Connecticut and Rhode Island.[102] Women, children, indentured servants, and slaves were subsumed under the interest of the family head and did not have a vote or a voice. Indians and free blacks were politically outside the system and usually could not vote. Voters were required to hold an "interest" in society; as the South Carolina legislature said in 1716, "it is necessary and reasonable, that none but such persons will have an interest in the Province should be capable to elect members of the Commons House of Assembly".[103] The main legal criterion for having an "interest" was ownership of real estate. In Britain, 19 out of 20 men were controlled politically by their landlords. London insisted on this requirement for the colonies, telling governors to exclude from the ballot men who were not freeholders—that is, those who did not own land. However, in most places, good farmland was cheap and so widely owned that 50% to 80% of the men were eligible to vote.[104]

According to historian Donald Radcliffe:

The right to vote had always been extraordinarily widespread—at least among adult white males--even before the country gained its independence....Enfranchisement varied greatly by location. There certainly were communities, particularly newly settled communities where land was inexpensive, in which 70 or 80 percent of all white men were enfranchised. Yet there were also locales...where the percentages were far lower, closer to 40 or 50 percent....On the whole, the franchise was far more widespread than it was in England, yet as the revolution approached, the rate of property ownership was falling, and the proportion of adult white males who were eligible to vote was probably less than 60 percent.[105]

The colonial political culture emphasized deference, so that local notables were the men who ran and were chosen. But sometimes they competed with each other and had to appeal to the common man for votes. There were no political parties, and would-be legislators formed ad hoc coalitions of their families, friends, and neighbors.

Election day brought in all the men from the countryside to the county seat or town center to make merry, politick, shake hands with the grandees, meet old friends, and hear the speeches—all the while toasting, eating, treating, tippling, and gambling. They voted by shouting their choice to the clerk, as supporters cheered or booed. In Virginia candidate George Washington spent £39 for treats for his supporters. The candidates knew that they had to "swill the planters with bumbo" (rum). Elections were carnivals where all men were equal for one day and traditional restraints were relaxed.[106]

Voting was voluntary, and typically about half the men eligible to vote turned out on election day. Turnout was usually higher in Pennsylvania and New York, where long-standing factions based on ethnic and religious groups mobilized supporters at a higher rate. New York and Rhode Island developed long-lasting two-faction systems that held together for years at the colony level, but they did not reach into local affairs. The factions were based on the personalities of a few leaders and an array of family connections, and they had little basis in policy or ideology. Elsewhere, the political scene was in a constant whirl, based on personality rather than long-lived factions or serious disputes on issues.[102]

The colonies were independent of one another before 1774; indeed, all the colonies began as separate and unique settlements or plantations. Further, efforts had failed to form a colonial union through the Albany Congress of 1754 led by Benjamin Franklin. The thirteen all had well-established systems of self-government and elections based on the Rights of Englishmen which they were determined to protect from imperial interference.[107]

Economic policy

The British Empire at the time was operated under the mercantile system, where all trade was concentrated within the Empire, and trade with other empires was forbidden. The goal was to enrich Britain, its merchants, and its government. Whether the policy was good for the colonists was not an issue in London, but Americans became increasingly restive with mercantilist policies.[108]

Mercantilism meant that the government and the merchants became partners to increase political power and private wealth, to the exclusion of other empires. The government protected its merchants—and kept others out—by trade barriers, regulations, and subsidies to domestic industries to maximize exports from and minimize imports to the realm. The government had to fight smuggling, which became a favorite American technique in the 18th century to circumvent the restrictions on trading with the French, Spanish, or Dutch.[109] The tactic used by mercantilism was to run trade surpluses, so that gold and silver would pour into London. The government took its share through duties and taxes, with the remainder going to merchants in Britain. The government spent much of its revenue on a superb Royal Navy, which not only protected the British colonies but threatened the colonies of the other empires, and sometimes seized them. Thus, the British Navy captured New Amsterdam (New York) in 1664. The colonies were captive markets for British industry, and the goal was to enrich the mother country.[110] Colonial commodities were shipped on British ships to the mother country where Britain sold them to Europe reaping the benefits of the export trade. Finished goods were manufactured in Britain and sold in the colonies, or imported by Britain for retail to the colonies, profiting the mother country. Like other New World colonial empires, the British empire's commodity production was dependent on slave labor; as observed in 1720s Britain, "all this great increase in our treasure proceeds chiefly from the labour of negroes" in Britain's colonies.[111]

Britain implemented mercantilism by trying to block American trade with the French, Spanish, or Dutch empires using the Navigation Acts, which Americans avoided as often as they could. The royal officials responded to smuggling with open-ended search warrants (Writs of Assistance). In 1761, Boston lawyer James Otis argued that the writs violated the constitutional rights of the colonists. He lost the case, but John Adams later wrote, "Then and there the child Independence was born."[112]

However, the colonists took pains to argue that they did not oppose British regulation of their external trade; they only opposed legislation that affected them internally.

Transportation

Transportation was primarily done by water, although a road network did exist in the colonies. As transportation was often done by water, a sizable shipbuilding industry developed, especially in New England. Rivers were utilized for transportation purposes.[113]

Most roads existed along the Atlantic Coast and connected other cities. Some individual colonies built their own road networks. By 1764, a stagecoach route existed between Philadelphia and New York City, and by 1773, the stagecoach network extended to Providence and Boston.[113]

Other British colonies

Some of the British colonies in North America, c. 1750

1. Newfoundland
2. Nova Scotia
3. Thirteen Colonies
4. Bermuda
5. Bahamas
6. British Honduras
7. Jamaica
8. British Leeward Islands and Barbados

Besides the grouping that became known as the "thirteen colonies",[114] Britain in the late-18th century had another dozen colonial possessions in the New World surrounding the 13 colonies. The British West Indies, Newfoundland, the Province of Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Bermuda, and East and West Florida remained loyal to the British crown throughout the war

(although Spain reacquired Florida as the war was ending, and in 1821 sold it to the United States). Several of the other colonies evinced a certain degree of sympathy with the Patriot cause, but their geographical isolation and the dominance of British naval power precluded any effective participation.[115] The British crown had only recently acquired several of those lands, and many of the issues facing the Thirteen Colonies did not apply to them, especially in the case of Quebec and Florida.[116]

Historiography

The first British Empire centered on the Thirteen Colonies, which attracted large numbers of settlers from Britain. The "Imperial School" between the 1900s and 1930s took a favorable view of the benefits of empire, emphasizing its successful economic integration.[117] The Imperial School included such historians as Herbert L. Osgood, George Louis Beer, Charles M. Andrews, and Lawrence Gipson.[118]

The shock of Britain's defeat in 1783 caused a radical revision of British policies on colonialism, thereby producing what historians call the end of the First British Empire, even though Britain still controlled Canada and some islands in the West Indies.[119] Ashley Jackson writes:

The first British Empire was largely destroyed by the loss of the American colonies, followed by a "swing to the east" and the foundation of a second British Empire based on commercial and territorial expansion in South Asia.[120]

Much of the historiography concerns the reasons why the Americans rebelled in the 1770s and successfully broke away. Since the 1960s, the mainstream of historiography has emphasized the growth of American consciousness and nationalism and the colonial republican value-system, in opposition to the aristocratic viewpoint of British leaders.[121]

Historians in recent decades have mostly used one of three approaches to analyze the American Revolution:[122]

- The Atlantic history view places North American events in a broader context, including the French Revolution and Haitian Revolution. It tends to

integrate the historiographies of the American Revolution and the British Empire.[123][124]

- The new social history approach looks at community social structure to find issues that became magnified into colonial cleavages.
- The ideological approach centers on republicanism in the Thirteen Colonies.[125] The ideas of republicanism dictated that the United States would have no royalty or aristocracy or national church. They did permit continuation of the British common law, which American lawyers and jurists understood, approved of, and used in their everyday practice. Historians have examined how the rising American legal profession adapted the British common law to incorporate republicanism by selective revision of legal customs and by introducing more choice for courts.[126][127]

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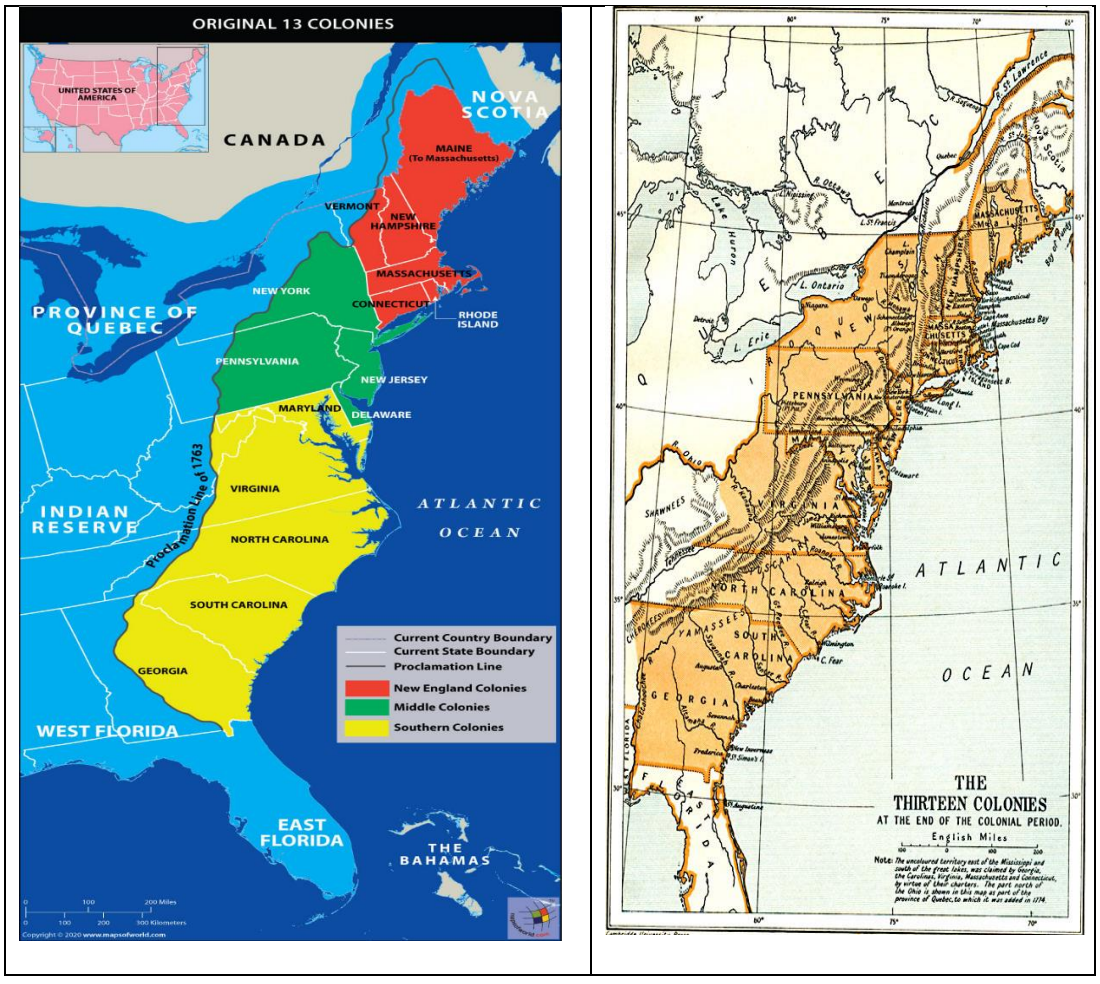

Boston Tea Party

https://www.masshist.org/revolution/teaparty.php

Introduction

In April 1770, Parliament rescinded the Townshend duties on four of the five commodities that had been taxed; the duty on tea remained in force. Outraged patriots sought to shore up sagging efforts to boycott tea by appealing to merchants (nonimportation) and the citizenry (nonconsumption). But people loved their tea, and their resolve weakened.

In the spring of 1773, the East India Company had a large amount of surplus tea on hand. To aid the failing company, thwart the smuggling of Dutch tea, and reassert its authority to levy taxes on the colonies, Parliament authorized the Tea Act on 10 May 1773. Tea sold in America would carry no duty for the East India Company; instead, the tea would be taxed at the point of entry in colonial ports. Consignees, or special agents, were appointed in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and Charleston to receive and sell the tea.

In the fall of 1773, as newspapers publish the particulars of the East India Company plan, colonists learn that the tea is coming. Protests soon circulate. Writing out of Philadelphia, "Scaevola" rebukes the tea agents, calling them political bombadiers. Refusing a summons to resign their commissions, Boston's tea agents counter that they are the true sons of liberty. Demonstrating its decided disagreement, a patriot mob storms Richard Clarke's King Street shop on 3 November.

Boston's consignees petition the governor to safeguard the tea once it arrives, but with British forces confined to Castle William since the unfortunate events of the Boston Massacre, Hutchinson is powerless to oblige. The streets belong to the opposition.

On Sunday, 28 November, the *Dartmouth*, carrying 114 chests of tea, arrives in Boston Harbor. A meeting, open to all Bostonians and anyone from neighboring towns who chooses to attend (a group identified as the Body), is called at Faneuil Hall. When the crowd swells, it adjourns to Old South Meeting House. The Body speaks, demanding that the tea be returned, and the assembly appoints a watch of 25 men to guard Griffin's Wharf.

From Philadelphia and New York, news arrives that anyone attempting to land the tea in those ports should beware an unwelcome visit. By 2 December, consignees have resigned in three port towns, and the taunt goes forth: Will you shrink at Boston?

By 15 December, the *Eleanor* and the *Beaver*, also both laden with tea, arrive at Griffin's Wharf. The law is clear: if the duty on the *Dartmouth*'s tea is not paid by 17 December, the customs officer is authorized to seize the ship and its cargo. The governor, the ships' owners, and the tea consignees all refuse to return the tea to England. Voting at a 16 December meeting at Old South, the Body resolves to prevent the East India tea from being landed, stored, sold, or consumed. At the conclusion of the meeting, the crowd streams out onto the street, chasing 30 to 60 men dressed as Indians down to Griffin's Wharf. In what John Adams calls an intrepid "exertion of popular power," the men proceed to dump 342 chests of tea into the sea.

Governor Hutchinson is incensed, calling the dumping of the tea high treason. Energized by their victory, boisterous patriots urge Bostonians, "keep up your courage." When news of the event arrives there, New York celebrates Boston's Indians, as does Philadelphia. Boston, once suspect, is now praised for its steadfast opposition to tyrannical English policies.

Not all, however, applaud the Destruction of the Tea (later designated the Boston Tea Party). At the end of January, the town of Marshfield urges good and loyal subjects to speak up against the Bostonians' unlawful act. Still, in March, Indians are found destroying the tea—again. And in April, another episode raises questions whether the perpetrators are good Indians or bad Indians.

In February, the tea ship captains arrive in England and are summoned to testify before the Privy Council; since they are not able to identify individuals responsible for the destruction of the tea, the government decides to punish the entire town of Boston. Until the East India Company is reimbursed for its loss, the port of Boston will be closed.

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BOSTON TEA PARTY TIMELINE

Boston National Historical Park, Minute Man National Historical Park

The Destruction of the Tea
N. Currier. Destruction of tea at Boston Harbor. , 1846. [New York: N. Currier] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/91795889/.

Tensions Before 1773:

The Colonial period in Northeastern America was filled with intense conflict both internally and abroad. At the conclusion of the Seven Years War in 1764, the territorial claims of the British Empire nearly doubled in size and brought additional problems to American shores. For the people of Massachusetts, the perception of unfair treatment by officials strained their relationship with the British Government. In 1768 a series of unpopular political acts brought about debate over Parliament's legislative authority in Colonial America and produced widespread protest involving a diverse demographic of American peoples. These protests provided a unique opportunity for many peoples typically barred from

participation in governance to question how their society worked.

In 1770, the Boston massacre ignited intense scrutiny of the British Regular Army on American shores. Although British Parliament removed government soldiers from Boston and walked back many of their unpopular actions, in 1773 they granted the struggling East India Company a monopoly on tea sales in North America. The Tea Act made East India Tea cheaper than smuggled Dutch tea, increase sales and helped the government collect a tax on the tea. For many Americans, the idea of a failing corporation receiving a bailout from a government that did not grant colonists any say in the matter represented yet another overstep by British Parliament.

In November 1773, a crisis ensued as East India Company ships, carrying the taxed tea, arrived in colonial ports. In New York and Philadelphia, the ships were turned away; while in Charleston SC, the tea was left to rot on the wharf. In Boston, incensed locals refused the tea being unloaded while Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson refused the ships to leave. A tense standoff and public debate ensued but no compromise was reached. On the night of December 16, 1773, dozens of disguised men, some as Indigenous Americans, boarded the three East India Company ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into Boston Harbor.

TEA PARTY TIMELINE

C.J. De Lacy, A trading brig drifting into a Continental harbour, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Charles_John_De_Lacy_-_A_trading_brig_drifting_into_a_Continental_harbour.jpg

November 28, 1773
The *Dartmouth* arrives in Boston Harbor

A harbinger of crisis and tension, The Dartmouth, an East India merchant vessel carrying 114 chests of tea has anchored off Castle William. It is the first of four such ships scheduled to arrive in Boston Harbor over the next few weeks. The ship's arrival is a result of the Tea Act passed by Parliament in May, 1773 allowing the United East India Company to import and sell tea to the North American colonies duty-free, thereby undercutting prices and creating a monopoly on the trade. The act also restricts the selling of tea to hand-picked company merchants known as "consignees." The idea of a failing corporation receiving a bailout from a government that does not grant colonists any say in the matter does not sit well with many Bostonians. The law

requires the tea to be unloaded within twenty days of its arrival but resistance is quickly growing.

November 29, 1773

Morning: The Body Speaks

Bostonians are gathering at Faneuil Hall in droves to form an assembled "Body of the People." They intend to discuss action against the importation of East India Company tea. People from all levels of society are in attendance and the number appears to be growing by the moment. This meeting, organized by the Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Sons of Liberty, is very different from a regular town meeting. Indeed, it represents something new in Boston town politics. Usually, only white men with property are allowed to attend and vote in a town meeting. In this meeting of the "Body of the People" wealthy men with property stand and speak beside artisans, tradesmen and laborers – people who usually need to express their political interests "out of doors" through other means. Questions about who deserves a representative voice in government underlays the crisis from all perspectives.

Evening: The Old South Meeting House

So many people arrived at Faneuil Hall this morning that the meeting moved to Old South Meeting House, a larger hall that could accommodate the size of the crowd. Once in session, the body quickly resolved to send the tea back to England without an import duty being paid upon it. The owner of the Dartmouth, Francis Rotch, protested this, believing such an act would result in his ruin. The body suspects that the consignees may attempt to unload the tea from the Dartmouth secretly and have appointed a night watch of 25 men to stand guard over the ship and ensure that no

tea is brought ashore. The people have made their demands clear. Now they must wait for the tea consignees to respond.

November 30, 1773: The Second Meeting

This morning the "Body of the People" reconvenes at Old South for an eventful second meeting. First, the proposal of the tea consignees, or East India Company tea merchants, is read aloud. They recognize the will of the people to send the tea back to England, but admit they have no authority to do so, and instead request that the tea be stored until they receive further instruction on the matter.

A public declaration from Governor Thomas Hutchinson has also arrived and is read to the body, ordering them to disperse and "cease all further unlawful proceedings at your utmost peril." The statement is met with "a loud and very general hiss."

In response to Hutchinson, the body motions to prevent the future importation of tea at all costs, and deem anyone who continues to do so an enemy to their country. Additionally, the Boston Committee of Correspondence is put on high alert, ready to spread the news of further developments at the shortest notice.

The body of the people have taken the legal steps to prevent the landing of the tea - democratically assembling and voting on common resolutions - yet the Governor has condemned their meeting as an unlawful proceeding. Will this attempt to silence the people end the discord, or will it spur an even stronger response?

December 8, 1773: Governor Hutchinson Responds

In the past week, two additional ships, the Eleanor and the Beaver have arrived carrying tea. While the Eleanor immediately docked at Griffin's Wharf alongside the Dartmouth, the Beaver is quarantined offshore for a week due to a smallpox outbreak. As the crisis grows, Governor Hutchinson hopes to restore order. His first response to the "Body of the People's" proceedings had been to invoke his civil authority and order them to disperse. However, he now elects to invoke his military authority, and orders the Royal Navy to fire upon the Dartmouth if it attempts to leave Boston Harbor without a clearance. He also instructs the commander of Castle William, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Leslie, to load the fort's cannons. With the threat of violence now in play, will people cease their efforts once and for all, or will it only embolden them?

December 13, 1775: The Lexington Tea Burning

The people of Lexington stand in solidarity with their countrymen. Following a fiery declaration of support from Minister Jonas Clarke, citizens of Lexington are burning the town's entire supply of tea in a bonfire on the town common. Though they have not destroyed East India Company tea, they have demonstrated other means of handling the crisis. Is destruction of government property really the next step, or can the people still reach an agreement?

December 14, 1773: The Deadline Approaches

As the twenty-day window to unload the tea begins to close, tensions continue to grow. If the cargo of tea is not unloaded, it will be seized by royal authorities, and the people of Boston will be forced to pay the duty on it.

To make matters worse, the Beaver is set to come out of its week-long quarantine tomorrow and dock alongside the other two ships at Griffin's Wharf. Once again, the "Body of the People" is called upon to gather in Old South Meeting House [tag]. Though the Sons of Liberty had been holding small, secretive meetings over the past two weeks, this is the first time since November 30th that the entire body has met. While some voices remained unheard, it is an opportunity for others to participate in a democratic process that they are normally barred from. The people are voting to have Francis Rotch apply for a clearance from the Customs Office to allow his ship to return to England with the tea onboard. Though time is running out, the Body of the People remain committed to crafting a legitimate, legal refusal of the tea. With so many voices united together in a democratic process, will the people finally be heard?

December 16, 1773: The Decisive Day

10:00 a.m.

Nearly 5,000 people, a third of Boston's entire population, crowd into Old South this morning. It is the final day before the deadline to unload the tea from the Dartmouth, and tensions have reached a breaking point. Dartmouth owner Francis Rotch has been denied a clearance from the Customs Office to send the tea back to England, and has now been instructed to request permission directly from Governor Hutchinson. Rotch must make the ten-mile trek to Hutchinson's country estate in Milton to meet with him. Unless he can secure a clearance, it seems inevitable that customs officials and army personnel will board the Dartmouth and unload the tea, forcing the duty to be paid on it.

While Rotch makes his way to Milton, the people discuss measures taken by surrounding towns to prevent the consumption of tea. Lexington's destruction of tea three days earlier had set a precedent for a more direct form of protest. Though Boston still seeks a legal resolution to the crisis, destructive means have now been brought to the table. The meeting adjourns until 3:00 as the people anxiously await Rotch's return.

3:00 p.m.

As the body reconvenes, people from towns surrounding Boston weigh in and resolve to form committees of inspection to prevent the importation of the "detested tea" in any town within the province. Though the body has no true authority over local town meetings, this decision has nonetheless catapulted all of Massachusetts into the crisis, and every community is now subject to the will of these committees. With this in mind, the people truly hope that their own democratic processes will prevail over what they believe to be unjust. The meeting begins to grow restless, and by 4:00, Francis Rotch has yet to return.

5:45 p.m.

After his twenty-mile round trip through the freezing December rain, Francis Rotch finally returns with unfortunate news from Governor Hutchinson. Rotch conveys that Hutchinson "was willing to grant anything consistent with the laws and his duty to the King, but that he could not give a pass unless the vessel was promptly qualified from the Customs House." The Governor has made himself clear for the final time that the tea must be unloaded. Recognizing that Francis Rotch can do little more and that the matter is out of his hands, he is excused. The realization sets in that despite the

organized efforts, the people have failed in their aim. Order begins to break down as some people make their way to the exits. While body leadership attempts to restore order, the mob outside of Old South has other plans.

6:00 p.m: "Salt water and tea will mix tonight!"

For nineteen days since the arrival of the Dartmouth in Boston Harbor, the people of Boston have tried every possible way to absolve their city from the grasp of the Tea Act. However, upon hearing Governor Hutchinson's refusal to send the tea ships back to England, some members of the Sons of Liberty spring into action. They have been secretly meeting for two weeks, thoroughly planning various contingencies should the Body of the People fail in their efforts to legally resolve the tea crisis. Now, there seems to be only one option remaining. Shouts of "Boston Harbor, a teapot tonight!" fill the air as the mob outside Old South makes its way to Griffin's Wharf. Of the mob, about 150 men have donned Mohawk motifs as a symbol for their cause, also concealing their identities with cloaks and soot for their faces. Once they reach their destination at the end of Pearl Street, there can be no turning back.

6:10 p.m: "Boston Harbor, a teapot tonight!"

After the 10-minute walk, the 150 men split into three groups and board each of the tea ships docked at Griffin's Wharf, meeting no resistance from the ships' crews. Thousands have gathered to watch the spectacle unfold.

"We boarded the ship moored by the wharf, and ordered the captain and crew to open the hatchways, and hand us the hoisting tackle and rope, assuring them that no harm was intended them. Some of our numbers then jumped into the hold, and passed the chests to the tackle. As they were hauled on deck others knocked them open with

axes, and others raised them to the railings and discharged their contents overboard. All who were not needed on this ship went on board the others where the same ceremonies were repeated." ~ Joshua Wyeth

The affair is meticulously planned and executed, as the boarding parties ensure that only tea is targeted. To emphasize the point of protest great care is being taken to avoid unnecessary vandalism. A single lock has been accidentally broken during the action and will be replaced within a few days by the Sons of Liberty.

9:00 p.m: "The Stillest night Ensued"

After three hours of hard work, the boarding parties succeed in destroying all 342 chests of East India Company Tea aboard the three ships. As they conclude their work, they quietly return to their homes and await an uncertain future. Tea Party participant George Robert Twelves Hewes reflects on the solemnity of the night as the weight of the mens' actions finally sets in:

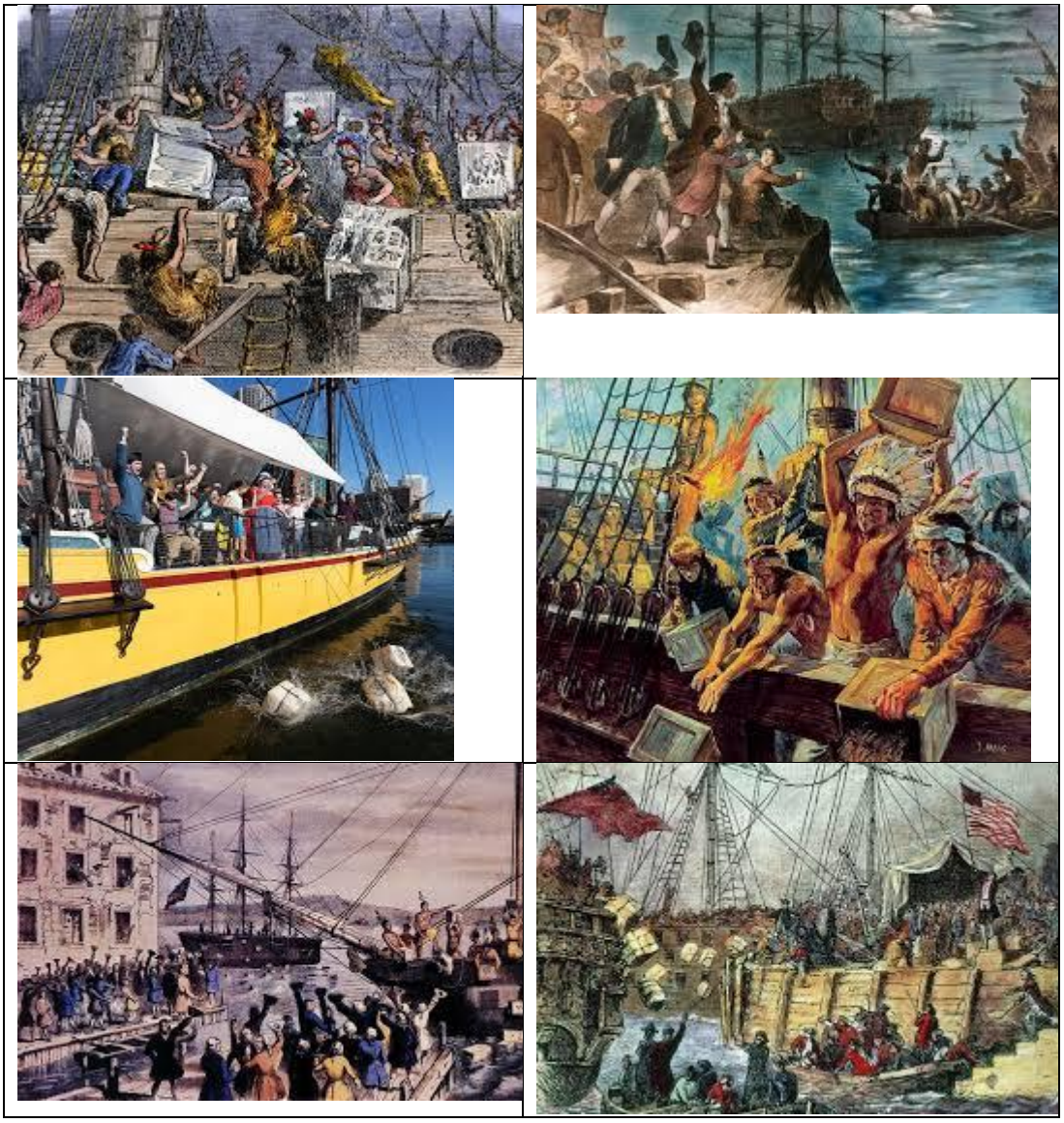
"We… quietly retired to our several places of residence, without having any conversation with each other, or taking any measures to discover who were our associates… There appeared to be an understanding that each individual should volunteer his services, keep his own secret, and risk the consequence for himself. No disorder took place during that transaction, and it was observed at that time that the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for many months."

Surely there will be consequences, but what will they entail?

December 17, 1773: Aftermath and New Beginnings

Following the destruction of the tea, the Boston Committee of Correspondence reached out to towns in the Massachusetts countryside asking for their opinions of the Tea Act and whether they supported Boston's efforts to resist. Sentiments over the destruction of the tea were torn in the countryside. For some, the destruction of the tea represented a necessary measure to protest the injustices levied by Parliament. To others, the destruction of the tea represented an illegal proceeding that threatened to affect the liberties of law-abiding subjects across New England.

A town meeting scheduled in Concord on January 10, 1774 will broach the subject with an uneasy population.



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Boston Tea Party

The Boston Tea Party
The Defiance That Sparked the American Revolution
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BOSTON TEA PARTY, 1773

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250 YEARS FROM NOW THE KING WILL LOOK BACK ON THIS AND LAUGH.
TEA
TEA
BOSTON

BOSTON TEA PARTY

American Revolution

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Revolution

American Revolution	
Part of the Atlantic Revolutions	
The Continental Union Flag (1775–1777)	
The Committee of Five presenting its draft of the Declaration of Independence to the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia on June 28, 1776, depicted in John Trumbull's 1818 portrait, *Declaration of Independence*	
Date	1765 to 1783
Location	• Thirteen Colonies (1765–1775) United Colonies (1775–1776) United States (1776–ca.1800)

Outcome	• Independence of the United States of America from Great Britain • Dissolution of British America, formation of British North America and Spanish Florida • End of the First British Empire • Beginning of the Age of Revolution • World's first federal republic founded on the consent of the governed • First permanently successful overthrow of monarchical colonial rule

Part of a series on the

American Revolution

The Committee of Five presents their draft of the Declaration of Independence to the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

- **Timeline**
- **Military leaders**
- **Political and civil leaders**
- **Battles**

The **American Revolution** (1765–1789) was a political movement in the Thirteen Colonies of Great Britain. The movement began as a rebellion and evolved into a revolution resulting in the sovereign United States. These changes were the outcome of the associated American Revolutionary War. The Second Continental Congress, as the provisional government, established the Continental Army and appointed George Washington as its commander-in-chief in 1775. The following year, the Congress passed the Lee Resolution on July 2nd, then unanimously adopted the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July. Throughout most of the war, the outcome appeared uncertain. However, in 1781, a decisive victory by Washington and the Continental Army in the Siege of Yorktown led King George III and the Fox–North coalition in government to negotiate the cessation of colonial rule and the acknowledgment of American sovereignty, formalized in the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The Constitution took effect in 1789 and the Bill of Rights was ratified in 1791.

Discontent with colonial rule began shortly after the French and Indian War ended in 1763. Even though the colonies had fought in and supported the war directly with troops, funds and material, the British Parliament imposed new taxes to ostensibly compensate for wartime costs, and transferred control of the colonies' western lands to British officials in Montreal. Representatives from several colonies convened in New York City for the Stamp Act Congress in 1765; its "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" argued that this taxation without representation in Parliament and other policies violated their rights as Englishmen. In 1767, though the Stamp Act was repealed, tensions flared again following Parliament's passage of the Townshend Acts. In an effort to quell the mounting rebellion, King George III deployed British troops to the colony of Massachusetts, where they killed antagonists in the 1770 Boston Massacre. In December 1773, the local faction of the colonies-wide Sons of Liberty underground orchestrated the Boston Tea Party, during which they dumped chests of taxed tea owned by the British East India Company into Boston Harbor. Parliament responded by enacting a series of punitive laws, intended to end self-government in Massachusetts, but instead increased American support for the revolutionary cause.

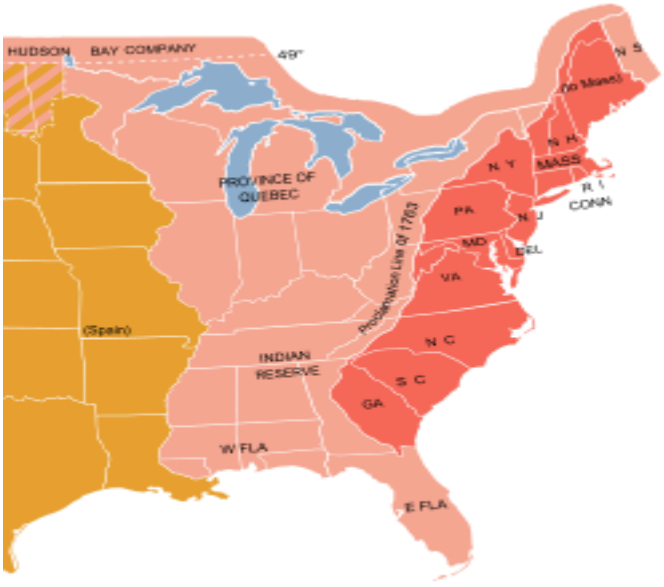
In 1774, twelve of the Thirteen Colonies sent delegates to the First Continental Congress; the Province of Georgia joined in 1775. The First Continental Congress began coordinating Patriot resistance through underground networks of committees largely built on the foundations of the Sons of Liberty network. In August 1775, King George III proclaimed Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion. The British attempted to disarm the colonists, resulting in the Battles of Lexington and Concord, sparking the Revolutionary War. The Second Continental Congress convened in May of 1775 and created the Continental Army, which then surrounded Boston, forcing the British to withdraw by sea in March 1776 and leaving Patriots in control in every colony. In May 1776, Congress voted to suppress all forms of Crown authority, to be replaced by locally created authority, and each colony created a state constitution. On July 2, the Congress passed the Lee Resolution, affirming their support for joint independence. On July 4, 1776 they unanimously adopted the Declaration of Independence, famously proclaiming that "all men are created equal", having then evolved from a rebellion over British rights to a revolution based on universal rights. The Congress soon after began deliberating the Articles of Confederation, an effort to establish a multi-state self-governing coordinating body capable of negotiating international treaties and prosecuting the war.

The Revolutionary War continued for another five years during which France ultimately entered, supporting the revolutionary cause. On September 28, 1781, Washington commanded the Continental Army's capture of a British army under General Cornwallis at the Siege of Yorktown, leading to the collapse of King George's control of Parliament. Consensus in Parliament soon shifted to the war ending on American terms. On September 3, 1783, the British signed the Treaty of Paris, recognizing the sovereign independence of the United States, and ceding to the new nation nearly all the territory east of the Mississippi River and south of the Great Lakes. The United States became the first nation to establish a federal republic with a written constitution based on the principles of universal natural rights, consent of the governed, and equality under the law, albeit with significant democratic limitations compared to later evolution of the concept.

Origins

After the Glorious Revolution in Great Britain, it unofficially adopted a policy of "salutary neglect," whereby the Thirteen Colonies were largely left to govern themselves.[1] As a result of this new policy, as well as the ideals of liberty which had been borne out of the Glorious Revolution, there emerged new government systems (as exemplified by William Penn's Frame of Government of Pennsylvania and the Massachusetts Charter of 1691); religious institutions (as exemplified by the democratic nature of Congregational Protestantism in New England and the First Great Awakening across the colonies); and occasionally, attitudes towards slavery (as exemplified by Massachusetts and, at least initially, Georgia banning the practice), although the latter of these three was less common. This British policy reverted significantly after the French and Indian War. The British political establishment, especially after taking massive swaths of land from the former territories of New France, pursued a policy of greater control over colonial affairs, prompting the Thirteen Colonies to seek restoration of greater autonomy from Britain.[2] After the American Revolution one Patriot, Capt. Levi Preston of Danvers, Massachusetts, who was asked why the Americans rebelled against England, responded: "...we always had governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean we should."[3]

1651–1763: Evolution of colonial policy



A 1775 map of Eastern North America, including the Province of Quebec, the Thirteen Colonies on the Atlantic Coast, and the Indian Reserve as defined by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The border between the red and pink areas represents the 1763 Proclamation line, and the orange area represents Spanish colonial claims.

The Thirteen Colonies were established in the 17th century as part of the English Empire and became parts of the British Empire after the union of England and Scotland in 1707.[4]

The development of a unique American identity can be traced to the English Civil War (1642–1651) and its aftermath. In that period the Puritan colonies of New England supported the Commonwealth government responsible for the execution of King Charles I. After the Stuart Restoration of 1660, Massachusetts did not recognize Charles II as the legitimate king for more than a year after his coronation.[5] In King Philip's War (1675–1678), the New England colonies fought a coalition of a few Native American tribes without military assistance from England, thereby contributing to the development of a uniquely American identity separate from that of the British people.[6]

In the 1680s, Charles and his brother, James II, attempted to bring New England under direct English control.[7] The colonists fiercely opposed this, and the Crown nullified their colonial charters in response.[8] In 1686, James finalized these efforts by consolidating the separate New England colonies along with New York and New Jersey into the Dominion of New England. Edmund Andros was appointed royal governor and tasked with governing the new Dominion under his direct rule. Colonial assemblies and town meetings were restricted, new local taxes were levied, and rights were abridged. Dominion rule triggered bitter resentment throughout New England.[9] When James tried to rule without Parliament, the English aristocracy removed him from power in the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[10] This was followed by the 1689 Boston revolt, which overthrew Dominion rule.[11][12] Colonial governments reasserted their control after the revolt. The new monarchs, William and Mary, granted new charters to the individual New England colonies.[13][14]

After the Glorious Revolution, the British Empire became a constitutional monarchy with sovereignty in the King-in-Parliament. Aristocrats inherited seats in the House of Lords, while the gentry and merchants controlled the elected House of Commons. The king ruled through cabinet ministers who depended on majority support in the Commons to govern effectively. British subjects on both sides of the Atlantic proudly claimed that the unwritten British constitution, with its guarantees of the rights of Englishmen, protected personal liberty better than any other government.[15]

The British constitution served as the model for colonial governments. The Crown appointed a royal governor in each colony to exercise executive power, usually also appointing a Governor's Council largely to act as an unelected upper chamber of the legislature.[16] Property owners elected a colonial assembly amongst themselves with powers to legislate and levy taxes, but the British government reserved the right to veto colonial legislation.[17]

The British government lacked the resources and information necessary for close supervision of the colonies. Instead, British officials negotiated and compromised with colonial leaders to gain compliance with imperial policies. The colonies defended themselves with provincial troops and colonial militias of locals, and the British government rarely sent military forces to America before 1755.[18] According to historian Robert Middlekauff, "Americans had become almost completely self-governing" before the American Revolution, a practice that was consistent with the British monarchy's practice of salutary neglect.[1]

Mercantilism

With little industry except shipbuilding, the colonies exported agricultural products in return for manufactured goods. They also imported molasses, rum, and sugar from the British West Indies. In 1651, Parliament passed the first in a series of Navigation Acts, which restricted colonial trade with foreign countries.[19] The British government pursued this policy of mercantilism in order to grow its economic and political power. According to mercantilism, the colonies existed for the mother country's economic benefit, and the colonists' economic needs were largely inconsequential.[20] The

Thirteen Colonies could trade with the rest of the empire but only ship certain commodities like tobacco to Britain. Any European imports bound for British America had to first pass through an English port and pay customs duties.[21] Other laws regulated the developing colonial industries to prevent competition with industries in Britain, such as the Wool Act 1698, the Hat Act 1731, and the Iron Act 1750.[22][23]

Colonial reactions to these policies were mixed. The Molasses Act 1733, for example, placed a duty of six pence per gallon upon foreign molasses imported into the colonies. This act was particularly egregious to the New England colonists, who protested it as unconstitutional taxation without representation in the British parliament. The act increased the smuggling of foreign molasses, and the British government ceased enforcement efforts after the 1740s.[24]

On the other hand, certain merchants and local industries benefited from the restrictions on foreign competition. The limits on foreign-built ships greatly benefited the colonial shipbuilding industry, particularly in New England.[25] Some argue that the economic impact was minimal on the colonists,[26][27] but the political friction that the acts triggered was more serious, as the merchants most directly affected were also the most politically active.[28]

British military presence after 1754

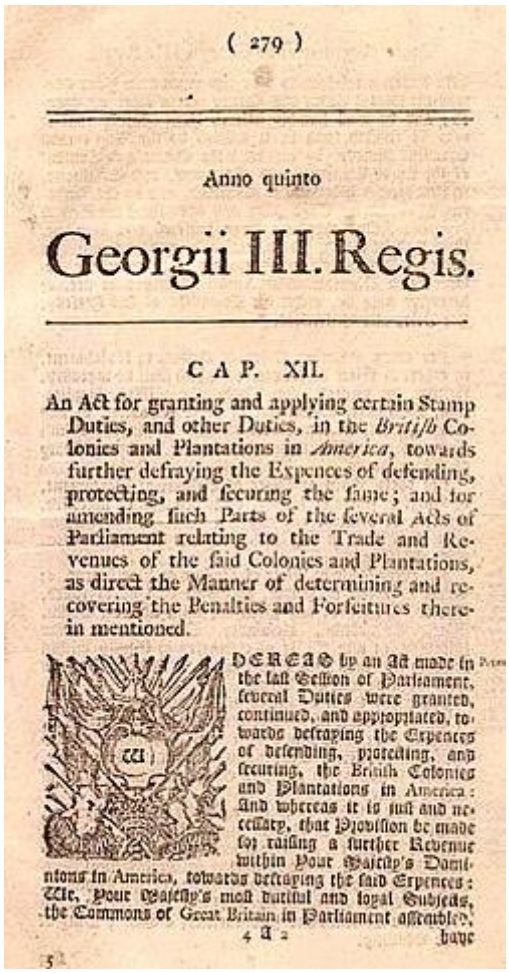
During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British government fielded 45,000 soldiers, half British Regulars and half colonial volunteers. The colonies also contributed funds and materiel to the war effort; though, two-fifths of this spending was reimbursed by the British government. Great Britain defeated France and acquired that nation's territory east of the Mississippi River.[29]

In order to allow approximately 1,500 politically well-connected British Army officers to remain on active duty in America with full pay after the war, the Bute ministry decided in early 1763 to permanently garrison 10,000 soldiers in North America.[30][31] Due to long-established English resistance to a standing army, stationing these officers in Great Britain during peacetime was a politically unacceptable alternative.[32] The excuse made for a standing army in America was

defense against French troops stationed in the West Indies,[33] and foreign populations in newly acquired territories (the French in Canada and the Spanish in Florida). In addition, British soldiers were supposed to help collect customs duties and prevent colonists from instigating conflict with Native Americans.[34]

Instead, increased British migration beyond the Appalachian Mountains and Native American anger over the policies of General Jeffery Amherst caused Pontiac's War (1763–1766).[35] In response, the Grenville ministry issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763, designating the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River an Indian Reserve closed to colonial settlement. The Proclamation angered settlers, fur traders, and land speculators; however, it failed to stop westward migration.[36]

1764–1766: Sugar Act and Stamp Act Crisis leads to organized resistance



(279)

Anno quinto

Georgii III. Regis.

CAP. XII.

An Act for granting and applying certain Stamp Duties, and other Duties, in the *British* Colonies and Plantations in *America*, towards further defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same; and for amending such Parts of the several Acts of Parliament relating to the Trade and Revenues of the said Colonies and Plantations, as direct the Manner of determining and recovering the Penalties and Forfeitures therein mentioned.

WHEREAS by an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, several Duties were granted, continued, and appropriated, towards defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the British Colonies and Plantations in America: And whereas it is just and necessary, that Provision be made for raising a further Revenue within Your Majesty's Dominions in America, towards defraying the said Expences: We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, have

4 A 2

Notice of the Stamp Act 1765 in a colonial newspaper

According to historian Middlekauff, "the need for money played a part in every important decision made by Prime Minister George Grenville regarding the colonies—and for that matter by the ministries that followed up to 1776."[37] The national debt had grown to £133 million with annual debt payments of £5 million (out of an £8 million annual budget). Stationing troops in North America on a permanent basis would cost another £360,000 a year. On a per capita basis, Grenville claimed Americans paid 1 shilling in taxes directly to the empire (not including local taxes) compared to 26 shillings paid by the English.[31] The enslaved, a near majority of the population in some colonies, did not pay any taxes and therefore skewed this comparison.

On March 9, 1764, Grenville proposed the Sugar Act, which was enacted by Parliament in April. It lowered the duty on foreign molasses from 6 pence to 3 pence per gallon. The Treasury believed it would generate £78,000. To ensure this money could be collected, the act strengthened efforts against smuggling. Customs officials could choose whether to prosecute violators in colonial courts or vice admiralty courts. Unlike colonial courts where there was a presumption of innocence and cases were decided by local juries who frequently acquitted accused smugglers, vice admiralty courts operated on a presumption of guilt and cases were decided by Crown-appointed judges. On the same day he introduced the Sugar Act in Parliament, Grenville stated it might be necessary to levy stamp duties on the colonies to raise additional revenue, but he delayed action to give the colonies time to propose another way to raise the revenue.[38]

Parliament passed the Stamp Act in March 1765, which imposed direct taxes on the colonies for the first time. All official documents, newspapers, almanacs, and pamphlets were required to have the stamps—even decks of playing cards. The colonists did not object that the taxes were high; they were actually low.[a][39] They objected to their lack of representation in the Parliament, which gave them no voice concerning legislation that affected them, such as the tax, thereby violating the unwritten English constitution. This grievance was overly simplified with the slogan "No taxation without representation". Shortly following adoption of the Stamp Act, factions of the Sons of Liberty formed in each colony, and began using public demonstrations, boycotts, and threats of violence to ensure that the offending British

policies became unenforceable. In Boston, the Sons of Liberty burned the records of the vice admiralty court and looted the home of chief justice Thomas Hutchinson. Several legislatures called for united action, and nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York City in October. Moderates led by John Dickinson drew up a Declaration of Rights and Grievances stating in part that the colonists were equal to all other British subjects and that, among other abuses, taxes passed without representation in Parliament violated their rights as Englishmen.

The Parliament at Westminster saw itself as the supreme lawmaking authority throughout the Empire and thus entitled to enact any legislation, including levying any tax, without colonial approval or even consultation.[40] They argued that the colonies were legally British corporations subordinate to the British Parliament.[41] Parliament insisted that the colonists effectively enjoyed a "virtual representation", as most British people did, since only a small minority of the British population were eligible to elect representatives to Parliament.[42] However, Americans such as James Otis maintained that there was no one in Parliament responsible specifically to any colonial constituency, so they were not "virtually represented" by anyone in Parliament.[43]

The Rockingham government came to power in July 1765, and Parliament debated whether to repeal the stamp tax or to send an army to enforce it. Benjamin Franklin appeared before them to make the case for repeal, explaining that the colonies had spent heavily in manpower, money, and blood defending the empire, and that further taxes to pay for those wars were unjust and might bring about a rebellion. Parliament agreed and repealed the tax on February 21, 1766, but they insisted in the Declaratory Act of March 1766 that they retained full power to make laws for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever".[44][45] The repeal nonetheless caused widespread celebrations in the colonies.

1767–1773: Townshend Acts, Tea Act and the escalation of violence

PENNSYLVANIA CHRONICLE,
AND UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER.

Letter III of John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, December 1767

In 1767, the British Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, which placed duties on several staple goods, including paper, glass, and tea, and established a Board of Customs in Boston to more rigorously execute trade regulations. The new taxes were enacted on the belief that Americans only objected to internal taxes and not to external taxes such as custom duties. John Dickinson however, in his widely read pamphlet *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, argued against the constitutionality of the acts because their purpose was to raise revenue and not to regulate trade.[46] Colonists responded to the taxes by organizing new boycotts of British goods. These boycotts were less effective, however, as the goods taxed by the Townshend Acts were widely used.

In February 1768, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay Colony issued a circular letter to the other colonies urging them to coordinate resistance. The governor dissolved the assembly when it refused to rescind the letter. In June 1768 a riot broke out in Boston over the seizure of the sloop *Liberty*, owned by John Hancock, for alleged smuggling. Customs officials were forced to flee, prompting the British to deploy troops to Boston. A Boston town meeting declared that no obedience was due to parliamentary laws and called for the convening of a convention. A convention assembled but only issued a mild protest before dissolving itself. In January 1769, Parliament responded to the unrest by reactivating the Treason Act 1543 which called for subjects outside the realm to face trials for treason in England. The governor of

Massachusetts was instructed to collect evidence of said treason, and the threat caused widespread outrage, though it was not carried out.

On March 5, 1770, a large crowd gathered around a group of British soldiers on a Boston street. The crowd grew threatening, throwing snowballs, rocks, and debris at them. One soldier was clubbed and fell.[47] There was no order to fire, but the soldiers panicked and fired into the crowd. They hit 11 people; three civilians died of wounds at the scene of the shooting, and two died shortly after. The event quickly came to be called the Boston Massacre. The soldiers were tried and acquitted (defended by American patriot John Adams), but the widespread descriptions soon began to turn colonial sentiment against the British. This accelerated the downward spiral in the relationship between Britain and the province of Massachusetts, and other colonies were becoming increasingly empathetic.[47]

A new ministry under Lord North came to power in 1770,[48] and Parliament repealed most of the Townshend duties, except the tax on tea.[49] This temporarily resolved the crisis, and the boycott of British goods largely ceased, with only the more radical patriots such as Samuel Adams continuing to agitate.[50][51]

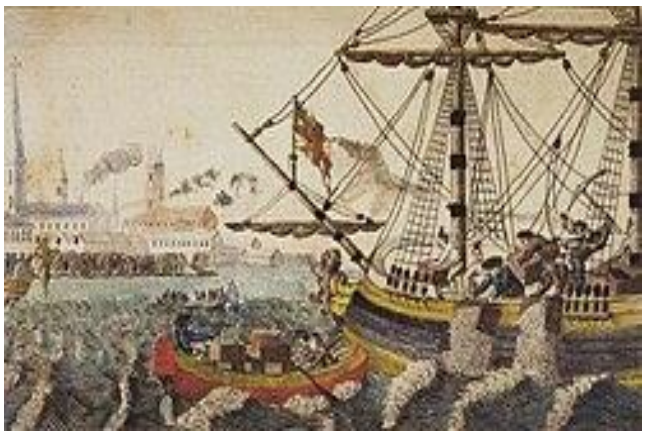
On June 9, 1772, the Sons of Liberty burned HMS *Gaspee*, a British customs schooner in Narragansett Bay.

In June 1772, American patriots, including John Brown, burned a British warship that had been vigorously enforcing unpopular trade regulations, in what became known as the *Gaspee* Affair. The affair was investigated for possible treason, but no action was taken.

In 1773, private letters were published in which Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson claimed that the colonists could not enjoy all English liberties, and in which

Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver called for the direct payment of colonial officials, which had been paid by local authorities. This would have reduced the influence of colonial representatives over their government. The letters' contents were used as evidence of a systematic plot against American rights, and discredited Hutchinson in the eyes of the people; the colonial Assembly petitioned for his recall. Benjamin Franklin, postmaster general for the colonies, acknowledged that he leaked the letters, which led to him being removed from his position.

From Boston Samuel Adams set about creating new Committees of Correspondence, built largely on the foundations of the underground Sons of Liberty network, linking Patriots in all 13 colonies and eventually providing the framework for a provisional government. Virginia, the largest colony, set up its Committee of Correspondence in early 1773, on which Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson served.[52] A total of about 7,000 to 8,000 Patriots served on these Committees; Loyalists were excluded. The committees became the leaders of the American resistance to British actions, and later largely determined the war effort at the state and local level. When the First Continental Congress resolved to boycott British products, the colonial and local Committees took charge, examining merchant records and publishing the names of merchants who attempted to defy the boycott by importing British goods.[53]



The December 16, 1773 Boston Tea Party, led by Samuel Adams and Sons of Liberty, has become a mainstay of American patriotic lore.

Meanwhile, Parliament passed the Tea Act lowering the price of taxed tea exported to the colonies, to help the British East India Company undersell smuggled untaxed Dutch tea. Special consignees were appointed to sell the tea to bypass colonial merchants. The act was opposed by those who resisted the taxes and also by

smugglers who stood to lose business.[54][55] In every colony demonstrators warned merchants not to bring in tea that included the hated new tax. In most instances, the consignees were forced by the Americans to resign and the tea was turned back, but Massachusetts governor Hutchinson refused to allow Boston merchants to give in to pressure.

A town meeting in Boston determined that the tea would not be landed, and ignored a demand from the governor to disperse. On December 16, 1773, a group of men, led by Samuel Adams and dressed to evoke the appearance of Indigenous people, boarded the ships of the East India Company and dumped £10,000 worth of tea from their holds (approximately £636,000 in 2008) into Boston Harbor. Decades later, this event became known as the Boston Tea Party and remains a significant part of American patriotic lore.[56]

1774–1775: Intolerable Acts and the unifying First Continental Congress

A 1774 illustration from *The London Magazine* depicts Prime Minister Lord North, author of the Boston Port Act, pouring tea from a teapot labelled "Intolerable Acts" down the throat of America, whose arms are restrained by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield with a tattered "Boston Petition" trampled on the ground beside her. Lord Sandwich pins down her feet and peers up her robes; behind them, Mother Britannia turns away and weeps while personifications of France and Spain look on with smug expressions.

The British government responded by passing four laws that came to be known as the Intolerable Acts, further darkening colonial opinion towards England.[57] The first was the Massachusetts Government Act which altered the Massachusetts charter and restricted town meetings. The second was the Administration of Justice Act which ordered that all British soldiers to be tried were to be arraigned in Britain, not in the colonies. The third was the Boston Port Act, which closed the port of Boston until the

British had been compensated for the tea lost in the Boston Tea Party. The fourth was the Quartering Act of 1774, which allowed royal governors to house British troops in the homes of citizens without permission of the owner.[58]

In response, "Starting in August 1774, each time a court was slated to meet in some Massachusetts town, great numbers of angry citizens made sure it did not".[59] The next month Patriots issued the Suffolk Resolves and formed an alternative shadow government known as the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, which began training militia outside British-occupied Boston.[60] In September 1774, the First Continental Congress convened in Pennsylvania, consisting of representatives from each colony, to serve as a vehicle for deliberation and collective action. During secret debates, conservative Joseph Galloway proposed the creation of a colonial Parliament that would be able to approve or disapprove acts of the British Parliament, but his idea was tabled in a vote of 6 to 5 and was subsequently removed from the record. Congress called for a boycott beginning on December 1, 1774, of all British goods; it was enforced by new local committees authorized by the Congress that were largely built upon the earlier Committees of Correspondence.[61] It also began coordinating Patriot resistance by militias in each colony, including many veterans who had gained military experience in the French and Indian War. For the first time, the Patriots were armed and unified against Parliament.

Military hostilities begin

King George III declared Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion in February 1775[62] and the British garrison received orders to seize the rebels' weapons and arrest their leaders, resulting in the Battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. The Patriots assembled a militia 15,000 strong and laid siege to Boston, occupied by 6500 British soldiers. The Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia on June 14, 1775. The congress was divided on the best course of action. They authorized formation of the Continental Army, appointing George Washington as its commander-in-chief, while producing the Olive Branch Petition in which they attempted to come to an accord with King George. The king, however, would issue a Proclamation of Rebellion in August which declared that all the states were "in rebellion" and the members of Congress were traitors. Meanwhile, the Battle of Bunker

Hill on June 17, 1775 was a British victory—but at a great cost: about 1,000 British casualties from a garrison of about 6,000, as compared to 500 American casualties from a much larger force.[63][64]

As Benjamin Franklin wrote to Joseph Priestley in October 1775:

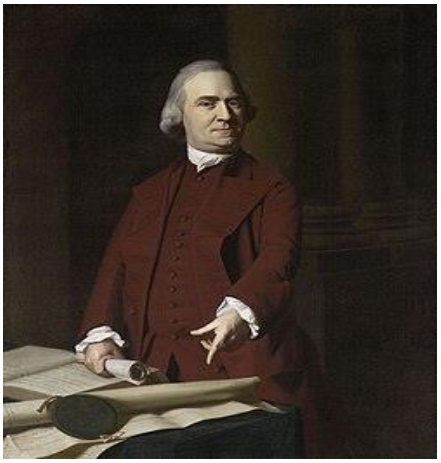
Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed 150 Yankees this campaign, which is £20,000 a head ... During the same time, 60,000 children have been born in America. From these data his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all.[65]

In the winter of 1775, the Americans invaded northeastern Quebec under generals Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery, expecting to rally sympathetic colonists there. The attack was a failure; many Americans were killed, captured, or died of smallpox.

From rebellion to revolution

Following the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775, the Patriots had control of Massachusetts outside Boston's city limits, and the Loyalists suddenly found themselves on the defensive with no protection from the British army. In each of the Thirteen Colonies, American patriots overthrew their existing governments, closed courts, and drove out British colonial officials. They held elected conventions and established their own legislatures, which existed outside any legal parameters established by the British. New constitutions were drawn up in each state to supersede royal charters. They proclaimed that they were now *states*, no longer *colonies*.[66]

Creating new state constitutions



Samuel Adams points at the Massachusetts Charter, which he viewed as a constitution that protected the people's rights, in this c. 1772 portrait by John Singleton Copley.[67]

On January 5, 1776, New Hampshire ratified the first state constitution. In May 1776, Congress voted to suppress all forms of Crown authority, to be replaced by locally created authority. New Jersey, South Carolina, and Virginia created their constitutions before July 4. Rhode Island and Connecticut simply took their existing royal charters and deleted all references to the Crown.[68] The new states were all committed to republicanism, with no inherited offices. On May 26, 1776, John Adams wrote James Sullivan from Philadelphia, warning against extending the franchise too far:

Depend upon it, sir, it is dangerous to open so fruitful a source of controversy and altercation, as would be opened by attempting to alter the qualifications of voters. There will be no end of it. New claims will arise. Women will demand a vote. Lads from twelve to twenty one will think their rights not enough attended to, and every man, who has not a farthing, will demand an equal voice with any other in all acts of state. It tends to confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks, to one common level[.][69][70]

The resulting constitutions in states, including those of Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia[b] featured:

- Property qualifications for voting and even more substantial requirements for elected positions (though New York and Maryland lowered property qualifications)[66]

- Bicameral legislatures, with the upper house as a check on the lower
- Strong governors with veto power over the legislature and substantial appointment authority
- Few or no restraints on individuals holding multiple positions in government
- The continuation of state-established religion
- with cannons recently captured at Fort Ticonderoga, the Continent

In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New Hampshire, the resulting constitutions embodied:

- universal manhood suffrage, or minimal property requirements for voting or holding office (New Jersey enfranchised some property-owning widows, a step that it retracted 25 years later)
- strong, unicameral legislatures
- relatively weak governors without veto powers, and with little appointing authority
- prohibition against individuals holding multiple government posts

The radical provisions of Pennsylvania's constitution lasted 14 years. In 1790, conservatives gained power in the state legislature, called a new constitutional convention, and rewrote the constitution. The new constitution substantially reduced universal male suffrage, gave the governor veto power and patronage appointment authority, and added an upper house with substantial wealth qualifications to the unicameral legislature. Thomas Paine called it a constitution unworthy of America.[71]

Declaration of Independence

In March 1776, aided by the fortification of Dorchester Heightsal Army led by George Washington forced the British to evacuate Boston. The revolutionaries now fully controlled all thirteen states and ready to declare joint independence. There still were many Loyalists, but they were no longer in control anywhere by July 1776, and all of the royal officials had fled.[72]

In April 1776, the North Carolina Provincial Congress issued the Halifax Resolves explicitly authorizing its delegates to vote for independence.[73] By June, nine

state legislatures supported independence from Britain, and Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and New York followed. Richard Henry Lee was instructed by the Virginia legislature to propose independence, and he did so on June 7, 1776.

***Pulling Down the Statue of King George III, N.Y.C.*, depicting American patriots tearing down a statue of King George III in New York City on July 9, 1776, immediately after Commander-in-Chief George Washington had the Declaration of Independence read aloud to the Continental Army and the public on the city's common green five days after it was issued in Philadelphia.**

Gathered at Pennsylvania State House in Philadelphia, later renamed Independence Hall, 56 of the nation's Founding Fathers representing the United Colonies adopted and issued to King George III the Declaration of Independence. It had been drafted largely by Thomas Jefferson, and was edited and presented by the Committee of Five which was charged with authoring it. The Congress struck several provisions of the Committee's draft, and then adopted it unanimously on July 4.[74] The Declaration embodied universal rights expressed through the political philosophies of liberalism and republicanism, rejected monarchy and aristocracy, and famously proclaimed that "all men are created equal". What had begun as a rebellion demanding the rights of Englishmen had now evolved into a revolution to overthrow and replace the political and social order in America based on universal rights.

"Perpetual Union"

With the new state constitutions and the issuance of the Declaration of Independence, each former colony began operating as an independent and sovereign state. The next step was to form a union to facilitate international relations and alliances.[75][76]

On November 5, 1777, the Congress approved the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union and sent it to each state for ratification. The Congress immediately

began operating under the Articles' terms, providing a structure of shared sovereignty during prosecution of the Revolutionary War. The Articles were fully ratified on March 1, 1781. At that point, the Continental Congress was dissolved and a new government of the United States in Congress Assembled took its place the following day, with Samuel Huntington leading the Congress as presiding officer.[77][78] It remained a unicameral body, where each state retained one vote.

Defending the revolution

British return: 1776–1777

The British fleet amassed off Staten Island in New York Harbor in the summer of 1776, as depicted in *Harper's Magazine* in 1876

According to British historian Jeremy Black, the British had significant advantages, including a highly trained army, the world's largest navy, and an efficient system of public finance that could easily fund the war. However, they seriously misunderstood the depth of support for the American Patriot position, misinterpreting the situation as merely a large-scale riot. The British government believed that they could overawe the Americans by sending a large military and naval force:

Convinced that the Revolution was the work of a full few miscreants who had rallied an armed rabble to their cause, they expected that the revolutionaries would be intimidated .... Then the vast majority of Americans, who were loyal but cowed by the terroristic tactics ... would rise up, kick out the rebels, and restore loyal government in each colony.[79]

In the Siege of Boston, Washington forced the British out of the city in the spring of 1776, and neither the British nor the Loyalists controlled any significant areas. The British, however, were amassing forces at their naval base at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

They returned in force in July 1776, landing in New York and defeating Washington's Continental Army toe-to-toe in August at the Battle of Brooklyn, the largest battle of the war. Following that victory, and poised to take New York City, they requested a meeting with representatives from Congress to negotiate an end to hostilities.[80][81]

Hessian troops hired out to the British by their German sovereigns

A delegation including John Adams and Benjamin Franklin met British admiral Richard Howe on Staten Island in New York Harbor on September 11 in what became known as the Staten Island Peace Conference. Howe demanded that the Americans retract the Declaration of Independence, which they refused to do, and negotiations ended. The British then seized New York City and nearly captured Washington's army. They made the city their main political and military base of operations, holding the strategic harbor and port until November 1783. The city became the destination for Loyalist refugees and a focal point of Washington's intelligence network.[80][81]

Washington crossing the Delaware on December 25–26, 1776, depicted in Emanuel Leutze's 1851 painting

The British also took New Jersey, pushing the Continental Army into Pennsylvania. Washington crossed the Delaware River back into New Jersey in a surprise attack in late December 1776 and defeated the Hessian and British garrisons at Trenton and Princeton, thereby regaining control of most of New

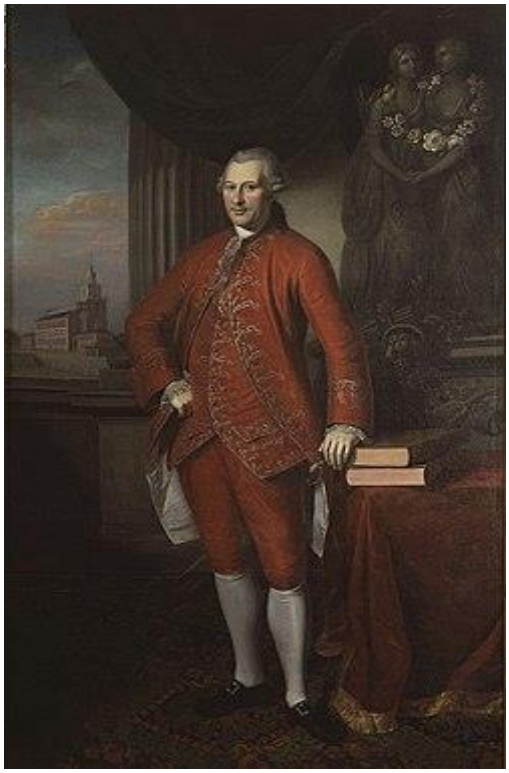
Jersey. The victories gave an important boost to Patriots at a time when morale was flagging and enlistments were ending, and they have become iconic events of the war.

In 1777, the British sent Burgoyne's invasion force from Canada south through New York with the aim of isolating New England to the east, which the British perceived as the primary source of agitation. In anticipation of a coordinated British attack on the *de facto* revolutionary capital of Philadelphia, the Continental Congress was forced to temporarily depart Philadelphia in September for Baltimore, where they continued deliberations. Rather than move north to support Burgoyne, the British army in New York City in fact went to Philadelphia in a major case of mis-coordination, capturing it from Washington. The invasion army from Canada was much too slow and became trapped in northern New York state. It surrendered to the Americans after the Battles of Saratoga in October 1777. From early October 1777 until November 15, a siege distracted British troops at Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania and allowed Washington time to preserve the Continental Army by safely leading his troops to harsh winter quarters at Valley Forge, some 35 miles from Philadelphia.

Prisoners

On August 23, 1775, George III declared Americans to be traitors to the Crown if they took up arms against royal authority. There were thousands of British and Hessian soldiers in American hands following their surrender at the Battles of Saratoga. Lord Germain took a hard line, but the British generals on American soil never held treason trials, and instead treated captured American soldiers as prisoners of war.[82] The dilemma was that tens of thousands of Loyalists were under American control and American retaliation would have been easy. The British built much of their strategy around using these Loyalists.[83] The British maltreated the prisoners whom they held, resulting in more American deaths in the prisons than all the American battlefield mortalities, combined.[83] At the end of the war, both sides released their surviving prisoners.[84]

American alliances after 1778



Conrad Alexandre Gérard de Rayneval, first French representative to the United States and signatory to the alliance treaties.

The capture of a British army at Saratoga encouraged the French to formally enter the war in support of Congress, and Benjamin Franklin negotiated a permanent military alliance in early 1778; France thus became the first foreign nation to officially recognize the Declaration of Independence. On February 6, 1778, the United States and France signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and the Treaty of Alliance.[85] William Pitt spoke out in Parliament urging Britain to make peace with the Americans and to unite against France, while British politicians who had sympathized with colonial grievances now turned against the Americans for allying with Britain's rival and enemy.[86]

The Spanish and the Dutch became allies of the French in 1779 and 1780 respectively, forcing the British to fight a global war without major allies, and requiring it to slip through a combined blockade of the Atlantic. The Dutch Republic, also at war with Britain, was the next country after France to sign a treaty with the United States, on October 8, 1782.[85] On April 3, 1783, Ambassador Extraordinary Gustaf Philip Creutz, representing King Gustav III of Sweden, and Benjamin Franklin, signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the U.S.[85]

1778–1783: the British move south

Britain began to view the American Revolutionary War as merely one front in a wider war,[87] and the British chose to withdraw troops from America to reinforce the British colonies in the Caribbean, which were under threat of Spanish or French invasion. British commander Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia and returned to New York City. Washington intercepted him in the Battle of Monmouth Court House, the last major battle fought in the north. After an inconclusive engagement, the British retreated to New York City. The northern war subsequently became a stalemate, as the focus of attention shifted to the smaller southern theater.[88]

The British Royal Navy blockaded ports and held New York City for the duration of the war, and other cities for brief periods, but failed in their effort to destroy Washington's forces. The British strategy now concentrated on a campaign in the southern states. Due to a lack of regular troops at their disposal compared to the Americans,[*clarification needed*] the British commanders saw the "southern strategy" as a more viable plan. They perceived the Southern Colonies as strongly Loyalist, with a large population of recent British immigrants, and large numbers of slaves who might be tempted to run away from their Patriot masters to join the British and gain their freedom.[89]

The Battle of Cowpens, depicting the 1781 battle in South Carolina, painted by William Ranney in 1845.

Beginning in late December 1778, the British captured Savannah and controlled the Georgia coastline. In 1780, they launched a fresh invasion and took Charleston. A significant victory at the Battle of Camden meant that royal forces soon controlled

most of Georgia and South Carolina. The British set up a network of forts inland, hoping that the Loyalists would rally to the flag.[90] Not enough Loyalists turned out, however, and the British had to fight their way north into North Carolina and Virginia with a severely weakened army. Behind them, much of the territory that they had already captured dissolved into a chaotic guerrilla war, fought predominantly between bands of Loyalists and American militia, which negated many of the gains that the British had previously made.[90]

Surrender at Yorktown (1781)

The 1781 siege of Yorktown ended with the surrender of a second British army, marking effective British defeat.

The British army under Cornwallis marched to Yorktown, Virginia, where they expected to be rescued by a British fleet.[91] The fleet did arrive, but so did a larger French fleet. The French were victorious in the Battle of the Chesapeake, and the British fleet returned to New York for reinforcements, leaving Cornwallis trapped. In October 1781, the British surrendered their second invading army of the war under a siege by the combined French and Continental armies commanded by Washington.[92]

End of the war

Washington did not know if or when the British might reopen hostilities after Yorktown. They still had 26,000 troops occupying New York City, Charleston, and Savannah, together with a powerful fleet. The French army and navy departed, so the Americans were on their own in 1782–83.[93] The American treasury was empty, and the unpaid soldiers were growing restive, almost to the point of mutiny or possible coup d'etat. Washington dispelled the unrest among officers of the Newburgh Conspiracy in 1783,

and Congress subsequently created the promise of a five years bonus for all officers.[94]

Historians continue to debate whether the odds were long or short for American victory. John E. Ferling says that the odds were so long that the American victory was "almost a miracle".[95] On the other hand, Joseph Ellis says that the odds favored the Americans, and asks whether there ever was any realistic chance for the British to win. He argues that this opportunity came only once, in the summer of 1776, where Admiral Howe and his brother General Howe "missed several opportunities to destroy the Continental Army .... Chance, luck, and even the vagaries of the weather played crucial roles." Ellis's point is that the strategic and tactical decisions of the Howes were fatally flawed because they underestimated the challenges posed by the Patriots. Ellis concludes that, once the Howe brothers failed, the opportunity "would never come again" for a British victory.[96]

Public support for the conflict had never been strong in Britain, where many sympathized with the Americans, but now it reached a new low.[97] King George wanted to fight on, but his supporters lost control of Parliament and the British launched no further offensives in America on the eastern seaboard.[88][c]

Paris peace treaty

Treaty of Paris **by Benjamin West portrays the American delegation about to sign the 1783 Treaty of Paris (John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, W. T. Franklin). The British delegation refused to pose and the painting was never completed.**

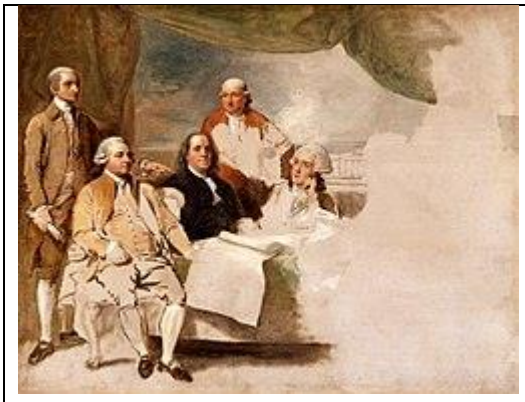
During negotiations in Paris, the American delegation discovered that France supported American independence but no territorial gains, hoping to confine the new

nation to the area east of the Appalachian Mountains. The Americans opened direct secret negotiations with London, cutting out the French. British Prime Minister Lord Shelburne was in charge of the British negotiations, and he saw a chance to make the United States a valuable economic partner, facilitating trade and investment opportunities.[99] The US obtained all the land east of the Mississippi River, including southern Canada below the Great Lakes, but Spain took control of Florida from the British. It gained fishing rights off Canadian coasts, and agreed to allow British merchants and Loyalists to recover their property. Prime Minister Shelburne foresaw highly profitable two-way trade between Britain and the rapidly growing United States, which did come to pass. The blockade was lifted and American merchants were free to trade with any nation anywhere in the world.[100]

The British largely abandoned their Indigenous allies, who were not a party to this treaty and did not recognize it until they were defeated militarily by the United States. However, the British did sell them munitions and maintained forts in American territory until the Jay Treaty of 1795.[101]

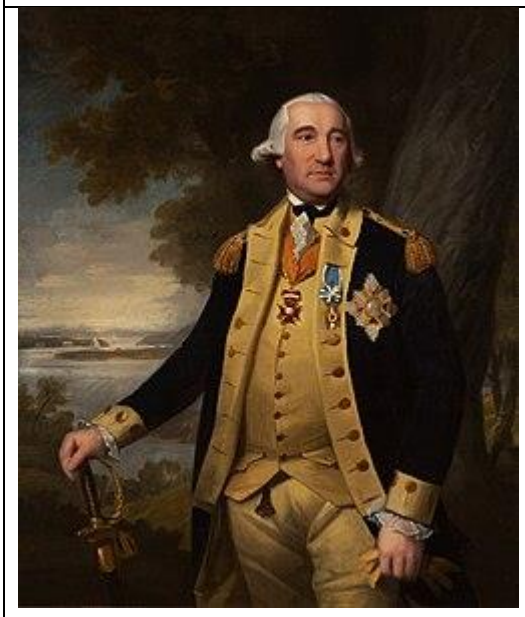
Robert Morris statue honoring Founding Father and financier Robert Morris at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia

The September 17, 1787 signing of the United States Constitution at Independence Hall in Philadelphia depicted in Howard Chandler Christy's 1940 painting, *Scene at the Signing of the Constitution of the United States*



Treaty of Paris by Benjamin West portrays the American delegation about to sign the 1783 Treaty of Paris (John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, W. T. Franklin). The British delegation refused to pose and the painting was never completed.

Mercy Otis Warren published poems and plays that attacked royal authority and urged colonists to resist British rule.



Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was a former Prussian Army officer who served as inspector general of the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War. He is credited with

Crispus Attucks, a (c. 1943) portrait by Herschel Levit depicts Attucks, who is considered to be the first American to die for the cause of independence in the Revolution.

teaching the Continental Army the essentials of military drill and discipline beginning at Valley Forge in 1778, considered a turning point for the Americans.	

Timeline of the Revolution

Lead-in To War: 1763 to 1774

End of the Seven Years War

February 10, 1763
The Treaty of Paris ends the Seven Years War (French and Indian War). France surrenders all of its North American possessions east of the Mississippi to Britain. This ends a source of insecurity for the British colonists along the Atlantic Coast. The costs of the war and maintaining an army will lead the British government to impose new taxes on its colonists, with world-shaking results.

Passage of the Stamp Act

March 22, 1765
Britain passes the Stamp Act, imposing a tax on legal documents, newspapers, even playing cards. This is the first direct tax on the American colonists and is hotly resisted. A successful American campaign to have the act repealed will give Americans confidence that they can avoid future taxes as well.

British Troops Occupy Boston

October 1768
British troops land in Boston to enforce the Townshend duties (taxes on paint, paper, tea, etc., passed in June 1767) and clamp down on local

radicals. The troops' presence doesn't sit well with locals and leads to street fights. One clash between soldiers and a mob in March 1770 will leave five dead. Radicals will call it the Boston Massacre, while the British will call it the incident on King Street.

Committees of Correspondence Established

Spring 1772
Committees of Correspondence are established throughout the colonies to coordinate American response to British colonial policy. This represents an important move toward cooperation, mutual action, and the development of a national identity among Americans.

Britain Tries to Intimidate Massachusetts

March to June, 1774
The British Parliament passes the Coercive Acts, often called the Intolerable Acts in America. Among other actions, Britain closes the port of Boston and requires British troops to be housed in taverns and vacant buildings. The acts generate considerable sympathy for Massachusetts among other colonies.

Independence Declared: 1775 to 1777

War Breaks Out

April 19, 1775
The first shots of the Revolutionary War are fired at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. The news of the bloodshed rockets along the eastern seaboard, and thousands of volunteers converge—called "Minute Men"—on Cambridge, Mass. These are the beginnings of the Continental Army.

Britain Forms an Alliance with Patriot Slaves

November 1775
The British governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, issues a proclamation

offering freedom to any slaves of rebellious Americans who are able to enter British lines. Throughout the course of the war, tens of thousands of African Americans will seek their freedom by supporting the British. A smaller number will fight on the patriot (pro-independence) side, despite policies that discourage their enlistment

Battle of Bunker Hill: Americans Hold Their Own

June 17, 1775

In the first major action of the war, inexperienced colonial soldiers hold off hardened British veterans for more than two hours at Breed's Hill. Although eventually forced to abandon their position, including the high ground of Bunker Hill overlooking Boston, the patriots show that they are not intimidated by the long lines of red-coated infantrymen. Of the 2,200 British seeing action, more than 1,000 end up dead or wounded.

Moores Creek: Loyalists Defeated

February 27, 1776

A force of loyalists (Americans who want to remain British subjects), most of them of Scots descent, is defeated by a patriot army at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. This setback will largely quiet loyalist activity in the Carolinas for three years.

South Carolinians Repel British Attempt to Take Charleston

June 28, 1776

A British invasion force mounts an all-day attack on a patriot force on Sullivan's Island. The invaders are unable to land their troops on the island, and the tricky waters of Charleston Harbor frustrate the British navy. The fleet retires in defeat, and South Carolina will remain untouched by the enemy for three more years.

America Declares Its Independence

July 1776

The Declaration of Independence is adopted by the Second Continental Congress. Following a decade of agitation over taxes and a year of war, representatives make the break with Britain. King George III isn't willing to let his subjects go without a fight, and loyalist sentiment remains strong in many areas. Americans' primary allegiance is to their states; nationalism will grow slowly.

George Washington Crosses the Delaware River

December 1776 to January 1777

In a bold move, Washington moves his troops into New Jersey on Christmas night. The patriots then surprise a force of German troops fighting for Britain at Trenton on December 26. They achieve a similar victory over British troops at Princeton on January 3, reviving hopes that the war just might be winnable. The army then encamps for the winter at Morristown, New Jersey.

War in the North: 1777 to 1778

Campaign of 1777 & Battle of Saratoga: British Setback

August 1777

American Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) survives a three week long siege forcing allied British forces under Barry St. Leger to retreat. Their goal of securing the Mohawk Valley for General Burgoyne fails. American Colonel Peter Gansevoort and the fort's garrison are commended by the Continental Congress for their efforts.

October 17, 1777

General John Burgoyne's attempt to separate the rebellious New England colonies from those farther south ends in a spectacular failure. The surrender of 6,000 British regulars at Saratoga will shock London and help induce France to enter the war on the American side.

Winter of Change for the Continental Army

December 1777
With the British occupying Philadelphia just 20 miles away, the Continental Army enters winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. During the winter, supply arrangements will be improved and the Continental troops will be drilled and emerge as a more disciplined, unified fighting force.

France Enters the War Against Britain

February 1778
As a result of the patriot victory at Saratoga and American diplomatic efforts, France allies itself with the new American government. French financial and military aid will prove critical in winning the war. The Continental Army will learn of the French Alliance in May.

George Rogers Clark Attacks the British in Ohio Country

May to December, 1778
With barely 150 men, Virginian George Rogers Clark captures several British posts in the Ohio Territory (present-day Illinois and Indiana) and convinces French-speaking inhabitants of Kaskaskia and Cahokia to support the patriot side. Although Indians will continue to oppose white settlement for three decades, Clark's exploits pave the way for the expansion of the U.S. north of the Ohio River.

Southern Campaigns: 1779 to 1781

Charleston Falls to the British

May 12, 1780
The British take Charleston, S.C., capture a large patriot army, and deal the rebels one of their worst defeats of the war. The Charleston

move is part of a broader British strategy to hang on to the southern colonies, at least, now that the war is stalemated in Pennsylvania and New York.

Kings Mountain Victory Revives Patriot Hopes

October 7, 1780
Patriot militia from the Carolinas, Virginia, and present-day Tennessee surround and defeat a force of loyalists under Major Patrick Ferguson at Kings Mountain, S.C. Indicating the deep divisions within America, Ferguson is the only British soldier on the field-Kings Mountain is truly a battle among Americans about their future.

Battle of Cowpens: American Tide Continues

January 17, 1781
Continental soldiers and patriot militia under General Daniel Morgan defeat a British force under Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens. Coming on the heels of the victory at Kings Mountain, Cowpens helps convince worried patriots that the British southern strategy can be countered.

Guilford Courthouse: Costly British Victory

March 15, 1781
British troops win a costly victory over Continentals and militia at Guilford Courthouse, N.C. The battle is part of General Nathanael Greene's strategy of engaging the British on ground of his choosing. Without winning a single clear-cut victory, he will succeed in wearing down the British army through hit-and-run tactics and set-piece battles.

Ninety-Six: Longest Siege of the War

May to June, 1781
The isolated British garrison at Ninety Six is laid siege to by patriot forces under Gen. Nathanael Greene. The approach of a British relief

column leads Greene to make a final, unsuccessful assault on the fort on June 18. The events at Ninety Six underline the fact that Britain has too few troops to hold the southern hinterlands.

Yorktown: Large British Army Surrenders

September to October, 1781
A joint French and American force traps a large British army on Virginia's Yorktown peninsula. Unable to evacuate or receive reinforcements because a French fleet has driven off a British fleet, General Cornwallis is forced to surrender. Although New York City and Charleston, S.C., will remain in British hands until a peace treaty is signed two years later, the war for American independence is essentially over.

Aftermath: 1782 to 1787

Loyalists Leave America

January 1782
The evacuation of loyalists begins. Largely unwelcome in the new United States, about 100,000 Americans who remained loyal to the crown find new lives in Britain, Canada, and British colonies in the West Indies. Among them are about 15,000 African Americans, some of whom end up helping to found the country of Sierra Leone in Africa. The loyalist experience will have a profound effect on the development of Canada's national identity.

Treaty of Paris Officially Ends the War

September 3, 1783
The Treaty of Paris ratifies the independence of the 13 North American states. Canada remains a British province, beginning its separate development as a U.S. neighbor. Another war with England (1812 - 1815) will be necessary to truly secure the American nation.

American Victory Pushes Indians Farther West

October **1784**

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix imposes a peace on those members of the Iroquois Confederacy that sided with the British in the Revolution. The war's aftermath will prove devastating to Native Americans. With no European allies to rely upon, Indian tribes will be under increasing pressure from settlers moving west out of the original 13 states.

U.S. Constitution Replaces Articles of Confederation
1787

A convention of states in Philadelphia proposes the Constitution to replace the much looser central government operating under the Articles of Confederation (adopted in 1777). With amendments, the Constitution remains the framework of government in the U.S.

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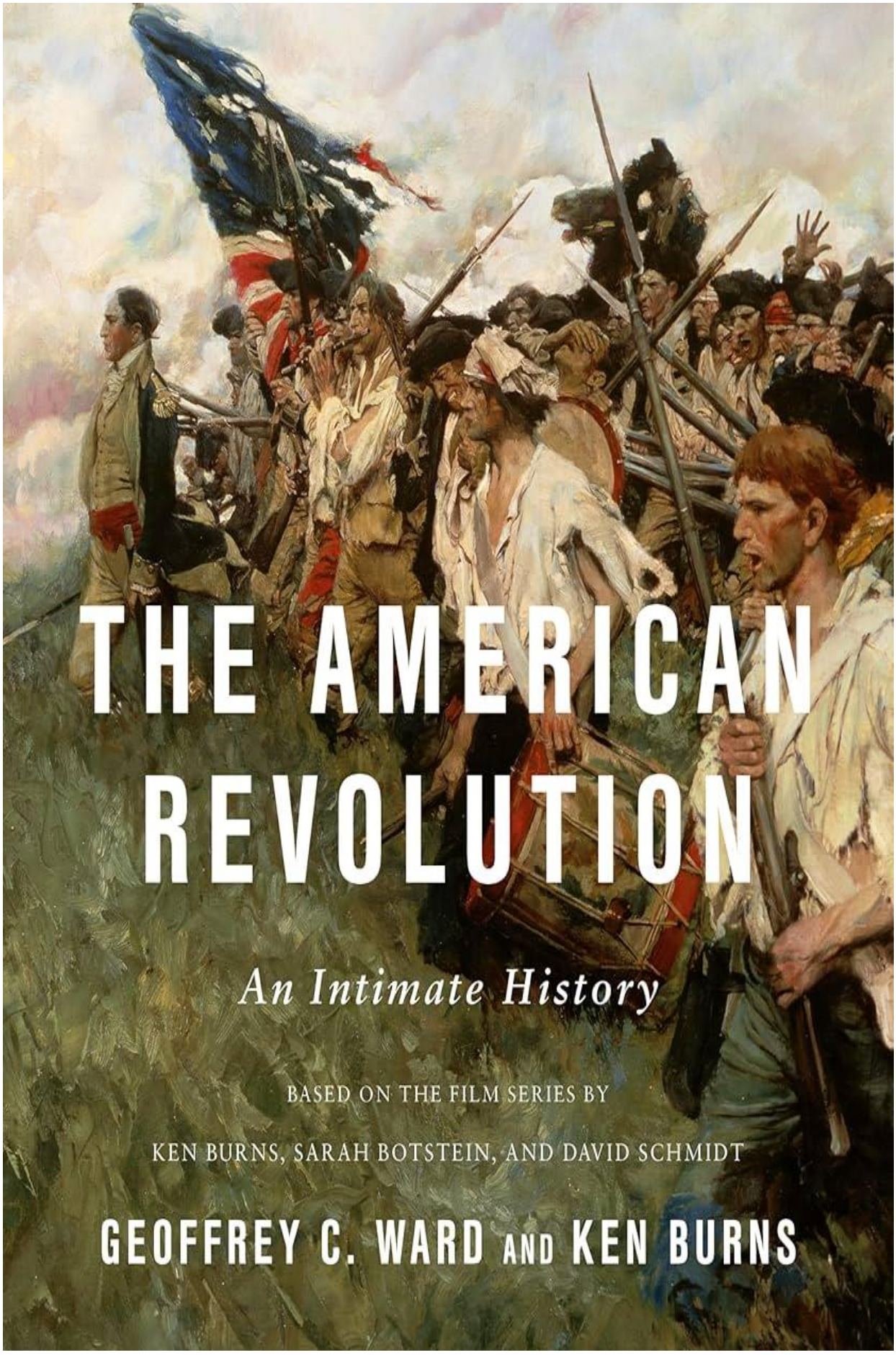
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
An Intimate History
BASED ON THE FILM SERIES BY
KEN BURNS, SARAH BOTSTEIN, AND DAVID SCHMIDT
GEOFFREY C. WARD AND KEN BURNS

AMERICAN
REVOLUTIONARY WAR
1775-1783

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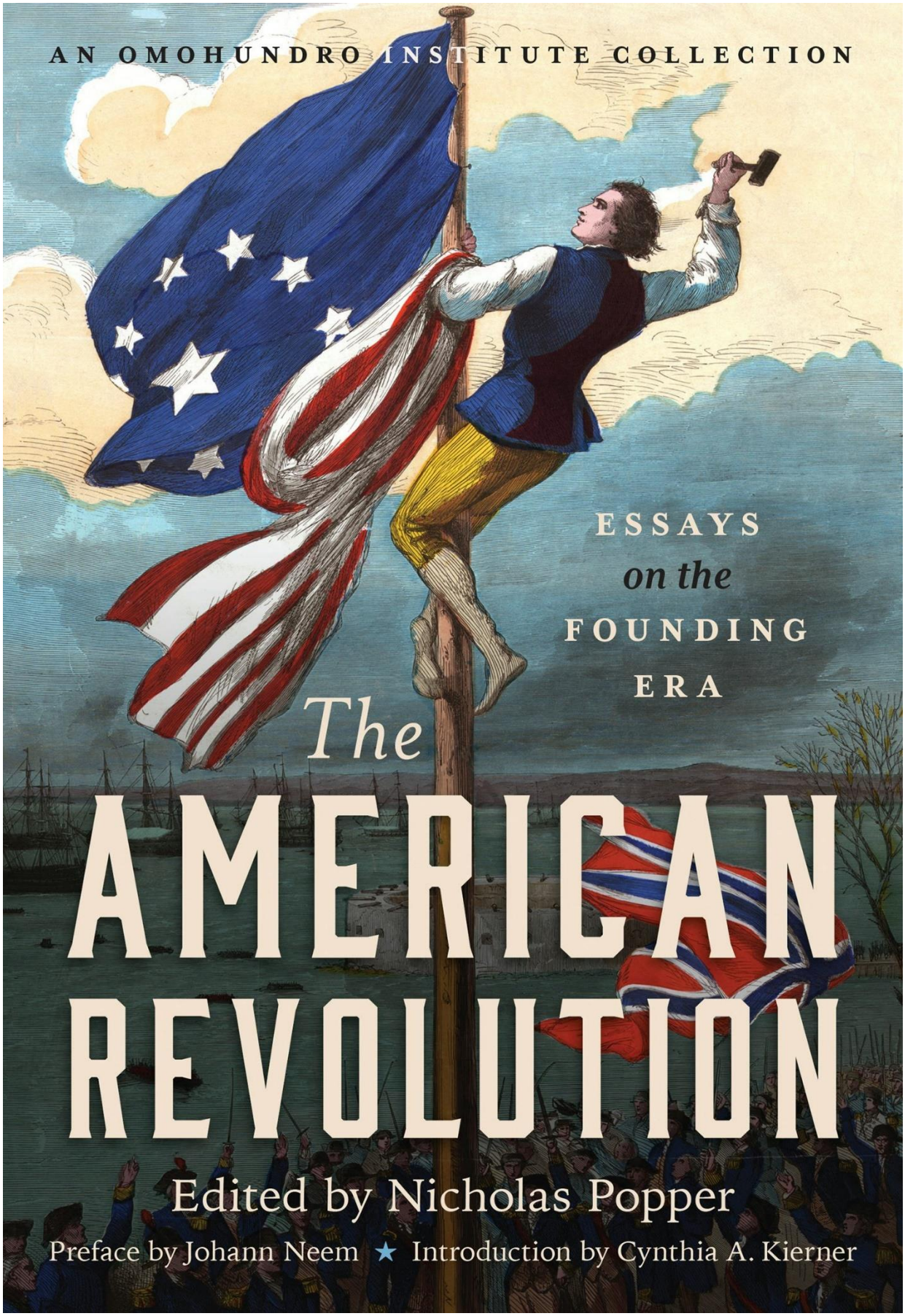
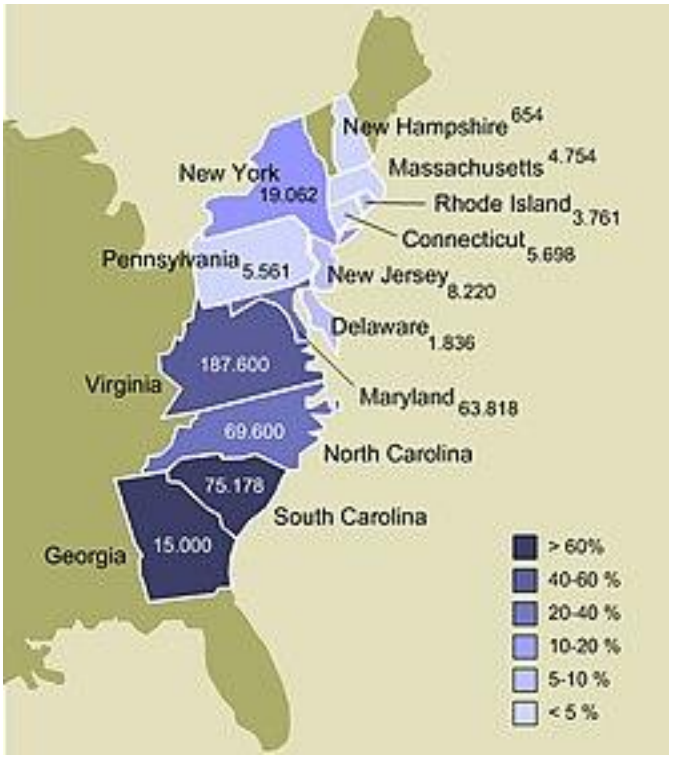

AN OMOHUNDRO INSTITUTE COLLECTION
ESSAYS
on the
FOUNDING
ERA
The
AMERICAN
REVOLUTION
Edited by Nicholas Popper
Preface by Johann Neem ★ Introduction by Cynthia A. Kierner

Slavery in the colonial history of the US

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_in_the_colonial_history_of_the_United_States



A map of the Thirteen Colonies in 1770, showing number of slaves in each colony and percentage of colony's total population held as slaves[1]

The institution of slavery in the colonies of British America developed through a combination of factors, but primarily from a boom in industrialized agriculture and the early existence of large slave labor populations on nearby European-colonized Caribbean islands. Before the 1650s, however, African-based industrial slavery had not developed within the colonies. During this time, Native Americans were the main target for indentured service (a form of enslavement) by British American colonists.

By the 1650s, several Southern colonies were known to have begun enslaving both local Native Americans and African Americans for work on industrial plantations. As indigenous peoples suffered massive population losses due to imported diseases, Europeans turned to the importation of African slaves, initially, from European-

owned West Indies (Caribbean) sugar plantations, primarily to work on tobacco plantations.

Ancient methods of European slavery and racist ideologies were handed down to the British American colonies shortly after agriculture became industrialized in the South. Most African American colonists eventually succumbed to slavery and were legally defined by hereditary traits as chattels of property.

There was a period of at least 60 years during which industrialized slavery was mostly absent from the colonies. The Roanoke Colony was the first English colony based in America. The colony was established on a Virginia Island in 1587 by around 112 white colonists. The entire colony is believed to have died of famine or by the hands of Native American tribes. The Jamestown Colony was the second English colony, founded in 1606 by around 214 white colonists. The first documented Africans to arrive in America first lived in Jamestown and were transported on the frigate known as the White Lion in August 1619. Two colonists are described in the 1624 census as an African man and woman named Antoney and Isabella.[2]

Most European colonists were indentured laborers who signed away their freedom to an English investment company known as the Virginia Company. Many were escaping famine and debt in Europe and paid their way to the "New World" by entering into contracted servitude for a paid ticket to America. Known as the Headright System, new colonists were promised 50 acres (0.20 km2) in return for years of indentured labor. Most early colonists were not of the same economic class as European slave owners and did not own slaves during their indenture. Years after living as colonists, few were able to fully pay their debt and, as a result, never received their promised plot of land. The main barrier was a lack of resources in the colonies and corruption within the Virginia Company. Early colonists were unsuccessful in finding the anticipated gold and proper soil to grow European crops. To cover its losses, originally agreed-upon periods of indentured servitude were often fraudulently extended by the Virginia Company for years without justification. Most early colonists survived by eating native plants and rodents. Over half the population of Jamestown perished from starvation in 1618, still in debt to the Virginia Company. The one crop appearing to be

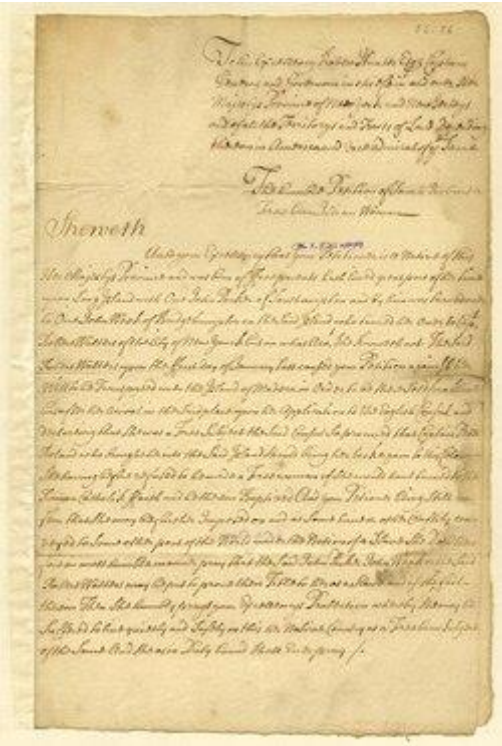
most successful for colonists was tobacco. In 1614, John Rolfe began to raise the tobacco seeds he carried from Bermuda to Jamestown. Over the next decade, tobacco became the colonies' first cash crop and likely opened the door to African American slavery within some colonies in later decades, mainly in regions where tobacco grew successfully.[3]

Estimates suggest, there were under 100 African American colonists, or less than 2 percent of the population, through the 1650s. Up until then, early colonists of African descent came to the colonies mainly under the same Headright System as white colonists and worked alongside their white counterparts as indentured laborers for the Virginia Company.[4][5] However, African American indentured servants suffered a higher level of mis-treatment than whites and only a handful escaped the Virginia Company's corruption to briefly experience freedom before the Revolutionary War.[6] There are accounts of few African American colonists, freed under the Headright System, who later owned African American slaves.[7]

By the Revolutionary War, most Southern colonies had developed large slave-based plantation systems, largely based on British-taught methods of slavery. A prohibition on the importation of new slaves from the Caribbean, between 1776 to 1808, had little effect on American slavery, as it was already well established in the South. Slavery in the Northern colonies—which did not have the warm climates and ideal conditions for plantations to exist—primarily took the form of domestic labor, including other forms of unpaid work alongside non-enslaved counterparts. The American Revolution led to the first abolition laws in the Americas, although the institution of chattel slavery would continue to exist and expand across the Southern United States until finally being abolished at the time of the American Civil War in 1865.[8][9][10]

Native Americans

The Pequot War resulted in the enslavement of numerous Pequots by New England colonists and their indigenous allies.



A 1711 petition made by Sarah Robins, a "free born Indian woman", to New York governor Robert Hunter, protesting being threatened with enslavement for refusing to convert to Christianity.

Native Americans enslaved members of their own and other tribes, usually as a result of taking captives in raids and warfare, both before and after Europeans arrived. This practice continued into the 1800s. In some cases, especially for young women or children, Native American families adopted captives to replace members they had lost. Among those native to the modern Southeastern United States, the children of slaves were considered free.[11][12] Slaves included captives from wars and slave raids; captives bartered from other tribes, sometimes at great distances; children sold by their parents during famines; and men and women who staked themselves in gambling when they had nothing else, which put them into servitude in some life cases.[11]

In three expeditions between 1514 and 1525, Spanish explorers visited the Carolinas. They enslaved Native Americans, who they took to their base on Santo Domingo.[13][14][15] The Spanish Crown's charter for its 1526 colony in the Carolinas and Georgia was more restrictive. It required that Native Americans be treated well,

paid, and converted to Christianity, but it also allowed already enslaved Native Americans to be bought and exported to the Caribbean if they had been enslaved by other Native Americans.[15] This colony did not survive, so it is not clear if it exported any slaves. Native Americans were enslaved by the Spanish in Florida under the encomienda system.[16][17] New England and the Carolinas captured Native Americans in wars and distributed them as slaves.[18] Native Americans captured and enslaved some early European explorers and colonists.[11]

Larger societies structured as chiefdoms kept slaves as unpaid field laborers. In band societies, owning enslaved captives attested to the captor's military prowess.[19] Some war captives were subjected to ritualized torture and execution.[20] Alan Gallay and other historians emphasize differences between Native American enslavement of war captives and the European slave trading system, into which numerous native peoples were integrated.[21] Richard White, in *The Middle Ground*, elucidates the complex social relationships between Native American groups and the early empires, including 'slave' culture and scalping.[22] Robbie Ethridge states,

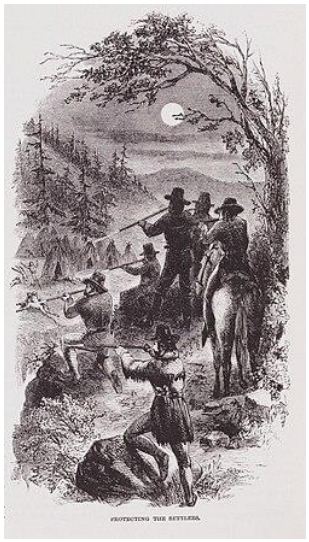
Let there be no doubt...that the commercial trade in Indian slaves was not a continuation and adaptation of pre-existing captivity patterns. It was a new kind of slave, requiring a new kind of occupational specialty ... organized militaristic slavers.[23]

One example of militaristic slaving can be seen in Nathaniel Bacon's actions in Virginia during the late 1670s. In June 1676, the Virginia assembly granted Bacon and his men what equated to a slave-hunting license by providing that any enemy Native Americans caught were to be slaves for life. They also provided soldiers who had captured Native Americans with the right to "reteyne and keepe all such Indian slaves or other Indian goods as they either have taken or hereafter shall take."[24] By this order, the assembly had made a public decision to enslave Native Americans. In the years to follow, other laws resulted in Native Americans being grouped with other non-Christian servants who had been imported to the colonies (Negro slaves) as slaves for life.

Puritan New England, Virginia, Spanish Florida, and the Carolina colonies engaged in large-scale[*citation needed*] enslavement of Native Americans, often through the use of

Indian proxies to wage war and acquire the slaves. In New England, slave raiding accompanied the Pequot War and King Philip's War but declined after the latter war ended in 1676. Enslaved Native Americans were in Jamestown from the early years of the settlement,[*citation needed*] but large-scale cooperation between slave-trading English colonists and the Westo and Occaneechi peoples, whom they armed with guns, did not begin until the 1640s. These groups conducted enslaving raids in what is now Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and possibly Alabama.[25] The Carolina slave trade, which included both trading and direct raids by colonists,[26] was the largest among the British colonies in North America,[27] estimated at 24,000 to 51,000 Native Americans by Gallay.[28]

Historian Ulrich Phillips argues that Africans were inculcated as slaves and the best answer to the labor shortage in the New World because Native American slaves were more familiar with the environment, and would often successfully escape into the frontier territory they knew. Africans had more difficulty surviving in unknown territory. Africans were also more familiar with large-scale indigo and rice cultivation, of which Native Americans were unfamiliar.[29]. The early colonial America depended heavily on rice and indigo cultivation[30] producing disease-carrying mosquitoes caused malaria, a disease the Africans were far less susceptible to than Native American slaves.[31]



Many Native Americans were enslaved during the California Genocide by American settlers.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Native American slavery, the enslavement of Native Americans by European colonists, was common. Many of these Native slaves

were exported to the Northern colonies and to off-shore colonies, especially the "sugar islands" of the Caribbean.[11][12] The exact number of Native Americans who were enslaved is unknown because vital statistics and census reports were at best infrequent.[32] Historian Alan Gallay has estimated that from 1670 to 1715, slave traders in the Province of Carolina sold between 24,000 and 51,000 Native Americans into slavery as part of the Indian slave trade in the American Southeast.[33] Andrés Reséndez estimates that between 147,000 and 340,000 Native Americans were enslaved in North America, excluding Mexico.[34] Even after the Indian Slave Trade ended in 1750 the enslavement of Native Americans continued in the west, and also in the Southern states mostly through kidnappings.[35][36]

Slavery of Native Americans was organized in colonial and Mexican California through Franciscan missions, theoretically entitled to ten years of Native labor, but in practice maintaining them in perpetual servitude, until their charge was revoked in the mid-1830s. Following the 1847–48 invasion by U.S. troops, the "loitering or orphaned Indians" were de facto enslaved in the new state from statehood in 1850 to 1867.[37] Slavery required the posting of a bond by the slave holder and enslavement occurred through raids and a four-month servitude imposed as a punishment for Indian "vagrancy".[38]

Florida

Selling a freedman to pay his fine: Monticello, Florida (1860)

One African slave, Estevanico arrived with the Narváez expedition in Tampa Bay in April 1528 and marched north with the expedition until September, when they embarked on rafts from the Wakulla River, heading for Mexico.[48] African slaves arrived again in Florida in 1539 with Hernando de Soto, and in the 1565 founding

of St. Augustine, Florida.[45][46] When St. Augustine was founded in 1565, the site already had enslaved Native Americans, whose ancestors had migrated from Cuba.[11] The Spanish settlement was sparse and they held comparatively few slaves.[49]

The Spanish promised freedom to refugee slaves from the English colonies of South Carolina and Georgia in order to destabilize English settlement.[50][51] If the slaves converted to Catholicism and agreed to serve in a militia for Spain, they could become Spanish citizens. By 1730 the black settlement known as Fort Mose developed near St. Augustine and was later fortified. There were two known Fort Mose sites in the eighteenth century, and the men helped defend St. Augustine against the British. It is "the only known free black town in the present-day southern United States that a European colonial government-sponsored.[52] The Fort Mose Site, today a National Historic Landmark, is the location of the second Fort Mose."[52] During the nineteenth century, this site became marsh and wetlands.

In 1763, Great Britain took over Florida in an exchange with Spain after defeating France in the Seven Years' War. Spain evacuated its citizens from St. Augustine, including the residents of Fort Mose, transporting them to Cuba. As British colonists developed the colony for plantation agriculture, the percentage of slaves in the population in twenty years rose from 18% to almost 65% by 1783.[53]

Texas and the southwest

An African slave, Estevanico, reached Galveston Island in November 1528, with the remnants of the Narváez expedition in Florida. The group headed south on the mainland in 1529, trying to reach Spanish settlements. They were captured and held by Native Americans until 1535.[48] They traveled northwest to the Pacific Coast, then south along the coast to San Miguel de Culiacán, which had been founded in 1531, and then to Mexico City.[48]

Spanish Texas had few African slaves, but the colonists enslaved many Native Americans.[54] Beginning in 1803, Spain freed slaves who escaped from the Louisiana

territory, recently acquired by the United States.[55] More African-descended slaves were brought to Texas by American settlers.

Virginia and Chesapeake Bay

The first recorded Africans in Virginia arrived in late August 1619. The *White Lion*, a privateer ship owned by Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick but flying a Dutch flag, docked at what is now Old Point Comfort (located in modern-day Hampton) with approximately 20 Africans. They were captives from the area of present-day Angola and had been seized by the privateer's crew from a Portuguese slave ship, the "São João Bautista".[56][57] To obtain the Africans, the Jamestown colony traded provisions with the ship.[58] Some number of these individuals appear to have been treated like indentured servants, since slave laws were not passed until later, in 1641 in Massachusetts and in 1661 in Virginia.[59] But from the beginning, in accordance with the custom of the Atlantic slave trade, most of this relatively small group, appear to have been treated as slaves, with "African" or "negro" becoming synonymous with "slave".[60] Virginia enacted laws concerning runaway slaves and 'negroes' in 1672.[61]

A number of the colony's early Africans earned freedom by fulfilling a work contract or for converting to Christianity.[62] At least one of these, Anthony Johnson, in turn, acquired slaves or indentured servants for workers himself. Historians such as Edmund Morgan say this evidence suggests that racial attitudes were much more flexible in early 17th-century Virginia than they would later become.[63] A 1625 census recorded 23 Africans in Virginia. In 1649 there were 300, and in 1690 there were 950.[64] Over this period, legal distinctions between white indentured servants and "Negros" widened into lifelong and inheritable chattel-slavery for Africans and people of African descent.[65]

New England

The 1677 work *The Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians* documented how hundreds of Praying Indians, who were allied with the New England Colonies, were enslaved and sent to the West Indies in the aftermath of King Philip's War by the colonists.[66][67] Captive indigenous opponents, including women and children, were

also sold into slavery at a substantial profit, to be transported to West Indies colonies.[68][69]

African and Native American slaves made up a smaller part of the New England economy, which was based on yeoman farming and trades, than in the South, and a smaller fraction of the population, but they were present.[70] Most were house servants, but some worked at farm labor.[71] The Puritans codified slavery in 1641.[72][73] The Massachusetts Bay royal colony passed the *Body of Liberties*, which prohibited slavery in some instances, but did allow three legal bases of slavery.[73] Slaves could be held if they were captives of war, if they sold themselves into slavery, were purchased from elsewhere, or if they were sentenced to slavery by the governing authority.[73] The Body of Liberties used the word "strangers" to refer to people bought and sold as slaves, as they were generally not native born English subjects. Colonists came to equate this term with Native Americans and Africans.[74]:261

The New Hampshire General Court passed "An Act To Prevent Disorders In The Night" in 1714, prefiguring the development of sundown towns in the United States:[75][76]

Whereas great disorders, insolencies and burglaries are oft times raised and committed in the night time by Indian, Negro, and Molatto Servants and Slaves to the Disquiet and hurt of her Majesty's subjects, No Indian, Negro, or Molatto is to be from Home after 9 o'clock.

Notices emphasizing and re-affirming the curfew were published in *The New Hampshire Gazette* in 1764 and 1771.[75]

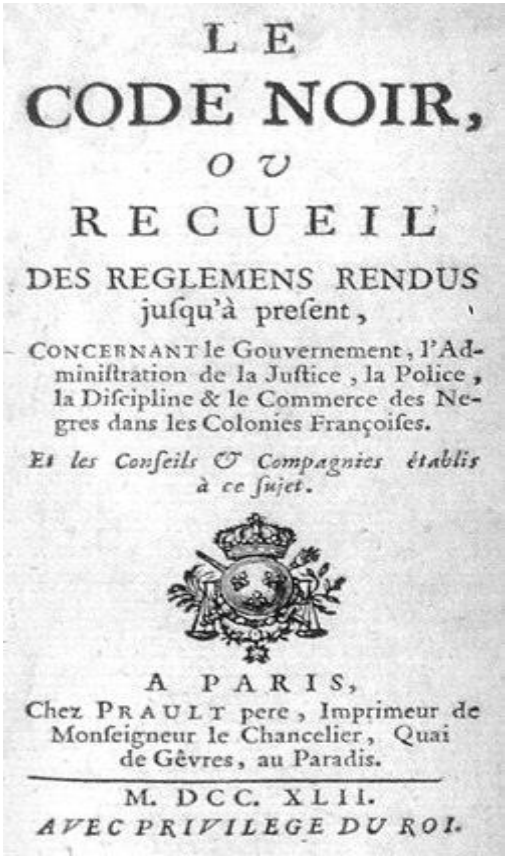
New York and New Jersey

The Dutch West India Company introduced slavery in 1625 with the importation of eleven enslaved blacks who worked as farmers, fur traders, and builders to New Amsterdam (present day New York City), capital of the nascent province of New Netherland.[77] The Dutch colony expanded across the North River (Hudson River) to Bergen (in today's New Jersey). Later, slaves were also held privately by settlers in the area.[78][79] Although enslaved, the Africans had a few basic rights and families were usually kept intact. They were admitted to the Dutch Reformed Church

and married by its ministers, and their children could be baptized. Slaves could testify in court, sign legal documents, and bring civil actions against whites. Some were permitted to work after hours earning wages equal to those paid to white workers. When the colony fell to the English in the 1660s, the company freed all its slaves, which created an early nucleus of free Negroes in the area.[77]

The English continued to import slaves to New York. Slaves in the colony performed a wide variety of skilled and unskilled jobs, mostly in the burgeoning port city and surrounding agricultural areas. While the existing page emphasizes slavery in plantation-based economies, slavery in northern colonies had distinct characteristics in non-agrarian contexts. In ports like New York City, enslaved Africans constituted approximately 20% of the population by 1740, working as dockworkers, blacksmiths, and in shipbuilding.[80] In 1703 more than 42% of New York City's households held slaves, a percentage higher than in the cities of Boston and Philadelphia, and second only to Charleston in the South.[81]

Midwest, Mississippi River, and Louisiana


LE
CODE NOIR,
OU
RECUEIL
DES REGLEMENS RENDUS
jusqu'à present,
CONCERNANT le Gouvernement, l'Administration de la Justice, la Police, la Discipline & le Commerce des Negres dans les Colonies Françoises.
Et les Conseils & Compagnies établis à ce sujet.
A PARIS,
Chez PRAULT pere, Imprimeur de Monseigneur le Chancelier, Quai de Gêvres, au Paradis.
M. DCC. XLII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROI.

A frontispiece of the *Code Noir*, from the 1742 edition

The French introduced legalized slavery into their colonies in New France both near the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. They also used slave labor on their island colonies in the Caribbean: Guadeloupe and especially Saint-Domingue. After the port of New Orleans was founded in 1718 with access to the Gulf Coast, French colonists imported more African slaves to the Illinois Country for use as agricultural or mining laborers. By the mid-eighteenth century, slaves accounted for as much as one-third of the limited population in that rural area.[82]

Slavery was much more extensive in lower colonial Louisiana, where the French developed sugar cane plantations along the Mississippi River. Slavery was maintained during the French (1699–1763, and 1800–1803) and Spanish (1763–1800) periods of government. The first people enslaved by the French were Native Americans, but they could easily escape into the countryside which they knew well. Beginning in the early 18th century, the French imported Africans as laborers in their efforts to develop the colony. Mortality rates were high for both colonists and Africans, and new workers had to be regularly imported.

Implemented in colonial Louisiana in 1724, Louis XIV's *Code Noir* regulated the slave trade and the institution of slavery in the French colonies. As a result, Louisiana and the Mobile, Alabama areas developed very different patterns of slavery compared to the British colonies.[83]

As written, the *Code Noir* gave some rights to slaves, including the right to marry. Although it authorized and codified cruel corporal punishment against slaves under certain conditions, it forbade slave owners from torturing slaves, separating married couples, and separating young children from their mothers. It required owners to instruct slaves in the Catholic faith, implying that Africans were human beings endowed with a soul, an idea that had not been acknowledged until then.[84][85][86]

The *Code Noir* forbade interracial marriages, but interracial relationships were formed in La Louisiane from the earliest years. In New Orleans society particularly, a formal system of concubinage, known as *plaçage*, developed. Usually formed between young white men and African or African-American women, these relationships were formalized with contracts that sometimes provided for freedom for a woman and her

children (if she was still enslaved), education for the mixed-race children of the union, especially boys; and sometimes a property settlement. Free people of color became an intermediate social caste between whites and enslaved blacks; many practiced artisan trades, and some acquired educations and property. Some white fathers sent their mixed-race sons to France for education in military schools.

Gradually in the English colonies, slavery became known as a racial caste system that generally encompassed all people of African descent, including those of mixed race. From 1662, Virginia defined social status by the status of the mother, unlike in England, where under common law fathers determined the status of their children, whether legitimate or natural. Thus, under the doctrine of *partus sequitur ventrum*, children born to enslaved mothers were considered slaves, regardless of their paternity. Similarly, children born to mothers who were free were also free, whether or not of mixed-race. At one time, Virginia had prohibited enslavement of Christian individuals, but lifted that restriction with its 1662 law. In the 19th century, laws were passed to restrict the rights of free people of color and mixed-race people (sometimes referred to as mulattoes) after early slave revolts. During the centuries of slavery in the British colonies, the number of mixed-race slaves increased.[83][86]

Slave rebellions

16th century

While the British knew about Spanish and Portuguese slave trading, they did not implement slave labor in the Americas until the 17th century.[88] British travelers were fascinated by the dark-skinned people they found in West Africa; they developed mythologies that situated them in their view of the cosmos.[89] The first Africans to arrive in England came voluntarily in 1555 with John Lok (an ancestor of the famous philosopher John Locke). Lok intended to teach them English in order to facilitate the trading of material goods with West Africa.[90] This model gave way to a slave trade initiated by John Hawkins, who captured 300 Africans and sold them to the Spanish.[91] Blacks in England were marginalized but some remained free, as slavery was never authorized by law in England.[92]

In 1607, the English established Jamestown as their first permanent colony on the North American continent.[93] Tobacco became the chief commodity crop of the colony, due to the efforts of John Rolfe in 1611. Once it became clear that tobacco was going to drive the Jamestown economy, more workers were needed for the labor-intensive crop. British plantation owners in North America and the Caribbean also needed a workforce for their cash crop plantations, which was initially filled by indentured servants from Britain before transitioning to Native American and West African slave labor.[94] During this period, the English established colonies in Barbados in 1624 and Jamaica in 1655. These and other Caribbean colonies generated wealth by the production of sugar cane, as sugar was in high demand in Europe. They also were an early center of the slave trade for the growing English colonial empire.[95]

English colonists entertained two lines of thought simultaneously toward indigenous Native Americans. Because these people were lighter-skinned, they were seen as more European and therefore as candidates for civilization. At the same time, because they were occupying the land desired by colonists, they were from the beginning, frequent targets of colonial violence.[96] At first, indentured servants were used for labor.[97] These servants provided up to seven years of service in exchange for having their trip to Jamestown paid for by someone in Jamestown. The person who paid was granted additional land in headrights, dependent on how many persons he paid to travel to the colony. Once the seven years were over, the indentured servant who survived was free to live in Jamestown as a regular citizen. However, colonists began to see indentured servants as too costly, in part because the high mortality rate meant the force had to be resupplied. In addition, an improving economy in England reduced the number of persons who were willing to sign up as indentured servants for the harsh conditions in the colonies.

Ottoman Empire

During this period, the Ottoman Empire in Northern Africa was expanding its territory as an economic power. Hayreddin Barbarossa, who united Algeria and Tunisia as military states, promoted piracy and the slave trade. During this period, Algerian and Tunisian pirates joined forces, and by 1650 more than 30,000 of their captives were

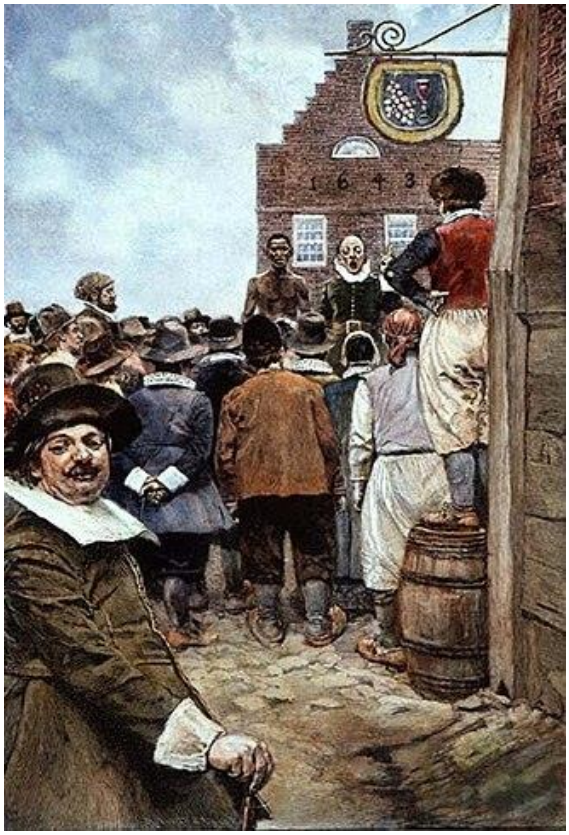
imprisoned in Algiers alone. Many of these prisoners would be sold to European slave traders and shipped to America's Spanish colonies to work on tobacco plantations.[98][99]

Pirate raids for the acquisition of slaves occurred mainly in Africa's Atlantic towns and villages, as well as in Europe. From around 1500, the pirates also conducted raids on seaside towns and villages of Italy, Spain, Greece, Ireland, and as far away as Iceland, capturing men, women, and children, and these raids lasted as late as the early 19th century. Robert Davis estimated that between 1 and 1.25 million Europeans were captured by pirates and sold as slaves in Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli during this time period. However, there is no record of white slaves in the Americas.[100]

17th century

In 1619, the English privateer *White Lion*, with Dutch letters of marque, brought 20 Africans seized Portuguese slave ship to Point Comfort.[101] Several colonial colleges held enslaved people as workers and relied on them to operate.[102]

The development of slavery in 17th-century America



***The First Slave Auction at New Amsterdam in 1655*, an illustration by Howard Pyle**

The laws relating to slavery and their enforcement hardened in the second half of the 17th century, and the prospects for Africans and their descendants grew increasingly dim. By 1640, the Virginia courts had sentenced at least one black servant, John Punch, to slavery.[103] In 1656 Elizabeth Key won a suit for freedom based on her father's status as a free Englishman, his having baptized her as Christian in the Church of England, and the fact that he established a guardianship for her that was supposed to be a limited indenture. Following her case, in 1662 the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a law with the doctrine of *partus*, stating that any child born in the colony would follow the status of its mother, bond or free. This overturned a long held principle of English common law, whereby a child's status followed that of the father. It removed any responsibility for the children from white fathers who had abused and raped slave women. Most did not acknowledge, support, or emancipate their resulting children.

During the second half of the 17th century, the British economy improved and the supply of British indentured servants declined, as poor Britons had better economic opportunities at home. At the same time, Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 led the planter class to worry about the prospective dangers of creating a large class of restless, landless, and relatively poor white men (most of them former indentured servants). Wealthy Virginia and Maryland planters began to buy slaves in preference to indentured servants during the 1660s and 1670s, and poorer planters followed suit by c. 1700. (Slaves cost more than servants, so initially only the wealthy could invest in slaves.) The first European colonists in Carolina introduced African slavery into the colony in 1670, the year the colony was founded, and Charleston ultimately became the busiest slave port in North America. Slavery spread from the South Carolina Lowcountry first to Georgia, then across the Deep South as Virginia's influence had crossed the Appalachians to Kentucky and Tennessee. Northerners also purchased slaves, though on a much smaller scale. Enslaved people outnumbered free whites in South Carolina from the early 1700s to the Civil War. An authoritarian political culture evolved to prevent slave rebellion and justify white slaveholding. Northern slaves typically dwelled in towns, rather than on plantations as in the South, and worked as artisans and artisans' assistants, sailors and longshoremen, and domestic servants.[104]

In 1672, King Charles II of England rechartered the Royal African Company (which had been originally established in 1660), granting the company an exclusive monopoly on all English trade with Africa, which included the slave trade. This monopoly was overturned by an Act of Parliament in 1697.[105] The slave trade to the mid-Atlantic

colonies increased substantially in the 1680s, and by 1710 the African population in Virginia had increased to 23,100 (42% of total); Maryland contained 8,000 Africans (23% of total).[106] During the early 18th century, Britain passed Spain and Portugal to become the world's leading slave-trading nation.[105][107]

The North American royal colonies not only imported Africans but also captured Native Americans, impressing them into slavery. Many Native Americans were shipped as slaves to the Caribbean. Many of these slaves from the British colonies were able to escape by heading south, to the Spanish colony of Florida. There they were given their freedom if they declared their allegiance to the King of Spain and accepted the Catholic Church. In 1739 Fort Mose was established by African-American freedmen and became the northern defense post for St. Augustine. The fort was destroyed during the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1740, though it was rebuilt in 1752. Because Fort Mose became a haven for escaped slaves from the Southern Colonies to the north, it is considered a precursor site of the Underground Railroad.[108]

Chattel slavery developed in British North America before the full legal apparatus that supported slavery did. During the late 17th century and early 18th century, harsh new slave codes limited the rights of African slaves and cut off their avenues to freedom. The first full-scale slave code in British North America was South Carolina's (1696), which was modeled on the colonial Barbados slave code of 1661. It was updated and expanded regularly throughout the 18th century.[109]

A 1691 Virginia law prohibited slaveholders from emancipating slaves unless they paid for the freedmen's transportation out of Virginia.[110] Virginia criminalized interracial marriage in 1691,[111] and subsequent laws abolished free blacks' rights to vote, hold office, and bear arms.[110] Virginia's House of Burgesses established the basic legal framework for slavery in 1705.[112]

The Atlantic slave trade to North America

Main article: Atlantic slave trade

Of the enslaved Africans brought to the New World an estimated 5–7% ended up in British North America. The vast majority of slaves transported across the Atlantic

Ocean were sent to the Caribbean sugar colonies, Brazil, or Spanish America. Throughout the Americas, but especially in the Caribbean, tropical disease took a large toll on their population and required large numbers of replacements. Many Africans had limited natural immunity to yellow fever and malaria; but malnutrition, poor housing, inadequate clothing allowances, and overwork contributed to a high mortality rate.

In British North America, the enslaved population rapidly increased via the birth rate, whereas in the Caribbean colonies they did not. The lack of proper nourishment, being suppressed sexually, and poor health are possible reasons. Of the small numbers of babies born to slaves in the Caribbean, only about 1 in 4 survived the miserable conditions on sugar plantations. It was not only the major colonial powers of Western Europe such as France, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, and the Dutch Republic that were involved. Other countries, including Sweden and Denmark–Norway, also participated in the Atlantic slave trade, though on a much more limited scale.

English and Dutch slavers, who had supplied England's nearby Caribbean Island sugar plantations with African slaves, looked upon the expanding American colonies as a lucrative new market. The Dutch-Jewish Yulee and Levy families made a name for themselves in the slave trade with the British American colonies. These families were some of the earliest and most established slavers to sell to colonists. The two families established their early operations on St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies in the late 1700s.[113] Moses Elias Levy, the family patriarch, is said to have amassed a fortune managing his local slave trade businesses throughout the late 1700s and early 1800s.[114]

Sexual role differentiation and slavery

"Depending upon their age and gender, slaves were assigned a particular task, or tasks, that had to be completed during the course of the day."[115] In certain settings, men would participate in the hard labor, such as working on the farm, while women would generally work in the household. They would "be sent out on errands but in most cases their jobs required that they spend much of their time within their owner's household."[116] These gender distinctions were mainly applied in the Northern

colonies and on larger plantations. In Southern colonies and smaller farms, however, women and men typically engaged in the same roles, both working in the tobacco crop fields for example.

Although slave women and men in some areas performed the same type of day-to-day work, "[t]he female slave ... was faced with the prospect of being forced into sexual relationships for the purpose of reproduction."[117] This reproduction would either be forced between one African slave and another, or between the slave woman and the owner. Slave owners saw slave women in terms of prospective fertility. That way, the number of slaves on a plantation could multiply without having to purchase another African. Unlike the patriarchal society of white Anglo-American colonists, "slave families" were more matriarchal in practice. "Masters believed that slave mothers, like white women, had a natural bond with their children that therefore it was their responsibility—more so than that of slave fathers—to care for their offspring."[118] Therefore, women had the extra responsibility, on top of their other day-to-day work, to take care of children. Men, in turn, were often separated from their families. "At the same time that slaveholders promoted a strong bond between slave mothers and their children, they denied to slave fathers their paternal rights of ownership and authority..."[118] Biological families were often separated by sale.

Atlantic Slave Trade

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atlantic_slave_trade

The **Atlantic slave trade** or **transatlantic slave trade** involved the transportation by slave traders of enslaved African people to the Americas. This trade was operated by slave ships from both Europe and the New World. Some of these voyages used the triangular trade route and its Middle Passage, particularly in the early phases.[1] Europeans established a coastal slave trade in the 15th century, and trade to the Americas began in the 16th century,[a] lasting through the 19th century.[4] The vast majority of those who were transported in the transatlantic slave trade were from Central Africa and West Africa. In contrast to other slave trades, those taking slaves from Africa generally bought their cargo from West and Central African slave merchants. This applied to both Europeans in the transatlantic trade and to Arab slave traders supplying their own markets. Whilst Europeans did get involved in some raiding, this was much less common and was usually discouraged.[5][6] In general, the Portuguese built barracoons in their African slaving bases, in which to gather newly purchased captives ready for the next ship to arrive. Though the Dutch established some forts as African bases (some of which were captured by the British) for similar purposes, the usual approach by North European slave traders was to use their ship as a base in which to gather their cargo. This meant that these ships spent much longer on the African coast than Portuguese vessels, and the first slaves to be bought had to endure much longer confined to the ship.[7]

The New World (or the Americas) had, after Australia, a much lower population density than the other inhabited continents. Any exploitation by the new discoverers of these lands needed a workforce, but the sparse indigenous population was reducing due to European diseases, to which they had no resistance. The demand for labour could not be met by Europeans, who were particularly reluctant to emigrate at this early stage. The solution was the same as that used for the sugar plantations of Madeira and the Canary Islands c. 1450: slaves bought from Africa.[8] Slaves were sold in the

Americas to work on coffee, tobacco, cocoa, sugar, and cotton plantations, gold and silver mines, rice fields, the construction industry, cutting timber for ships, as skilled labour, and as domestic servants.[9] The first enslaved Africans sent to the English colonies were classified as indentured servants, with legal standing similar to that of contract-based workers coming from Britain and Ireland. By the middle of the 17th century, slavery had hardened as a racial caste, with African slaves and their future offspring being legally the property of their owners, as children born to slave mothers were also slaves (*partus sequitur ventrem*). As property, the people were considered merchandise or units of labour, and were sold at markets with other goods and services.

The major Atlantic slave trading nations, in order of trade volume, were Portugal, Britain, Spain, France, the Netherlands, the United States, and Denmark. Several had established outposts on the African coast, where they purchased slaves from local African leaders.[11] The current estimate is that about 12.75 million Africans were loaded onto slave ships in Africa for transportation to the Americas. Of these, up to 2 million died during the voyage.[12] Many others died as a result of slave raids, wars, and during transport to the coast for sale to European slave traders.[13][14][15][16] Near the beginning of the 19th century, various governments acted to ban the trade, although illegal smuggling still occurred. It was generally thought that the transatlantic slave trade ended in 1867, but evidence was later found of voyages until 1873.[17] In the early 21st century, several governments issued apologies for the transatlantic slave trade.

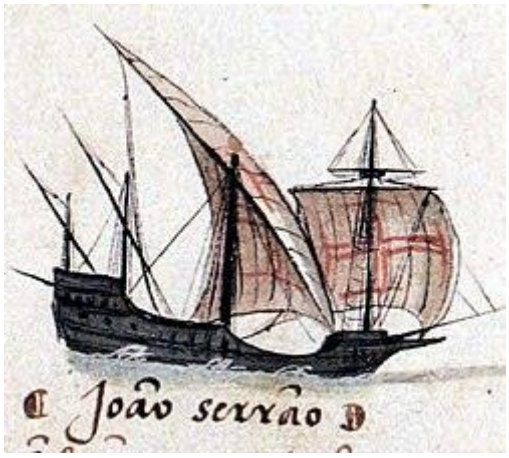
Background

Atlantic travel

The Atlantic slave trade developed after trade contacts were established between the "Old World" (Afro-Eurasia) and "New World" (the Americas). The ocean currents and prevailing winds of the Atlantic represented a barrier to return travel for seafarers who did not understand their pattern, whilst those with sufficient knowledge could use them as a tool to assist them.[18] In the 15th century, European developments in seafaring technologies gave multi-masted sailing vessels with centre-

line rudders, replacing the Medieval Cog and the Mediterranean round ship. This gave a vessel more suited to Atlantic seafaring.[19] Between 1600 and 1800, approximately 300,000 sailors engaged in the slave trade visited West Africa.[20] In doing so, they came into contact with societies along the west African coast and in the Americas which they had never previously encountered.[21] Pierre Chaunu termed the consequences of European navigation "disenclavement", with it marking an end of isolation for some societies and an increase in inter-societal contact for others.[22][23]

Historian John Thornton noted, "technical and geographical factors combined to make Europeans the most likely people to explore the Atlantic and develop its commerce".[24] He identified these as being the drive to find profitable commercial opportunities outside Europe. There was the desire to create an alternative trade network to that controlled by the Muslim Ottoman Empire, which was viewed as a commercial, political and religious threat to European Christendom. European traders wanted to trade for gold, which could be found in west Africa, and find a maritime route to "the Indies" (India), where they could trade luxury goods such as spices, without having to obtain them from Islamic traders.[25]



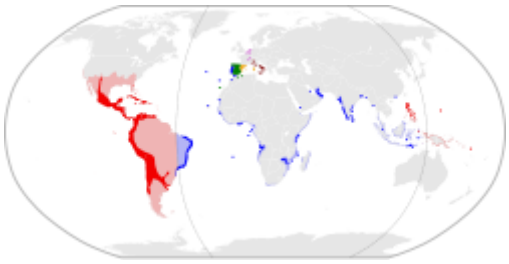
Portuguese mariners used caravel ships and traveled south along the West African coast and colonized Cape Verde in 1462.[26]

During the first wave of European colonization, although many Atlantic naval explorations were led by the Iberian *conquistadors*, members of many European nationalities were involved, including from Spain, Portugal, France, England, the Italian states, and the Netherlands. This diversity led Thornton to describe the "exploration of the Atlantic" as "a truly international exercise, even if many of the dramatic discoveries were made under the sponsorship of the Iberian monarchs". That gave rise to the myth that "the Iberians were the sole leaders of the exploration".[27]

European overseas expansion led to contact between the Old and New Worlds producing the Columbian exchange, named after Christopher Columbus.[28] It started the global silver trade from the 16th to 18th centuries, and involved the transfer of goods unique to one hemisphere to another. Europeans brought cattle, horses, and sheep to the New World, and from the New World Europeans received tobacco, potatoes, tomatoes, and maize. Other commodities becoming important in trade were the tobacco, sugarcane, and cotton crops of the Americas, along with the gold and silver.

European slavery in Portugal and Spain

Slavery had existed in Portugal and Spain throughout recorded history. The Roman Empire had established its system of slavery in ancient times. Proto-racism existed in ancient times among Greco-Roman people. Racial prejudices were based on dehumanizing the foreign peoples they conquered through warfare.[33][34][35] Since the fall of the Western Roman Empire, systems of slavery continued in the successor Islamic and Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula through the early modern era of the Atlantic slave trade.[36][37][*better source needed*] In 1441–44, Portuguese traders first captured Africans on the Atlantic coast of Africa, in what is today Mauritania, taking captives to slavery in Europe, and established a fort for the slave trade at the Bay of Arguin.[38]



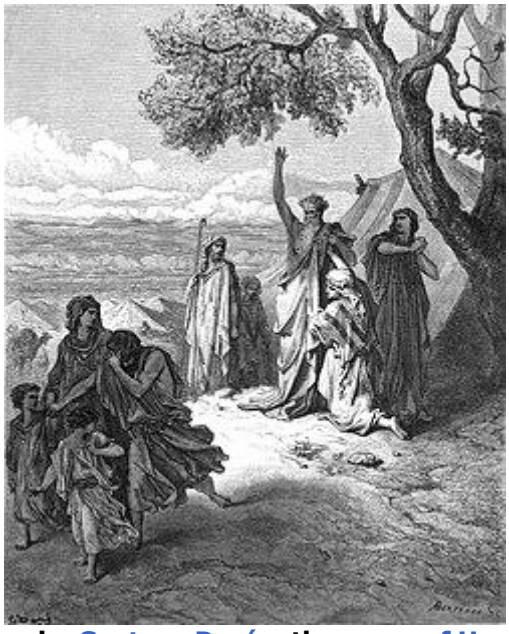
A map of the Spanish Empire (red) and Portuguese Empires (blue) in the period of their personal union (1581–1640)

In the Middle Ages, religion and not race was a determining factor for who was considered to be a legitimate target of slavery. While Christians did not enslave Christians and Muslims did not enslave Muslims, both allowed the enslavement of people they regarded to be heretics or insufficient in their religion. This allowed Catholic Christians to enslave Orthodox Christians, and Sunni Muslims to enslave Shia Muslims.[39] Christians and Muslims approved of enslaving pagans, who came to be a preferred and comparatively profitable target of the slave trade in the Middle Ages:[39] Spain and Portugal were provided with non-Catholic slaves from Eastern Europe via the Balkan slave trade and the Black Sea slave trade.[40]

In the 15th century, when the Balkan slave trade was taken over by the Ottoman Empire[41] and the Black Sea slave trade was supplanted by the Crimean slave trade and closed off from Europe, Spain and Portugal replaced this source of slaves by importing slaves from the conquered Canary Islands and then from mainland Africa. The mainland trade was initially from Arab slave traders, via the Trans-Saharan slave trade from Libya, and then from the African West coast through Portuguese outposts, which developed into the Atlantic slave trade[42] and expanded after the establishment of the colonies in the Americas in 1492.[43]

Although Jewish conversos and Muslims experienced religious and racial discrimination, some participated in the slave trade of Africans. In Lisbon during the 16th and 17th centuries, Muslims financed by Jewish conversos traded Africans across the Sahara and enslaved Africans before and during the Atlantic slave trade.[44] In New Spain, Spaniards applied *limpieza de sangre* to Africans and Native Americans and created a racial caste system, believing them to be impure because they were not Christian.[45][46][47]

Europeans enslaved Muslims and people practicing other religions as a justification to Christianize them. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V issued papal bull *Dum Diversas* which gave the King of Portugal the right to enslave non-Christians to perpetual slavery. The clause included Muslims in West Africa and legitimized the slave trade under the Church. In 1454, Pope Nicholas issued *Romanus Pontifex.* "Written as a logical sequel to Dum Diversas, Romanus Pontifex allowed the European Catholic nations to expand their dominion over 'discovered' land. Possession of non-Christian lands would be justified along with the enslavement of native, non-Christian 'pagans' in Africa and the 'New World.'"[48][49][50] Dum Diversas and Romanus Pontifex may have influenced the creation of doctrines supportive of empire building.[51]



Noah curses Ham by Gustave Doré – the curse of Ham was used as a justification to enslave Africans.[52]

By the 15th century, Europeans used both race and religion as a justification to purchase enslaved sub-Saharan Africans. An increase of enslaved African people from Senegal occurred in the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century. As the number of Senegalese slaves grew larger Europeans developed terminologies that associated slavery with skin color. Seville had the largest African population. "The Treaty of Alcacuvas in 1479 provided traders the right to supply Spaniards with Africans."[53][*better source needed*]

Dominican friar Annius of Viterbo invoked the curse of Ham, from the biblical story of enslavement, to explain the differences between Europeans and Africans.[*relevant?*] Annius, who wrote of the "superiority of Christians over the Saracens", claimed that due to the curse imposed upon Black people, they would inevitably remain permanently subjugated by Arabs and other Muslims. He wrote that the fact that so many Africans had been enslaved even by the heretical Muslims was supposed proof of their inferiority. Through these and other writings, European writers established a hitherto unheard of connection between a cursed people, Africa and slavery, which laid the ideological groundwork for justifying the transatlantic slave trade.[54][55] The term "race" was used by the English, beginning in the 16th century, and referred to family, lineage, and breed. The idea of race developed further and

was used as a justification for the continuation of the slave trade and discrimination.[56][57][58][59]

African slavery

Slavery was prevalent in many parts of Africa for many centuries before the Atlantic slave trade.[60] Slavery was a significant part of the African economy, though its relative importance and the role and treatment of enslaved people varied by society.[61]

Millions of enslaved Africans were transported to other parts of Africa, or exported to Europe and Asia prior to the Atlantic slave trade and the European colonization of the Americas.[62][63] The Trans-Saharan slave trade across the Sahara had functioned since antiquity, and continued until the 20th-century; in 652, the Rashidun Caliphate in Egypt enforced an annual tribute of 400 slaves from the Christian Kingdom of Makuria by the Baqt treaty, which was in effect for centuries.[64] It supplied Africans for slavery in the Rashidun Caliphate (632–661), the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750), the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258) and the Mamluk Sultanate (1258–1517).

Slaves were marched in shackles to the coasts of Sudan, Ethiopia and Somali, placed upon dhows and trafficked across the Indian Ocean to the Gulf of Aden. Others were carried across the Red Sea to Arabia and Aden, with sick slaves thrown overboard, or marched across the Sahara desert via the Trans-Saharan slave trade route to the Nile, with many dying from exposure or swollen feet.[65]

Estimates of the numbers African slaves held over twelve centuries in the Muslim world are 12[66][*page needed*]-14 million,[67][68] while other estimates suggest 12–15 million African slaves prior to the 20th century.[69][70]

According to John K. Thornton, Europeans usually bought enslaved people who had been captured in endemic warfare between African states.[6] Some Africans had made a business from capturing war captives or members of neighboring ethnic groups, and selling them.[71] A reminder of this is documented in debates over the trade in the British Parliament in 1806: "All the old writers ... concur in stating not only that wars

are entered into for the sole purpose of making slaves, but that they are fomented by Europeans, with a view to that object."[72] People living around the Niger River would be transported from these markets to the coast and sold in European trading ports, in exchange for muskets and manufactured goods such as cloth or alcohol.[73] The European demand for slaves provided a new and larger market for the already existing trade.[74] While those held as slaves in their region of Africa could hope to escape, those shipped away had little chance of returning to their homeland.[75]

European colonization and slavery in West-Central Africa

Elmina Castle in the Guinea coast, present-day Ghana, was built in 1482 by Portuguese traders and was the first European-slave trading post in Sub-Saharan Africa.[76][77]

The Atlantic slave trading of Africans began in 1441 with two Portuguese explorers, Nuno Tristão and António Gonçalves. Tristão and Gonçalves sailed to Mauritania in West Africa and kidnapped twelve Africans and returned to Portugal and presented the captives as gifts to Prince Henry the Navigator. By 1460, 700–800 African people were taken annually and transported to Portugal, to be used as servants. From 1460 to 1500, the removal of Africans increased as Portugal built forts along the coast of West Africa. By 1500, Portugal had taken 50,000 thousand West Africans. The Africans worked as domestic servants, artisans, and farmers. Other Africans were taken to work the sugar plantations on the Azores, Madeira,[78] Canary, and Cape Verde islands. Europeans participated in African enslavement because of their desire for labor, profit, and religious motives.[79][80]

Upon discovering new lands, European colonisers soon began to migrate to and settle in lands outside their native continent. Off the coast of Africa, European migrants, under the directions of the Kingdom of Castile, invaded and colonised the Canary

Islands during the 15th century, where they converted much of the land to the production of wine and sugar. Along with this, they captured native Canary Islanders, the Guanches, to use as slaves on the islands and across the Christian Mediterranean.[81]

Established in Ghana by the Swedish African Company, Cape Coast Castle was built in 1653 as a trading post that later expanded to other European nations. With the arrival of British colonization, Cape Coast Castle became the headquarters of British colonial administration. "Throughout the 18th century, the Castle served as a 'grand emporium' of the British slave trade."[82][83][84]

After the success of Portugal and Spain in the slave trade, other European nations followed. In 1530, an English merchant from Plymouth, William Hawkins, visited the Guinea Coast and left with slaves. In 1564, Hawkin's son John Hawkins, sailed to the Guinea Coast; his voyage was supported by Elizabeth I. John turned to piracy and stole 300 Africans from a Spanish slave ship, after failure in Guinea to capture Africans when most of his men died after fights with the locals.[80]

Historian John Thornton remarked, "the actual motivation for European expansion and for navigational breakthroughs was little more than to exploit the opportunity for immediate profits made by raiding and the seizure or purchase of trade commodities".[85] Using the Canary Islands as a naval base, Europeans began to move their activities down the west coast of Africa, performing raids in which slaves would be captured to be sold in the Mediterranean.[86] Although initially successful, "it was not long before African naval forces were alerted to the new dangers, and the Portuguese [raiding] ships began to meet strong and effective resistance", with the crews of several being killed by African sailors, whose boats were better equipped at traversing the west-central African coasts and river systems.[87]

Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba fought against the expansion of the Portuguese Empire and their slave trade in a thirty-year war in present-day Angola.

By 1494, the Portuguese king had entered agreements with the rulers of several West African states that would allow trade, enabling the Portuguese to "tap into" the "well-developed commercial economy in Africa ... without engaging in hostilities".[88] "Peaceful trade became the rule all along the African coast", although there were exceptions when aggression led to violence. For instance, Portuguese traders attempted to conquer the Bissagos Islands in 1535.[89]

In 1571, Portugal, supported by the Kingdom of Kongo, took control of the southwest region of Angola to secure its threatened economic interest in the area. Although Kongo joined a coalition in 1591 to force the Portuguese out, Portugal had secured a foothold that it occupied until the 20th century.[90] Despite these incidents of violence between African and European forces, many African states ensured trade went on in their own terms, for instance, imposing custom duties on foreign ships. In 1525, the Kongolese King Afonso I seized a French vessel and its crew for illegally trading on his coast. Afonso complained to the king of Portugal that Portuguese slave traders continued to kidnap his people, which was causing depopulation.[91][89]

Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba, who ruled as queen of the Ambundu Kingdoms of Ndongo (1624–63) and Matamba (1631–63) in present-day Angola, fought a war against the Portuguese Empire's expansion. Initially, Nzinga accommodated the

Portuguese. She converted to Christianity and repositioned the Ndongo Kingdom as an intermediary in the slave trade instead of as a source for slaves. This provided her with an ally against hostile neighbouring African Kingdoms, however the Portuguese continued to encroach on her kingdom to expand the slave trade and establish settlements.[92][93][94] Nzinga called for an end to the raids, however the Portuguese declared war on Ndongo in 1626. Nzinga allowed sanctuary to runaway slaves from Portuguese controlled territory and organized a military called *kilombo* against the Portuguese. Within two years, Nzinga's army was defeated and she went into exile. She later conquered the Kingdom of Matamba and entered into an alliance with the Dutch West India Company and former rival African states. With their help, Nzinga was able to reclaim large parts of Ndongo between 1641 and 1647. Nzinga continued to fight the Portuguese until a peace treaty was signed in 1656.[92][95][94]

Historians have debated the nature of the relationship between these African kingdoms and European traders. The Guyanese historian Walter Rodney (1972) has argued it was an unequal relationship, with Africans being forced into a "colonial" trade with the more economically developed Europeans, exchanging raw materials and slaves for manufactured goods. He argued that it was this trade dating back to the 16th century that led to Africa being underdeveloped in his time.[96] These ideas were supported by other historians, including Ralph Austen.[97] This idea of an unequal relationship was contested by John Thornton, who argued that "the Atlantic slave trade was not nearly as critical to the African economy as these scholars believed" and "African manufacturing [at this period] was more than capable of handling competition from preindustrial Europe".[98] However, Anne Bailey, commenting on Thornton's suggestion that Africans and Europeans were equal partners in the Atlantic slave trade, wrote:

[T]o see Africans as partners implies equal terms and equal influence on the global and intercontinental processes of the trade. Africans had great influence on the continent itself, but they had no direct influence on the engines behind the trade in the capital firms, the shipping and insurance companies of Europe and America, or the plantation systems in Americas. They did not wield any influence on the building manufacturing centres of the West.[99]

16th, 17th, and 18th centuries

Map of Meridian Line set under the Treaty of Tordesillas

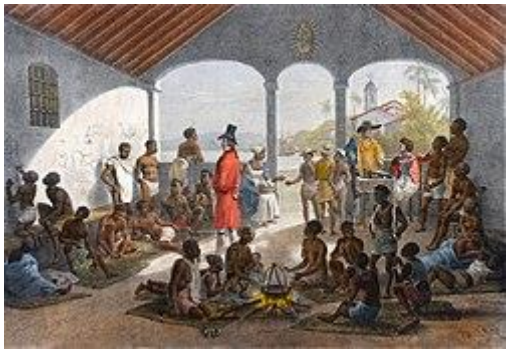
The Slave Trade **by Auguste François Biard, 1840**

The first Atlantic system involved the trade of enslaved Atlantic Creoles to American colonies of the Portuguese and Spanish empires. Atlantic Creoles were Africans who adapted to various languages, cultures, and economies during the Atlantic slave trade period. They were multilingual and worked as merchants, sailors, and interpreters. They traded with Europeans along the African coast and established Creole communities in Africa and the Americas and were the first captured and enslaved.[100][101] With the European settlement of lands in the New World, the main destination of the slave trade shifted from Europe to the Americas.[102]

The first enslaved Africans arrived in continental North America in the 16th century, often with European explorers. They continued to arrive in limited numbers, not only from Africa but also from Europe, the Caribbean islands, and other Atlantic coastal regions.[102] During the first Atlantic slave trade system, most of the slavers were Portuguese, giving Portugal a near-monopoly. The Treaty of Tordesillas did not allow Spanish ships in African ports. Spain relied on Portuguese ships and sailors to bring slaves across the Atlantic. From 1525, slaves were transported directly from the

Portuguese colony of Sao Tomé across the Atlantic to Hispaniola.[103] A burial ground in Campeche, Mexico, suggests enslaved Africans had been brought there not long after Hernán Cortés completed the conquest of Aztec and Mayan Mexico in 1519. The graveyard was in use from 1550 to the late 17th century.[104] By the 1530s there were large numbers of African slaves in the recently conquered Inca capital of Cusco as attested by Diego de Almagro departing this city with about 100 black Africans for Chile in 1535.[105] In 1562, John Hawkins captured Africans in what is now Sierra Leone and took 300 people to sell in the Caribbean. In 1564, he repeated the voyage, this time using Queen Elizabeth's own ship, Jesus of Lübeck, and numerous English voyages followed.[106]

Around 1560, the Portuguese began a slave trade to Brazil. From 1580 until 1640, Portugal was temporarily united with Spain in the Iberian Union. Most Portuguese contractors who obtained the asiento between 1580 and 1640 were conversos.[107] For Portuguese merchants, many of whom were "New Christians" or their descendants, the union of crowns presented commercial opportunities in the slave trade to Spanish America.[108][109][*page needed*]



A slave market in Brazil

Until the middle of the 17th century, Mexico was the largest single market for slaves in Spanish America.[110] While the Portuguese were directly involved in trading enslaved people to Brazil, the Spanish Empire relied on the Asiento de Negros system, awarding Genoese merchant bankers the license to trade slaves from Africa to their colonies in Spanish America. Cartagena, Veracruz, Buenos Aires, and Hispaniola received most slave arrivals, mainly from Angola.[111] This division of the slave trade between Spain and Portugal upset the British and Dutch who invested in the British West Indies and Dutch Brazil producing sugar. After the Iberian Union

fell apart, Spain prohibited Portugal from directly engaging in the slave trade as a carrier. Under the Peace of Münster, the slave trade was opened to the traditional enemies of Spain, causing Spain to lose a large share to the Dutch, French, and English. For 150 years, Spanish transatlantic traffic was operating at trivial levels. In many years, not a single Spanish slave voyage set sail from Africa. Unlike all their imperial competitors, the Spanish almost never delivered slaves to foreign territories. By contrast, the British, and the Dutch before them, sold slaves everywhere in the Americas.[112]

The second Atlantic system was the trade of enslaved Africans by mostly English, French, and Dutch traders and investors.[113] The main destinations of this phase were the Caribbean islands Curaçao, Jamaica and Martinique, as European nations built up economically slave-dependent colonies. In 1672, the Royal Africa Company was founded. In 1674, the New West India Company became more deeply involved in slave trade.[116] From 1677, the Compagnie du Sénégal, used Gorée to house the slaves. The Spanish proposed to get slaves from Cape Verde, located closer to the demarcation line between the Spanish and Portuguese empire, but this was against the WIC-charter.[117] The Royal African Company usually refused to deliver slaves to Spanish colonies, though they did sell them to all comers from their factories in Kingston, Jamaica and Bridgetown, Barbados.[118] In 1682, Spain allowed governors from Havana, Porto Bello, Panama, and Cartagena, Colombia to procure slaves from Jamaica.[119]

Island of Gorée, Senegal

By the 1690s, the English were shipping the most slaves from West Africa.[120] By the 18th century, Portuguese Angola again become one of the principal sources of the slave trade.[121] After the War of the Spanish Succession, as part of the provisions of

the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Asiento was granted to the South Sea Company.[122] Despite the South Sea Bubble, the British maintained this position during the 18th century, becoming the biggest shipper of slaves across the Atlantic.[123][124] Most of the slave trade took place during the 18th century, with the Portuguese, British, and French being the main carriers of nine out of ten slaves abducted in Africa.[125] Slave trading was regarded as crucial to Europe's maritime economy, as noted by an English slave trader: "What a glorious and advantageous trade this is ... It is the hinge on which all the trade of this globe moves."[126][127]

Slave trading became a business for privately owned enterprises, reducing international complications.[110] After 1790, captains often compared slave prices in major markets of Kingston, Havana, and Charleston, South Carolina before deciding where to sell.[128] For the last sixteen years of the transatlantic slave trade, Spain was the only transatlantic slave-trading empire.[129] Following the British Slave Trade Act 1807 and U.S. bans on the African slave trade, it declined, but the period thereafter still accounted for 29% of the Atlantic slave trade.[130][*page needed*] Between 1810 and 1860, over 3.5 million slaves were transported, with 850,000 in the 1820s.[131]

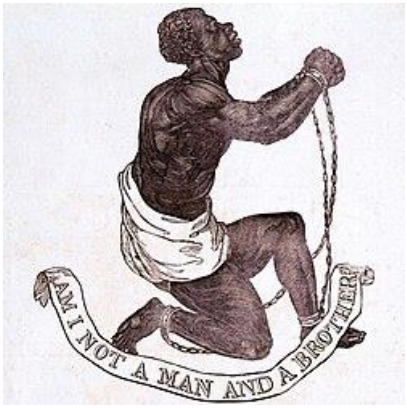
Triangular trade

Diagram of triangular trade

The first side of the triangle was the export of goods from Europe to Africa. African kings and merchants took part in the trading of slaves from 1440 to about 1833. For each captive, the African rulers would receive goods from Europe. These included guns, ammunition, alcohol, indigo dyed Indian textiles, and other factory-made goods.[132] The second leg of the triangle exported enslaved Africans across the Atlantic to the Americas and Caribbean Islands. The third part of the triangle was the return of goods to Europe from the Americas. The goods were the products of slave

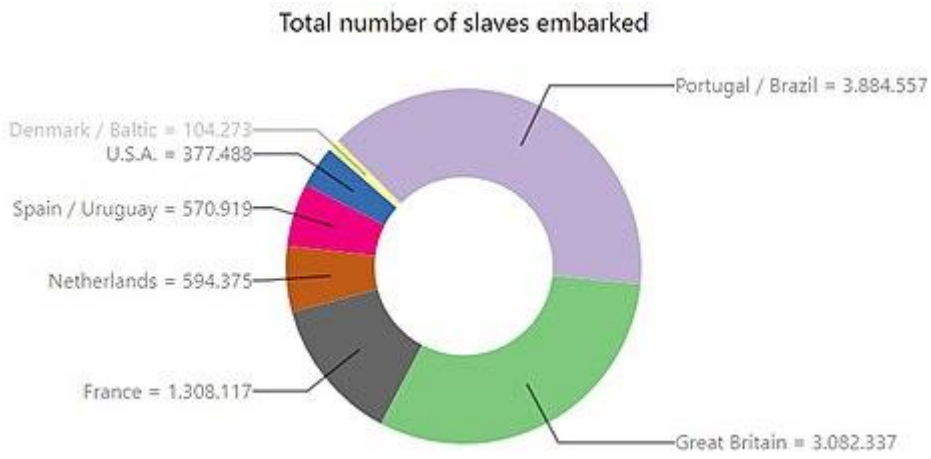
plantations and included cotton, sugar, tobacco, molasses and rum.[133] Sir John Hawkins, considered the pioneer of the English slave trade, was the first to run the triangular trade, making a profit at every stop.[134]

Labour and slavery



A Wedgwood anti-slavery medallion, produced in 1787 by Josiah Wedgwood

The Atlantic slave trade was the result of, among other things, labour shortage, itself in turn created by the desire of colonists to exploit New World land and resources for profit. Native peoples were at first utilized as slave labour by Europeans until a large number died from overwork and Old World diseases.[135] In the mid-16th century, the Spanish New Laws, prohibited slavery of the Indigenous people. A labour shortage resulted. Alternative sources of labour, such as indentured servitude, failed to provide a sufficient workforce. Many crops could not be sold for profit, or even grown, in Europe. Exporting crops and goods from the New World to Europe often proved to be more profitable than producing them in Europe. A vast amount of labour was needed to create and sustain plantations that required intensive labour to grow, harvest, and process prized tropical crops. West Africa (part of which became known as "the Slave Coast"), Angola and nearby Kingdoms and later Central Africa, became the source for enslaved people to meet the demand for labour.[136] The reason for the shortage of labour was that, with much cheap land available and many landowners searching for workers, free European immigrants were able to become landowners themselves relatively quickly, thus increasing the need for workers.[137] Labour shortages were mainly met by the English, French and Portuguese with African slaves.


Total number of slaves embarked
Portugal / Brazil = 3.884.557
Denmark / Baltic = 104.273
U.S.A. = 377.488
Spain / Uruguay = 570.919
Netherlands = 594.375
France = 1.308.117
Great Britain = 3.082.337

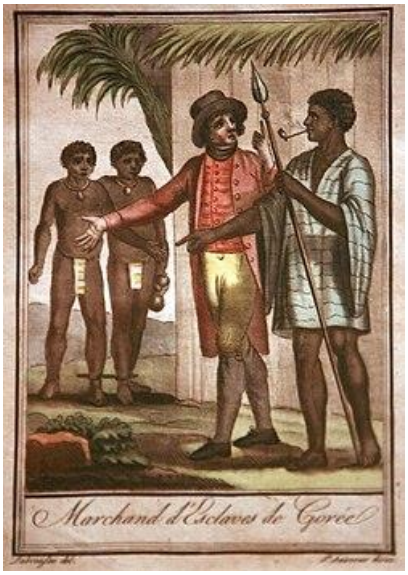
Slaves embarked to America from 1450 until 1866 by country

Thomas Jefferson attributed the use of slave labour in part to the climate, and the consequent idle leisure afforded by slave labour: "For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour."[138] Economist Elena Esposito argues that the enslavement of Africans in America was attributable to the fact that the American south was sufficiently warm and humid for malaria to thrive; the disease had debilitating effects on the European settlers. Conversely, many enslaved Africans were taken from regions of Africa which hosted potent strains of the disease, so they had developed resistance. This resulted in higher malaria survival rates in the American south among enslaved Africans than European labourers, making them a more profitable source of labour and encouraging their use.[139]

David Eltis argues that Africans were enslaved because of cultural beliefs in Europe that prohibited the enslavement of cultural insiders, even if there was a source of labour that could be enslaved (such as convicts, prisoners of war and vagrants). Eltis argues that traditional beliefs existed in Europe against enslaving Christians (few then not being Christian) and those slaves that existed tended to be non-Christians and their immediate descendants (since a slave converting to Christianity did not guarantee emancipation). Eltis argues that while all slave societies have demarked insiders and outsiders, Europeans took this process further by extending the status of insider to the entire European continent, rendering it unthinkable to enslave a European since this would require enslaving an insider. Africans were viewed as

outsiders and thus qualified for enslavement. While Europeans may have treated some types of labour, such as convict labour, with conditions similar to slaves, these labourers would not be regarded as chattel and their progeny could not inherit their subordinate status, thus not making them slaves in the eyes of Europeans. The status of chattel slavery was thus confined to non-Europeans, such as Africans.[140] For the British, slaves were no more than animals and could be treated as commodities, so situations like the Zong massacre occurred without justice for the victims.[141]

African participation



Slave traders in Gorée, Senegal, 18th century

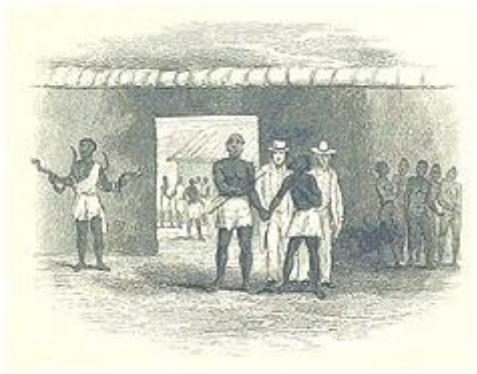
African partners, including rulers, traders and military aristocrats, played a direct role in the slave trade. They sold slaves acquired from wars or through kidnapping to Europeans or their agents. Those sold into slavery were usually from a different ethnic group than those who captured them, whether enemies or just neighbors.[142] These captive slaves were considered "other", not part of the people of the ethnic group or "tribe"; African kings were only interested in protecting their ethnic group, but sometimes criminals would be sold.[143]

The kingdom of Dahomey supplied war captives to European slave traders.[144] Dahomey King Agaja, who ruled from 1718 to 1740, took control of key trade routes for the Atlantic slave trade by conquering the neighbouring kingdoms of Allada in 1724 and Whydah in 1727.[144] A decrease in the slave trade in the area

was observed after this conquest, however Agaja did create significant infrastructure for the slave trade and actively participated in it.[145]

Africans from the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) participated in the slave trade through intermarriage, or *cassare*, meaning 'to set up house', derived from the Portuguese *'casar'*, meaning 'to marry'. *Cassare* formed political and economic bonds between European and African slave traders. *Cassare* was a pre-European-contact practice used to integrate the "other" from a differing African tribe. Early on in the Atlantic slave trade, it was common for elite West African families to marry their women to European traders in alliance, bolstering their syndicate. The marriages were even performed using African customs, which Europeans did not object to, given how important the connections were.[146]

African awareness of the conditions of slavery in the Americas



A slave market in Dahomey

It is difficult to reconstruct and generalize how Africans residing in Africa understood the Atlantic slave trade, though there is evidence African elites and slave traders had awareness of the conditions of the slaves transported to the Americas.[147][148] According to Robin Law, the elites of Dahomey must have had an "informed understanding" of the fates of the Africans they sold into slavery.[147] Dahomey sent diplomats to Brazil and Portugal who returned with information about the trips.[147] Royal elites of Dahomey had experienced slavery in the Americas before returning to their homeland.[147] The only apparent moral issue that the kingdom had with slavery was the enslavement of fellow Dahomeyans, an offense punishable by death, rather than the institution of slavery itself.[147]

On the Gold Coast, it was common for slave-trading African rulers to encourage their children to learn about Europeans by sending them to sail on European ships, live inside European forts, or travel to Europe or America for an education.[149] Diplomats traveled to European cities. The elites rescued fellow elites tricked into slavery in the Americas by sending demands to the Dutch and British governments, who complied due to fears of reduced trade.[149] An example is the case of William Ansah Sessarakoo, who was rescued from slavery in Barbados after being recognised by a visiting slave trader of the same Fante ethnic group, and later became a slave trader himself.[150] Fenda Lawrence was a slave trader from the Gambia who lived and traded in Georgia and South Carolina as a free person.[151]

A common assumption by Africans who were unaware of the purpose of the Atlantic slave trade was that the Europeans were cannibals who planned on cooking and eating their captives.[152] This rumour was a source of significant distress for enslaved Africans.[152]

African opposition to the slave trade

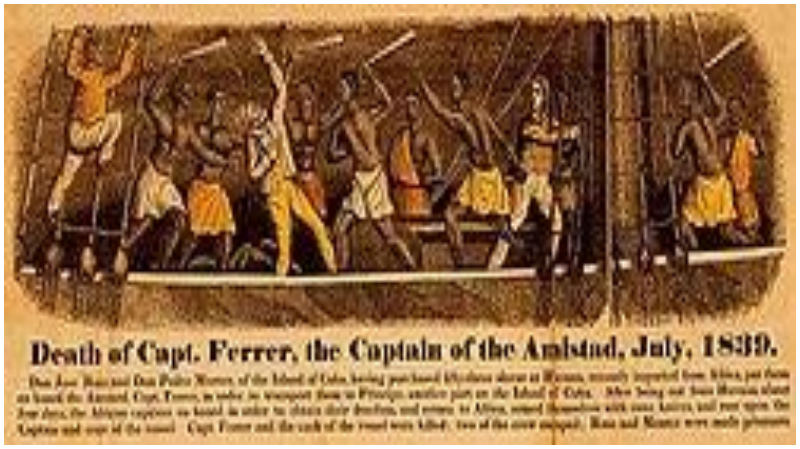
Boukary Koutou's Mossi cavalry returning with captives from a raid.

Sometimes trading between Europeans and African leaders was unequal. Europeans influenced Africans to provide more slaves by forming military alliances with warring African societies to instigate more fighting, which would provide more war captives to the African rulers to trade as slaves. Europeans shifted the location of disembarkation points for trade along the African coast to follow military conflicts. In areas of Africa where slavery was not prevalent, European slave traders negotiated with African rulers on their terms for trade, and African rulers refused to supply European demands. Africans and Europeans profited from the slave trade; however, African populations suffered greatly. The Mossi Kingdoms resisted the Atlantic slave trade and refused to

participate in the selling of people. However, as time progressed more European slave traders entered into West Africa, had more influence in African nations and the Mossi became involved in slave trading in the 1800s.

Burning of a village in Africa, and capture of its inhabitants. To escape slave raids some Africans escaped into swamp regions or to other areas.

Although many African nations profited from the Atlantic slave trade, many African nations resisted such as the Djola and Balanta.[154] Some African nations organized into military resistance movements and fought African slave raiders and European slave traders entering their villages. The Akan, Etsi, Fetu, Eguafo, Agona, and Asebu people organized into the Fante coalition and fought slave raiders and protected themselves from capture and enslavement.[155] Chief Tomba was born in 1700 and his father was a general from the Jalonke-speaking people who fought against the slave trade. Tomba became ruler of the Baga people in present-day Guinea Bissau in West Africa and made alliances with nearby African villages against African and European slave traders. His efforts were unsuccessful: Tomba was captured by African traders and sold into slavery.[156]



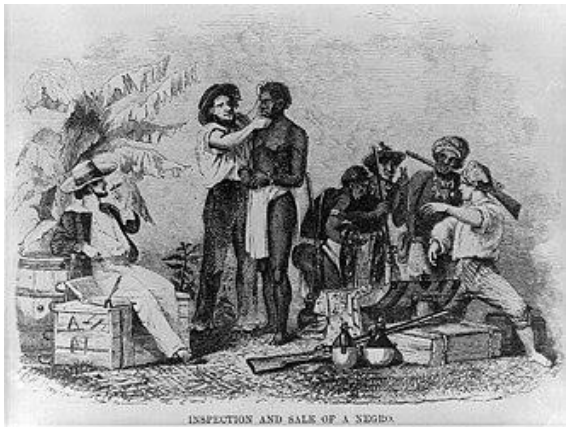
On July 1, 1839, enslaved Mende people aboard the *Amistad* revolted and took control of the ship. This incident led to a Supreme Court case in 1841.[157]

Donna Beatriz Kimpa Vita in Kongo and Senegalese leader Abd al-Qadir, advocated resistance against the forced exportation of Africans.[158] In the 1770s, leader Abdul Kader Khan opposed the Atlantic slave trade through Futa Toro, present-day Senegal. Kader Khan and Futa Toro nation resisted French slave traders and colonizers who wanted to enslave Africans and Muslims from Futa Toro.[159] Other forms of resistance by African nations was migration to different areas in West Africa such as swamps and lake regions to escape slave raids. Efik participated in slave dealing as a form of protection against enslavement.[160] African resistance occurred in every phase of the slave trade to resisting marches to the slave holding stations, resistance at the coast, and on slave ships.[161] Aboard the slave ship Clare, the enslaved Africans revolted and drove the crew from the vessel, took control of the ship, and landed near Cape Coast Castle in present-day Ghana in 1729. Enslaved Africans sunk ships, killed the crew, and set fire to ships with explosives. Slave traders and white crewmembers prevented rebellions by loading women, men, and children separately inside slave ships because enslaved children used loose pieces of wood, and tools they found and passed them to the men to free themselves and fight the crew. From the records of slave ship captains, between 1698 and 1807, there were 353 acts of insurrection aboard slave ships. Most rebellions were defeated. Igbo slaves on ships committed suicide by jumping overboard as an act of resistance. To prevent suicides, crewmen placed nets around slave ships to catch enslaved persons that jumped overboard. White captains invested in firearms, swivel guns, and ordered crews to watch slaves to prevent or prepare for possible revolts.[162][163]

John Newton was a captain of slave ships and recorded in his journal how Africans mutinied on ships, and some were successful in overtaking the crew.[164][165] In 1730 the slave ship *Little George* departed from the Guinea Coast to Rhode Island with a cargo of 96 enslaved Africans. A few slaves slipped out of their iron chains and killed three watchmen on deck and imprisoned the captain and crew. The Africans received a promise of freedom in a deal made with the captain and crew. Africans reclaimed the ship and sailed it back to Africa's shore. The captain and crew failed in their attempt to re-enslave the Africans.[166] According to research by Jane Landers, more rebellions occurred when there were large numbers of African women aboard.[167]

European participation

Europeans provided the market for slaves, rarely traveling beyond the coast or entering the African interior, due to fear of disease and native resistance.[168] They typically resided in fortresses on the coasts, where they waited for Africans to provide them captured slaves from the interior in exchange for goods. Cases of European merchants kidnapping free Africans into slavery often resulted in retaliation from Africans, who could momentarily stop trade and kill Europeans.[169] Europeans who desired uninterrupted trade aimed to prevent kidnapping incidents, and the British passed the "Acts of Parliament for Regulating the Slave Trade" in 1750 which outlawed the abduction of free Africans by "fraud, force, or violence".[169] According to the Lowcountry Digital Library, "When Portuguese, and later their European competitors, found that peaceful commercial relations alone did not generate enough enslaved Africans to fill the growing demands of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, they formed military alliances with certain African groups against their enemies. This encouraged more extensive warfare to produce captives for trading."[170]

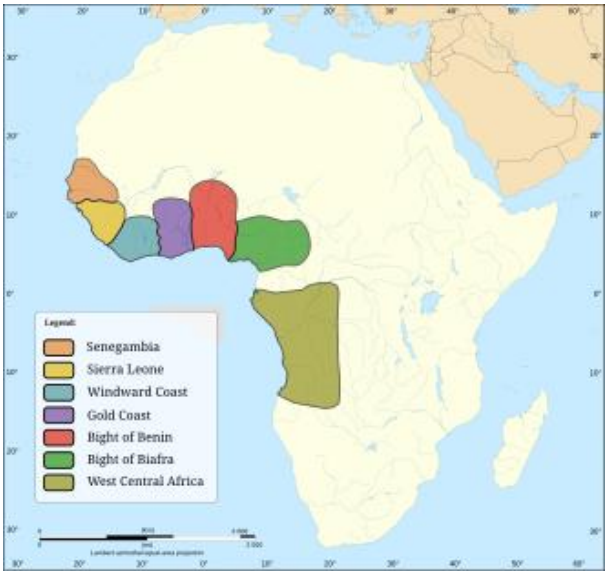


A slave being inspected

In 1778, Thomas Kitchin estimated that Europeans were bringing an estimated 52,000 slaves to the Caribbean yearly, with the French bringing the most Africans to the French West Indies.[171] The Atlantic slave trade peaked in the last two decades of the 18th century,[172] during and following the Kongo Civil War.[173] Wars among tiny states along the Niger River's Igbo-inhabited region and the accompanying banditry spiked in this period.[71] Another reason for the peak was major warfare

conducted by expanding states, such as the kingdom of Dahomey,[174] the Oyo Empire, and the Ashanti Empire.[175]

Slave market regions and participation



Major slave trading regions of Africa, 15th–19th centuries

Europeans would buy and ship slaves to the Western Hemisphere from markets across West Africa. The number of enslaved people sold to the New World varied throughout the slave trade. As for the distribution of slaves from regions of activity, certain areas produced far more enslaved people than others. Between 1650 and 1900, 10.2 million enslaved Africans arrived in the Americas from the following regions in the following proportions:[176][*page needed*]

- Senegambia (Senegal and the Gambia): 4.8%
- Upper Guinea (Guinea-Bissau, Guinea and Sierra Leone): 4.1%
- Windward Coast (Liberia and Ivory Coast): 1.8%
- Gold Coast (Ghana and east of Ivory Coast): 10%
- Bight of Benin (Togo, Benin and Nigeria west of the Niger Delta): 20%
- Bight of Biafra (Nigeria east of the Niger Delta, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon): 15%
- West Central Africa (Republic of the Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola): 39%
- Southeastern Africa (Mozambique and Madagascar): 5%

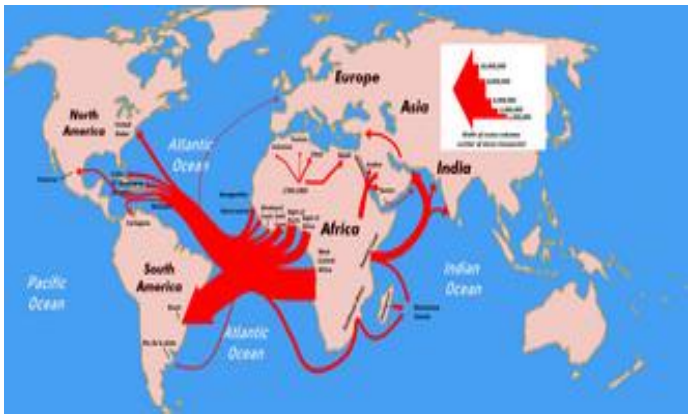
Although the slave trade was largely global, there was considerable intracontinental slave trade in which 8 million people were enslaved within the African continent.[177] Of those who did move out of Africa, 8 million were forced out of East Africa to be sent to Asia.[177]

Ethnic groups

The different ethnic groups brought to the Americas closely correspond to the regions of heaviest activity in the slave trade. Over 45 distinct ethnic groups were taken to the Americas during the trade. The ten most prominent, according to slave documentation of the era and modern genealogical studies are listed below.[178][179][180]

1. The BaKongo of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of the Congo and Angola
2. The Mandé of Upper Guinea
3. The Gbe speakers of Togo, Ghana, and Benin (Fon, Ewe, Adja, Mina)
4. The Akan of Ghana and Ivory Coast
5. The Wolof of Senegal and the Gambia
6. The Igbo of southeastern Nigeria
7. The Ambundu of Angola
8. The Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria and Benin
9. The Tikar and Bamileke of Cameroon
10. The Makua of Mozambique

Human toll



Slave trade out of Africa, 1500–1900

The transatlantic slave trade resulted in a vast and as yet unknown loss of life for African captives both in and outside the Americas. Estimates have ranged from as low as 2 million[181][*better source needed*] to as high 60 million.[182][*disputed – discuss*] More than a million people are thought to have died during their transport to the New World according to a BBC report.[183][*better source needed*] More died soon after their arrival. The number of lives lost in the procurement of slaves remains a mystery but may equal or exceed the number who survived to be enslaved.[14][*better source needed*]

The trade led to the destruction of individuals and cultures. Historian Ana Lucia Araujo has noted that the process of enslavement did not end with arrival on Western Hemisphere shores; the different paths taken by the individuals and groups who were victims of the Atlantic slave trade were influenced by different factors—including the disembarking region, the ability to be sold on the market, the kind of work performed, gender, age, religion, and language.[184][185]

Patrick Manning estimates that about 12 million slaves entered the Atlantic trade between the 16th and 19th centuries, but about 1.5 million died on board ship. About 10.5 million slaves arrived in the Americas. Besides the slaves who died on the Middle Passage, more Africans likely died during the slave raids and wars in Africa and forced marches to ports. Manning estimates that 4 million died inside Africa after capture, and many more died young. Manning's estimate covers the 12 million who were originally destined for the Atlantic, as well as the 6 million destined for Arabian slave markets and the 8 million destined for African markets.[13] Of the slaves shipped to the Americas, the largest share went to Brazil and the Caribbean.[186]

Canadian scholar Adam Jones characterized the deaths of millions of Africans during the Atlantic slave trade as genocide. He called it "one of the worst holocausts in human history", and claims arguments to the contrary such as "it was in slave owners' interest to keep slaves alive, not exterminate them" to be "mostly sophistry" stating: "the killing and destruction were intentional, whatever the incentives to preserve survivors of the Atlantic passage for labour exploitation. To revisit the issue of intent already touched on: If an institution is deliberately maintained and expanded by discernible

agents, though all are aware of the hecatombs of casualties it is inflicting on a definable human group, then why should this not qualify as genocide?"[187]

Saidiya Hartman has argued that the deaths of enslaved people was incidental to the acquisition of profit and to the rise of capitalism: "Death wasn't a goal of its own but just a by-product of commerce, which has the lasting effect of making negligible all the millions of lives lost. Incidental death occurs when life has no normative value, when no humans are involved, when the population is, in effect, seen as already dead."[188] Hartman highlights how the Atlantic slave trade created millions of corpses but, unlike the concentration camp or the gulag, extermination was not the final objective; it was a corollary to the making of commodities.

Destinations and flags of carriers

Most of the Atlantic slave trade was carried out by seven nations and most of the slaves were carried to their own colonies in the new world. But there was also significant other trading which is shown in the table below.[189] The records are not complete, and some data is uncertain. The last rows show that there were also smaller numbers of slaves carried to Europe and to other parts of Africa, and at least 1.8 million did not survive the journey and were buried at sea with little ceremony.

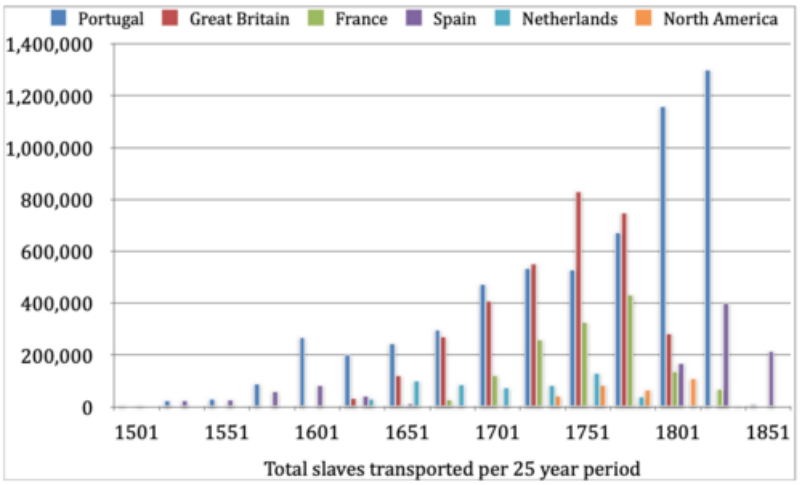
Flag of vessels carrying the slaves

Destination	Portuguese	British	French	Spanish	Dutch	American	Danish	Total
Portuguese Brazil	4,821,127	3,804	9,402	1,033	27,702	1,174	130	4,864,372
British Caribbean	7,919	2,208,296	22,920	5,795	6,996	64,836	1,489	2,318,251
French Caribbean	2,562	90,984	1,003,905	725	12,736	6,242	3,062	1,120,216

Flag of vessels carrying the slaves

Destination	Portuguese	British	French	Spanish	Dutch	American	Danish	Total
Spanish Americas	195,482	103,009	92,944	808,851	24,197	54,901	13,527	1,061,524
Dutch Americas	500	32,446	5,189	0	392,022	9,574	4,998	444,729
North America	382	264,910	8,877	1,851	1,212	110,532	983	388,747
Danish West Indies	0	25,594	7,782	277	5,161	2,799	67,385	108,998
Europe	2,636	3,438	664	0	2,004	119	0	8,861
Africa	69,206	841	13,282	66,391	3,210	2,476	162	155,568
did not arrive	748,452	526,121	216,439	176,601	79,096	52,673	19,304	1,818,686
Total	**5,848,266**	**3,259,443**	**1,381,404**	**1,061,524**	**554,336**	**305,326**	**111,040**	**12,521,339**

The timeline chart when the different nations transported most of their slaves.



The regions of Africa from which these slaves were taken is given in the following table, from the same source.

Source of slaves, by region

Region	Embarked	Disembarked	*did not arrive*	*% did not arrive*
Angola Coast, Loango Coast, and Saint Helena	5,694,570	4,955,430	739,140	12.98%
Bight of Benin	1,999,060	1,724,834	274,226	13.72%
Bight of Biafra	1,594,564	1,317,776	276,788	17.36%
Gold Coast	1,209,322	1,030,917	178,405	14.75%
Senegambia and off-shore Atlantic	755,515	611,017	144,498	19.13%
Southeast Africa and Indian Ocean islands	542,668	436,529	106,139	19.56%
Sierra Leone	388,771	338,783	49,988	12.87%
Windward Coast	336,869	287,366	49,503	14.70%
Total	**12,521,339**	**10,702,652**	**1,818,687**	**14.52%**

African conflicts

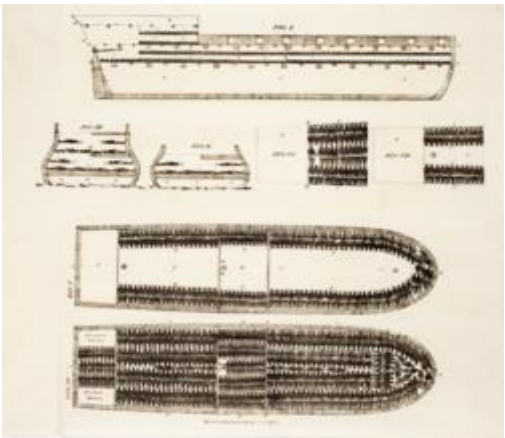


Diagram of a large slave ship. Thomas Clarkson:
***The cries of Africa to the inhabitants of Europe*, c. 1822**

According to Kimani Nehusi, the presence of European slavers affected the way in which the legal code in African societies responded to offenders. Crimes traditionally punishable by some other form of punishment became punishable by enslavement and sale to slave traders.[190][*better source needed*][142][*better source needed*] According to David Stannard's *American Holocaust*, 50% of African deaths occurred in Africa as a result of wars between native kingdoms, which produced the majority of slaves.[14]{[*better source needed*] This includes not only those who died in battles but also those who died as a result of forced marches from inland areas to slave ports on the various coasts.[191] The practice of enslaving enemy combatants and their villages was widespread throughout Western and West Central Africa. The slave trade was largely a by-product of tribal and state warfare as a way of removing potential dissidents after victory or financing future wars.[192][*page needed*]

In addition, European nations instigated war between African nations and increased the number of war captives by making alliances with warring nations and shifted trade locations in coastal areas to follow patterns of African military conflicts to acquire more slaves.[142] Some African groups proved particularly adept and brutal at the practice of enslaving, such as Bono State, Oyo, Benin, Igala, Kaabu, Ashanti, Dahomey, the Aro Confederacy and the Imbangala war bands.[193][194][*page needed*]

In letters written by the Manikongo, Nzinga Mbemba Afonso, to the King João III of Portugal, he writes that Portuguese merchandise flowing in is what is fueling the trade in Africans. He requests the King of Portugal to stop sending merchandise but should only send missionaries. In one of his letters he writes:

Each day the traders are kidnapping our people—children of this country, sons of our nobles and vassals, even people of our own family. This corruption and depravity are so widespread that our land is entirely depopulated. We need in this kingdom only priests and schoolteachers, and no merchandise, unless it is wine and flour for Mass. It is our wish that this Kingdom not be a place for the trade or transport of slaves ... Many of our subjects eagerly lust after Portuguese merchandise that your subjects have brought into our domains. To satisfy this inordinate appetite, they seize many of our black free subjects ... They sell them. After having taken these prisoners [to the

coast] secretly or at night ... As soon as the captives are in the hands of white men they are branded with a red-hot iron.[195]

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, slavery had already existed in the Kingdom of Kongo. Afonso I of Kongo believed that the slave trade should be subject to Kongo law. When he suspected the Portuguese of receiving illegally enslaved persons to sell, he wrote to King João III in 1526 imploring him to put a stop to the practice.[196]

The kings of Dahomey sold war captives into transatlantic slavery; they would otherwise have been killed in a ceremony known as the Annual Customs. As one of West Africa's principal slave states, Dahomey became extremely unpopular with neighbouring peoples.[197][198][199] Like the Bambara Empire to the east, the Khasso kingdoms depended heavily on the slave trade for their economy. A family's status was indicated by the number of slaves it owned, leading to wars for the sole purpose of taking more captives. This trade led the Khasso into increasing contact with the European settlements of Africa's west coast, particularly the French.[200] Benin grew increasingly rich during the 16th and 17th centuries on the slave trade with Europe; slaves from enemy states of the interior were sold and carried to the Americas in Dutch and Portuguese ships. The Bight of Benin's shore soon came to be known as the "Slave Coast".[201]

King Gezo of Dahomey said in the 1840s:

The slave trade is the ruling principle of my people. It is the source and the glory of their wealth ... the mother lulls the child to sleep with notes of triumph over an enemy reduced to slavery ...[202][203]

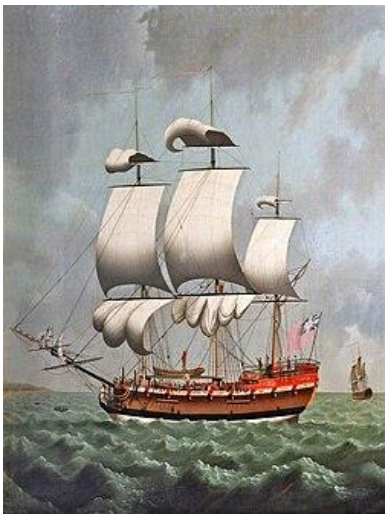
In 1807, the UK Parliament passed the Bill that abolished the trading of slaves. The King of Bonny (now in Nigeria) was horrified at the conclusion of the practice:

We think this trade must go on. That is the verdict of our oracle and the priests. They say that your country, however great, can never stop a trade ordained by God himself.[203]

Port factories

After being marched to the coast for sale, enslaved people were held in large forts called factories. The amount of time in factories varied, but Milton Meltzer states in *Slavery: A World History* that around 4.5% of deaths attributed to the transatlantic slave trade occurred during this phase.[204] In other words, over 820,000 people are believed to have died in African ports such as Benguela, Elmina, and Bonny, reducing the number of those shipped to 17.5 million.

Atlantic shipment



A Liverpool Slave Ship **by William Jackson. Merseyside Maritime Museum**

After being captured and held in the factories, slaves entered the infamous Middle Passage. Meltzer's research puts this phase of the slave trade's overall mortality at 12.5%.[204] Their deaths were the result of brutal treatment and poor care from the time of their capture and throughout their voyage.[205] Around 2.2 million Africans died during these voyages, where they were packed into tight, unsanitary spaces on ships for months at a time.[206] Measures were taken to stem the onboard mortality rate, such as enforced "dancing" (as exercise) above deck and the practice of force-feeding enslaved persons who tried to starve themselves.[191] The conditions on board also resulted in the spread of fatal diseases. Other fatalities were suicides, slaves who escaped by jumping overboard.[191] The slave traders would try to fit anywhere from 350 to 600 slaves on one ship. Before the African slave trade was completely banned by participating nations in 1853, 15.3 million enslaved people had arrived in the Americas.

Raymond L. Cohn, an economics professor whose research has focused on economic history and international migration,[207] has researched the mortality rates among Africans during the voyages of the Atlantic slave trade. He found that mortality rates decreased over the history of the slave trade, primarily because the length of time necessary for the voyage was declining. "In the eighteenth century many slave voyages took at least 2½ months. In the nineteenth century, 2 months appears to have been the maximum length of the voyage, and many voyages were far shorter. Fewer slaves died in the Middle Passage over time mainly because the passage was shorter."[208]

The ordinary sailors on slave ships were badly paid and subject to harsh discipline. Mortality of around 20%, a number similar and sometimes greater than those of the slaves,[209] was expected in a ship's crew during the course of a voyage; this was due to disease, flogging, overwork, or slave uprisings.[210] Disease (malaria or yellow fever) was the most common cause of death among sailors. A high crew mortality rate on the return voyage was in the captain's interests as it reduced the number of sailors who had to be paid on reaching the home port.[211]

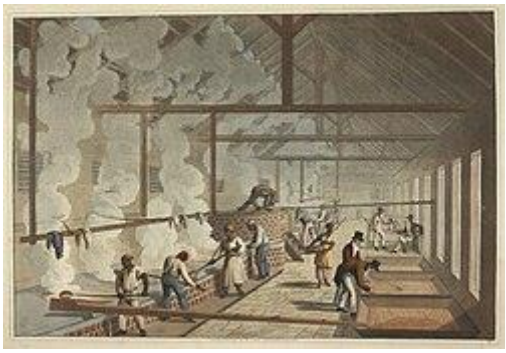
The slave trade was hated by many sailors, and those who joined the crews of slave ships often did so through coercion or because they could find no other employment.[212]

Seasoning camps

Meltzer also states that 33% of Africans would have died in the first year at the seasoning camps found throughout the Caribbean.[204] Jamaica held one of the most notorious of these camps. Dysentery was the leading cause of death.[213] Captives who could not be sold were inevitably destroyed.[185] Around 5 million Africans died in these camps, reducing the number of survivors to about 10 million.[204] The purpose of seasoning camps were to obliterate the Africans' identities and culture and prepare them for enslavement. In seasoning camps, enslaved Africans learned a new language and adopted new customs. This process of seasoning slaves took about two or three years.[214]

Conditions of slavery on plantations before and after abolition of the transatlantic slave trade

Caribbean



Enslaved people inside a sugar boiling house on the island of Antigua in 1823

Over the colony's hundred-year course, about a million slaves succumbed to the conditions of slavery in Haiti.[215] A slave transported into Haiti was expected to die, on average, within 3 years of arrival, and slaves born on the island had a life expectancy of only 15 years.[216][*better source needed*]

In the Caribbean, Dutch Guiana, and Brazil, where the death rate of enslaved people was high, and the birth rates were low, slaveholders transported more Africans to sustain the slave population. The rate of natural decline in the slave population ran as high as 5 percent a year. While the death rate of enslaved populations in the United States was the same on Jamaican plantations. In the Danish West Indies, and for most of the Caribbean, mortality rate was high because of the taxing labor of sugar cultivation. Sugar was a major cash crop and as the Caribbean plantations exported sugar to Europe and North America, they needed an enslaved work force to make its production economically viable, so slaves were transported from Africa. Enslaved Africans lived in inhumane conditions and the mortality rate of enslaved children under the age of five was forty percent. Many enslaved persons died from smallpox and intestinal worms contracted from contaminated food and water.[217][*better source needed*]

The Atlantic slave trade exportation of slaves to Cuba was illegal by 1820; however, Cuba continued to import enslaved Africans from Africa until slavery was abolished in 1886. After the abolition of the slave trade to the United States and British colonies in 1807, Florida transported enslaved Africans from Cuba, many landing in Amelia Island. A clandestine slave ferry operated between Havana, Cuba and Pensacola, Florida.

Florida remained under Spanish control until 1821 which made it difficult for the United States to cease the smuggling of enslaved Africans from Cuba. In 1821, Florida was ceded to the United States and the smuggling of enslaved Africans continued, and from 1821 to 1841 Cuba became a main supplier of enslaved Africans for the United States. Between 1859 and 1862, slave traders made 40 illegal voyages between Cuba and the United States.[218][219]

Afro Cubans working in a sugar plantation

The costs of the shipment of human cargo from Africa and operating costs of the slave trade from Africa into Cuba rose in the mid-19th century. Historian Laird Bergad writes of the Cuban slave trade and slave prices: "Three interacting factors produced the overwhelming demand for slaves responsible for pushing prices to the high levels[...] The first was the uncertainty surrounding the future of the slave trade itself. The long and persistent British campaign to force an end to the Cuban trade had traditionally been circumvented by collusion between Spanish colonial officials and Cuban slave traders. An additional obstacle to British efforts was the unwillingness of the United States to permit the search of U.S.-flag vessels suspected of involvement in the slave trade". By the mid-1860s, prices of Africans in their elderly years decreased while prices of younger Africans increased because they were considered to be of prime working age. According to research, in 1860 in Matanzas, about 39.6 percent of slaves sold were young prime aged Africans of either sex; in 1870 the percentage was 74.3 percent. In addition, as the cost of sugar increased so did the price of slaves.[220]

South America

Enslaved people working on a coffee plantation in Brazil

The trans-Atlantic slave trade into Brazil was outlawed in 1831. To replace the demand for slaves, slaveholders in Brazil turned to slave reproduction. Enslaved women were forced to give birth to eight or more enslaved children. Some slaveholders promised enslaved women their freedom if they gave birth to eight children. In 1873 in the village of Santa Ana, province of Ceará an enslaved woman named Macária was promised her freedom after she gave birth to eight children. An enslaved woman Delfina killed her baby because she did not want her enslaver Manoel Bento da Costa to own her baby and enslave her child. Brazil practiced partus sequitur ventrem to increase the slave population through enslaved female reproduction, because in the 19th century, Brazil needed a large enslaved labor force to work on the sugar plantations in Bahia and the agricultural and mining industries of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro.[221]

After the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil, the inter-provincial trade increased which slaveholders forced and depended on enslaved women to give birth to as many children as possible to supply the demand for slaves. Abolitionists in Brazil wanted to abolish slavery by removing partus sequitur ventrem because it was used to perpetuate slavery. For example, historian Martha Santos writes of the slave trade, female reproduction, and abolition in Brazil: "A proposal centered on the 'emancipation of the womb', authored by the influential jurist and politician Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, was officially endorsed by Pedro II as the most practical means to end slavery in a controlled and peaceful manner. This conservative proposal, a modified version of which became the 'free womb' law passed by Parliament in 1871, did provide for the freedom of children subsequently born of enslaved women, while

it forced those children to serve their mothers' masters until age twenty-one, and deferred complete emancipation to a later date".[222]

United States

ADVERTISEMENTS. 3

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NEW ORLEANS,

Will keep on hand and be constantly receiving during the season,

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Advertisement from J. M. Wilson for sale of Maryland and Virginia slaves. Maryland and Virginia sold thousands of enslaved people to the Deep South.

The birth rate was more than 80 percent higher in the United States because of a natural growth in the slave population and slave breeding farms. Birth rates were low for the first generation of slaves transported from Africa, but, in the US, may have increased in the 19th century to some 55 per thousand, approaching the biological maximum for human populations.[226][227]

After the prohibition of the trans-atlantic slave trade in 1807, slaveholders in the Deep South of the United States needed more slaves to work in the cotton and sugar fields. To fill the demand for more slaves, slave breeding was practiced in Richmond, Virginia. Richmond sold thousands of enslaved people to slaveholders in the Deep South to work the cotton, rice, and sugar plantations. Virginia was known as a "breeder state." A slaveholder in Virginia bragged his slaves produced 6,000 enslaved children for sale.

About 300,000 to 350,000 enslaved people were sold from Richmond's slave breeding farms.[228] Slave breeding farms and forced reproduction on enslaved young girls and women caused reproductive health issues. Enslaved women found ways to resist forced reproduction by causing miscarriages and abortions by taking plants and medicines.[229][230]

Slaveholders tried to control enslaved women's reproduction by encouraging them to have relationships with enslaved men. "Some slaveholders took matters into their own hands, however, and paired enslaved men and women together with the intent that they would procreate."[231][232] Enslaved teenage girls gave birth at the ages of fifteen or sixteen years old. Enslaved women gave birth in their early twenties. To meet the demands of slaveholders' needs to birth more slaves, enslaved girls and women had seven or nine children. Enslaved girls and women were forced to give birth to as many slaves as possible. The mortality rate of enslaved mothers and children was high because of poor nutrition, sanitation, lack of medical care, and overwork.[233][234] In the United States a slave's life expectancy was 21 to 22 years, and a black child through the age of 1 to 14 had twice the risk of dying of a white child of the same age.[235]

Slave breeding replaced the demand for enslaved laborers after the decline of the Atlantic slave trade to the United States which caused an increase in the domestic slave trade. The sailing of slaves in the domestic slave trade is known as "sold down the river," indicating slaves being sold from Louisville, Kentucky which was a slave trading city and supplier of slaves. Louisville, Kentucky, Virginia, and other states in the Upper South supplied slaves to the Deep South carried on boats going down the Mississippi River to Southern slave markets.[236][237][238][239][240] New Orleans, Louisiana became a major slave market in the United States domestic slave trade after the prohibition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807. Between 1819 and 1860, 71,000 enslaved people were transported to the New Orleans slave market on slave ships that departed from ports in the United States along the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans to supply the demand for slaves in the Deep South.[241][242]

The Gulf of Mexico was utilized by privateers in Florida, Louisiana, and Texas to smuggle enslaved Africans from Cuba.

Texas participated in the illegal slave trade and transported enslaved persons from Cuba to Galveston Island which was the main illegal slave port in Texas. Texas was part of Mexico from 1821 until 1836, and Cuba continued to supply African slaves to many Latin American countries. After 1821, the smuggling of slaves into Texas increased because of slaveholders' demand for additional enslaved labor. Galveston Island is located in the Gulf of Mexico and is 800 miles away from the slave ports in Cuba and between 60 and 70 miles away from the Louisiana border. Smugglers utilized these geographic locations to their advantage and illegally transported enslaved Africans from Cuba and made a profit by selling Africans to slaveholders in Texas and Louisiana. For example, French pirate and privateer Jean Lafitte, established a colony on Galveston Island in 1817 and participated in privateering for four years and made a profit by smuggling in slaves and sold over 200 Africans to slaveholders in the United States. Lafitte used intermediaries such as the Bowie brothers, John, Resin, and James who contracted with slave traders and planters from the United States who had an interest in buying slaves. From 1818 to 1820, Lafitte and the Bowie brothers made $65,000 smuggling Africans into the Southern states and selling them to planters in Louisiana and Mississippi.[243]

Historian Ernest Obadele-Starks estimated that after 1807 the number of enslaved Africans smuggled into the United States annually averaged as low as 3,500. New Orleans, Louisiana and Florida were centers for the illegal importation of slaves in the United States because of their close proximity to Cuba and the other Caribbean islands that provided Southern states enslaved labor.[244]

British involvement

As Britain rose in naval power and settled continental North America and some islands of the West Indies, they became the leading slave traders.[245] At one stage the trade was the monopoly of the Royal African Company, operating out of London. But, following the loss of the company's monopoly in 1689,[246] Bristol and Liverpool merchants became increasingly involved in the trade.[247][*page needed*] By the late 18th century, one out of every four ships that left Liverpool harbour was a slave trading ship.[248][*page needed*] Much of the wealth on which the city of Manchester, and surrounding towns, was built in the late 18th century, and for much of the 19th century, was based on the processing of slave-picked cotton and manufacture of cloth.[249] Other British cities also profited from the slave trade. Birmingham, the largest gun-producing town in Britain at the time, supplied guns to be traded for slaves.[250] 75% of all sugar produced in the plantations was sent to London, and much of it was consumed in the highly lucrative coffee houses there.[248]

New World destinations

Creole languages and cultures

Creole languages and cultures emerged on the African coast because of European and African contact. Elmina was home to Atlantic Creoles in 1575. Europeans transported free and enslaved Atlantic Creoles to the Americas.[251]

A trade language emerged along the African coast during the Atlantic slave trade period with a mix of West African and European languages called West African Pidgin English.[252] Multiple African pidgin English languages developed along the West and Central African coast.[253] For example, Angolan people in Central Africa who traded with the Portuguese developed an African Portuguese creole language called *Angolar*

Creole Portuguese that was spoken in São Tomé on a Portuguese plantation.[254] Another form of communication used during the slave trade was hand gestures. Gestures served as a sign language between African interpreters and European traders; this allowed Europeans to communicate with the Africans, easing trade relations between the two groups.[255]

African Pidgin English became Atlantic (New World) creole languages, including Gullah, Haitian Creole, Kouri-Vini, Jamaican Patois,[256] and other diverse languages spoken in the Americas by Diasporic Africans.[257][258][259][260] Some revolts on slave ships were deterred by European traders who purposely chose Africans who spoke different languages. This contributed to the further evolution of African Pidgin English. Makeshift pidgin languages evolved when enslaved Africans in the New World needed to communicate with the slavers and among themselves, with each side using the grammar of their native language. The enslaved borrowed vocabulary from the language of the slave masters to express content.[261][262][263]

In the Americas, new languages emerged and evolved. They were, again, pidgin or creole languages which emerged from the blending of African, European, and Americanized-European languages. Eventually, forms of pidgin, differing from colony to colony, emerged into fully-fledged creole languages of their own. All bore strong linguistic features of the dominant African group in the region. American-born slaves grew up speaking these languages naturally. A similar pattern happened among Europeans and their American-born offspring. Thus, white and African North Americans spoke differently from their European and African forebears.

Atlantic Creoles and their descendants are a multilingual people of African and European ancestry, who created new syncretic cultures in the Atlantic World.[264][265] Compared to enslaved Africans who arrived later to the Americas, Atlantic Creoles were better at negotiating their status because of their familiarity with European customs. Some Atlantic Creoles achieved freedom, married, had free children with Europeans, and became property owners, interpreters, farmers, and even slaveholders.[266][267] Enslaved people transported directly from Africa were culturally distinct from Atlantic Creoles, as enslaved Africans had different social norms and status.[268][*better source needed*] According to historian Jane Landers, the Atlantic

Creoles influenced the New world's culture, specifically music, language, and religion, thus forming a new Atlantic world system.[269] Historian Philip Morgan argues Africans in the Americas were linguistically polyglots, multi-lingual.[254] Newly enslaved Africans in America learned Creole from the enslaved and Euro-American languages from their enslavers.[270] For better communication, enslaved Africans taught European Americans African words. Some whites could understand Afro-American creole languages. In addition, enslaved people used Creole as a coded language to plan escapes and revolts.[271][272] The enslaved in Haiti planned the Haitian Revolution while speaking kreyòl because it was a coded language spoken amongst enslaved and free people.[273]

Caribbean

A sugarcane plantation in Trinidad, 1836, lithograph. In 1834, Britain abolished slavery in its colonies.[274]

The first slaves to arrive as part of a labour force in the New World reached the island of Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in 1502. Cuba received its first four slaves in 1513. Jamaica received its first shipment of 4,000 slaves in 1518.[275] "Between the 1490s and the 1850s, Latin America, including the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Brazil, transported the largest number of African slaves to the New World, generating the single-greatest concentration of black populations outside of the African continent."[276] About 4 million enslaved Africans were transported to the Caribbean by way of the transatlantic slave trade.[277] Cuba, the largest slave colony in Hispanic America, transported 800,000 enslaved Africans and participated in the illegal slave trade longer than any other.[278] Enslaved Africans worked about 16 hours a day on the sugarcane plantations. They brought their traditional religions from West Africa; these developed in the new world as religions that scholars call African diaspora religions.[279]

Central America

Slave exports to Honduras and Guatemala started in 1526. Historian Nigel Bolland writes of the slave trade in Central America: "The demand for labor in the early Spanish settlements of Hispaniola, Cuba, Panama, and Peru resulted in a large-scale Indian (Indigenous people) slave trade in Central America in the second quarter of the 16th century. Indeed, the first colonial economy of the region was based on slave trading."[280]

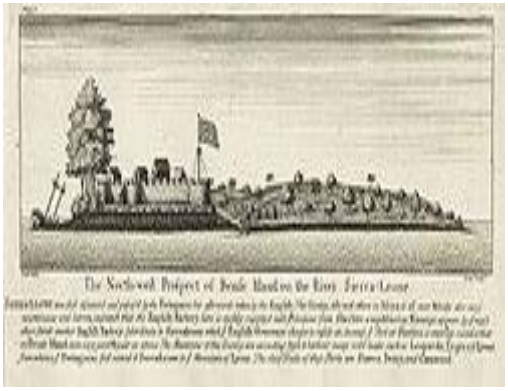
In the 16th century, the majority of Africans transported to Central America came from present-day Senegambia and other West African regions. Between 1607 and 1640, Portuguese slave traders transported Africans from Angola to Honduras and were sold in Santiago de Guatemala to work in the sugar and indigo plantations. The majority of the Africans working in the plantations were from the Luanda region in Central Africa.[281]

United States

The first enslaved Africans to reach what would become the United States arrived in July 1526 as part of a Spanish attempt to colonize San Miguel de Gualdape. By November, the 300 Spanish colonists were reduced to 100, and their slaves from 100 to 70[*why?*]. The enslaved people revolted in 1526 and joined a nearby Native American tribe, while the Spanish abandoned the colony altogether (1527). The area of the future Colombia received its first enslaved people in 1533. El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Florida began their stints in the slave trade in 1541, 1563, and 1581, respectively. According to research, about 40 percent of enslaved Africans arrived at Gadsden's Wharf, which was the largest slave port in the United States.[282]

In the 17th century in colonial Boston in Massachusetts, about 166 transatlantic voyages embarked out of Boston. Boston transported enslaved people from Africa and exported rum.[283] Peter Faneuil organized and profited from the trans-Atlantic voyages out of Boston and transported manufactured goods from Europe, and transported enslaved people, rum, and sugar from the Caribbean.[284] Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island were the three New England states with the largest slave populations. The enslaved population in South Kingston, Rhode Island was thirty

percent, in Boston the slave population was ten percent, in New London it was nine percent, and in New York it was 7.2 percent.[285] The earliest documentation of enslaved people in New England was 1638. In Northern American British colonies, Massachusetts Bay colonies was the center for slave trading and colonial Boston was a major slave port in the North importing slaves directly from Africa.[286][287]



Bunce Island in Sierra Leone exported tens of thousands of Africans to the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia. Gadsden's Wharf in Charleston, South Carolina, received the majority of transported slaves from Bunce Island.[288] African Americans in the Sea Islands can trace their ancestry to Sierra Leone.

The 17th century saw an increase in shipments. Africans were brought to Point Comfort – several miles downriver from the English colony of Jamestown, Virginia – in 1619. The first kidnapped Africans in English North America were classed as indentured servants and freed after seven years. Virginia law codified chattel slavery in 1656, and in 1662 the colony adopted the principle of *partus sequitur ventrem*, which classified children of slave mothers as slaves, regardless of paternity. Under British law, children born of white male slave owners and black female slaves would have inherited the father's status and rights. The change to maternal inheritance for slaves guaranteed that anyone born with any slave ancestors was a slave, with no regard to the nature of the relations between the white father and the black mother, consensual or not.[291]

In addition to African persons, Indigenous peoples of the Americas were trafficked through Atlantic trade routes. The 1677 work *The Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians*, for example, documents English

colonial prisoners of war (not, in fact, opposing combatants, but imprisoned members of English-allied forces) being enslaved and sent to Caribbean destinations.[292][293] Captive Indigenous opponents, including women and children, were also sold into slavery at a substantial profit, to be transported to West Indies colonies.[294][295]

South America

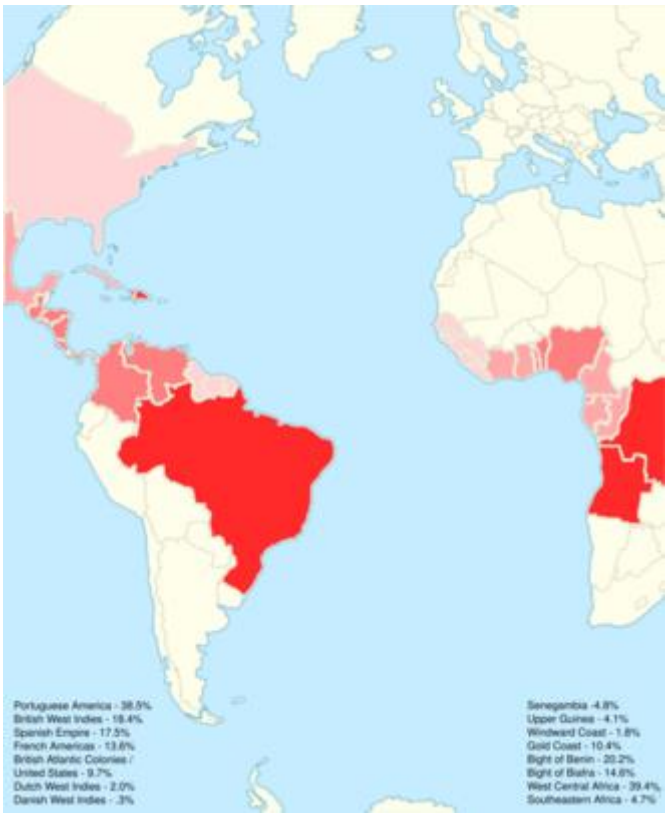
A slave sale transaction in Rio de Janeiro

The Spanish and Portuguese colonized South America and enslaved the Indigenous people. They later enslaved Africans brought from West and Central Africa in ships by way of the Atlantic slave trade. Brazil transported 4.8 million enslaved Africans.[296] Africans who escaped slavery there formed *quilombos*, maroon communities with degrees of self-governance. Palamares, a quilombo community, lasted for 100 years while other communities were quickly removed by the Dutch and Portuguese.[297][298][299] The Africans transported to Brazil were Yoruba, Fon, Bantu and others. Their religions from Africa developed into new world religions in Brazil called Candomblé, Umbanda, Xango, and Macumba.[300]

Historian Erika Edwards writes of the slave trade in Argentina: "In 1587 the first slaves arrived in Buenos Aires from Brazil. From 1580 to 1640, the main commercial activity for Buenos Aires was the slave trade. More than 70 percent of the value of all imports arriving in Buenos Aires were enslaved Africans. Slaves came primarily from Brazil via the Portuguese slave trade from Angola and other western states in Africa. Once arriving in Buenos Aires, they could be sent as far as Lima, Peru; slaves were provided to Mendoza, Tucumán, and Salta Jujuy as well as to Chile, Paraguay, and what is today Bolivia and southern Peru."[301]

Russia

By 1802, Russian colonists noted that "Boston" (U.S.-based) skippers were trading African slaves for otter pelts with the Tlingit people in Southeast Alaska.[302]



West Central Africa was the most common source region of Africa, and Portuguese America (Brazil) was the most common destination.

Distribution of slaves (1519–1867)[303]

Destination	Percent
Portuguese America	38.5%
British West Indies	18.4%
Spanish Empire	17.5%
French West Indies	13.6%
English/British North America / United States	9.7%

Distribution of slaves (1519–1867)[303]

Destination	Percent
Dutch West Indies	2.0%
Danish West Indies	0.3%

Notes:

- Before 1820, the number of enslaved Africans transported across the Atlantic to the New World was triple the number of Europeans who reached North and South American shores. At the time this was the largest oceanic displacement or migration in history,[304] eclipsing even the far-flung, but less-dense, expansion of Austronesian-Polynesian explorers.
- The number of Africans who arrived in each region is calculated from the total number of slaves transported, about 10,000,000.[305]
- Includes British Guiana and British Honduras

Punishing slaves at Calabouço, in Rio de Janeiro, c. 1822

Recently bought slaves in Brazil on their way to the farms of the landowners who bought them c. 1830

A 19th-century lithograph showing a sugarcane plantation in Suriname

Economics of slavery

Slaves processing tobacco in 17th-century Virginia

In 18th-century France, returns for investors in plantations averaged around 6%; as compared to 5% for most domestic alternatives, this represented a 20% profit advantage. Risks—maritime and commercial—were important for individual voyages. Investors mitigated it by buying small shares of many ships at the same time. In that way, they were able to diversify a large part of the risk away. Between voyages, ship shares could be freely sold and bought.[306]

By far the most financially profitable West Indian colonies in 1800 belonged to the United Kingdom. After entering the sugar colony business late, British naval supremacy and control over key islands such as Jamaica, Trinidad, the Leeward Islands, and Barbados and the territory of British Guiana gave it an important edge over all competitors; while many British did not make gains, a handful of individuals made small fortunes. This advantage was reinforced when France lost its most important colony, St. Domingue (western Hispaniola, now Haiti), to a slave revolt in 1791[307][*better source needed*] and supported revolts against its rival Britain, in the name of

liberty after the 1793 French revolution. Before 1791, British sugar had to be protected to compete against cheaper French sugar.

After 1791, the British islands produced the most sugar, and the British people quickly became the largest consumers. West Indian sugar became ubiquitous as an additive to Indian tea. It has been estimated that the profits of the slave trade and of West Indian plantations created up to one-in-twenty of every pound circulating in the British economy at the time of the Industrial Revolution in the latter half of the 18th century.[308]

Following the Slavery Abolition Act 1833 which gradually abolished slavery in the British Empire, the UK government took out a loan of £15 million ($4.25 billion in 2023) to compensate former slave owners for the loss of their "property" after their slaves were freed. Compensation was not given to the formerly enslaved people.[309][310]

Effects

Historian Walter Rodney has argued that at the start of the slave trade in the 16th century, although there was a technological gap between Europe and Africa, it was not very substantial. Both continents were using Iron Age technology. The major advantage that Europe had was in ship building. During the period of slavery, the populations of Europe and the Americas grew exponentially, while the population of Africa remained stagnant. Rodney contended that the profits from slavery were used to fund economic growth and technological advancement in Europe and the Americas. Based on earlier theories by Eric Williams, he asserted that the industrial revolution was at least in part funded by agricultural profits from the Americas. He cited examples such as the invention of the steam engine by James Watt, which was funded by plantation owners from the Caribbean.[312]

Other historians have attacked both Rodney's methodology and accuracy. Joseph C. Miller has argued that the social change and demographic stagnation (which he researched on the example of West Central Africa) was caused primarily by domestic factors. Joseph Inikori provided a new line of argument, estimating counterfactual demographic developments in case the Atlantic slave trade had not existed. Patrick

Manning has shown that the slave trade did have a profound impact on African demographics and social institutions, but criticized Inikori's approach for not taking other factors (such as famine and drought) into account, and thus being highly speculative.[313]

Effect on the economy of West Africa

Cowrie shells were used as money in the slave trade.

The effect of the trade on African societies is much debated, due to the influx of goods to Africans. Proponents of the slave trade, such as Archibald Dalzel, argued that African societies were robust and not much affected by the trade. In the 19th century, European abolitionists, most prominently David Livingstone, took the opposite view, arguing that the fragile local economy and societies were being severely harmed by the trade.[314][315] According to research from historian Nathan Nunn, the underdeveloped infrastructure and economy in Africa is a result of colonization and the slave trade. Nunn wrote: "...Africa's poor economic performance is a result of postcolonial state failure, the roots of which lie in the underdevelopment and instability of precolonial polities..., because of a lack of significant political development during colonial rule, the limited precolonial political structures continued to exist after independence. As a result, Africa's post independence leaders inherited nation states that did not have the infrastructure necessary to extend authority and control over the whole country. Many states were, and still are, unable to collect taxes from their citizens, and as a result they are also unable to provide a minimum level of public goods and services".[316][317][318][319]

Slaving guns (Birmingham History Galleries).

In the second half of the 18th century, Europeans sold 300,000 rifles a year in Africa, maintaining the endemic state of war in which men, who were taken prisoner, were sold to supply the demand for slaves.[320]

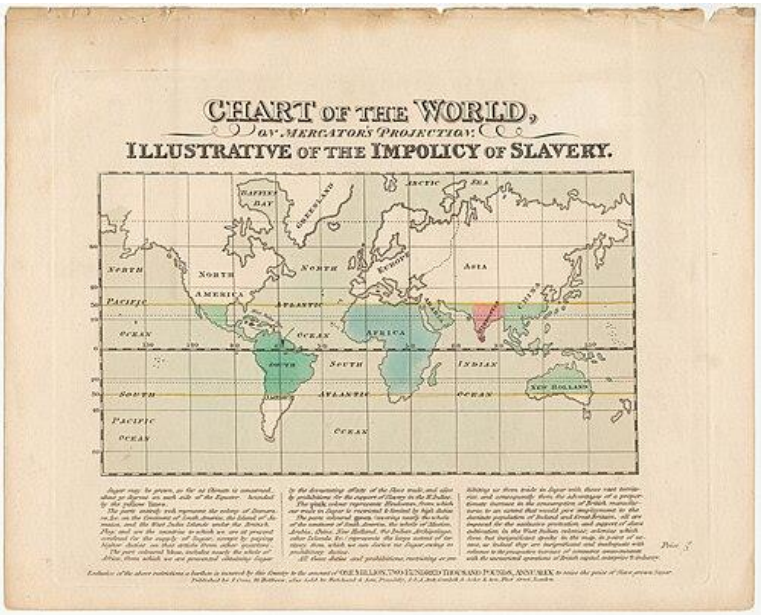
Some African rulers saw an economic benefit from trading their subjects with European slave traders. With the exception of Portuguese-controlled Angola, coastal African leaders "generally controlled access to their coasts, and were able to prevent direct enslavement of their subjects and citizens".[321] Thus, as African scholar John Thornton argues, African leaders who allowed the continuation of the slave trade likely derived an economic benefit from selling their subjects to Europeans. The Kingdom of Benin, for instance, participated in the African slave trade, at will, from 1715 to 1735, surprising Dutch traders, who had not expected to buy slaves in Benin.[321]

The benefit derived from trading slaves for European goods was enough to make the Kingdom of Benin rejoin the trans-Atlantic slave trade after centuries of non-participation. Such benefits included military technology (specifically guns and gunpowder), gold, or simply maintaining amicable trade relationships with European nations. The slave trade was, therefore, a means for some African elites to gain economic advantages.[322] Historian Walter Rodney estimates that by c. 1770, the King of Dahomey was earning an estimated £250,000 per year by selling captive African soldiers and enslaved people to the European slave-traders. Many West African countries also already had a tradition of holding slaves, which was expanded into trade with Europeans.

The Atlantic trade brought new crops to Africa and more efficient currencies which were adopted by the West African merchants. This can be interpreted as an institutional reform which reduced the cost of doing business. But the developmental benefits were limited as long as the business included slaving.[323]

Both Thornton and Fage contend that while African political elites may have ultimately benefited from the slave trade, their decision to participate may have been influenced more by what they could lose by not participating. In Fage's article "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History", he notes that for West Africans "... there were really few effective means of mobilizing labour for the economic and political needs of the state" without the slave trade.[322]

Effects on the British economy



This map argues that import prohibitions and high duties on sugar were artificially inflating prices and inhibiting manufacturing in England. 1823

Historian Eric Williams in 1994 argued that the profits that Britain received from its sugar colonies, or from the slave trade between Africa and the Caribbean, contributed to the financing of Britain's industrial revolution. However, he says that by the time of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and the emancipation of the slaves in 1833, the sugar plantations of the British West Indies had lost their profitability, and it was in Britain's economic interest to emancipate the slaves.[324]

Other researchers and historians have strongly contested what has come to be referred to as the "Williams thesis" in academia. David Richardson has concluded that the profits from the slave trade amounted to less than 1% of domestic investment in Britain.[325] Economic historian Stanley Engerman finds that even without subtracting the associated costs of the slave trade (e.g., shipping costs, slave mortality, mortality of British people in Africa, defense costs) or reinvestment of profits back into the slave trade, the total profits from the slave trade and of West Indian plantations amounted to less than 5% of the British economy during any year of the Industrial Revolution.[326]

Engerman's 5% figure gives as much as possible in terms of benefit of the doubt to the Williams argument, not solely because it does not take into account the associated costs of the slave trade to Britain, but also because it carries the full-employment assumption from economics and holds the gross value of slave trade profits as a direct contribution to Britain's national income.[326] Historian Richard Pares, in an article written before Williams' book, dismisses the influence of wealth generated from the West Indian plantations upon the financing of the Industrial Revolution, stating that whatever substantial flow of investment from West Indian profits into industry there occurred after emancipation, not before. However, each of these works focus primarily on the slave trade or the Industrial Revolution, and not the main body of the Williams thesis, which was on sugar and slavery itself. Therefore, they do not refute the main body of the Williams thesis.[327][328]

Seymour Drescher and Robert Anstey argue the slave trade remained profitable until the end, and that moralistic reform, not economic incentive, was primarily responsible for abolition. They say slavery remained profitable in the 1830s because of innovations in agriculture. However, Drescher's *Econocide* wraps up its study in 1823, and does not address the majority of the Williams thesis, which covers the decline of the sugar plantations after 1823, the emancipation of the slaves in the 1830s, and the subsequent abolition of sugar duties in the 1840s. These arguments do not refute the main body of the Williams thesis, which presents economic data to show that the slave trade was minor compared to the wealth generated by sugar and slavery itself in the British Caribbean.[329][328][330]

Karl Marx, in his influential economic history of capitalism, *Das Kapital*, wrote that "... the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production". He argued that the slave trade was part of what he termed the "primitive accumulation" of capital, the 'non-capitalist' accumulation of wealth that preceded and created the financial conditions for Britain's industrialisation.[331]

Demographics

A Linen Market with enslaved Africans. West Indies, c. 1780

The demographic effects of the slave trade is a controversial and highly debated issue. Although scholars such as Paul Adams and Erick D. Langer have estimated that sub-Saharan Africa represented about 18 percent of the world's population in 1600 and only 6 percent in 1900,[332] the reasons for this demographic shift have been the subject of much debate. In addition to the depopulation Africa experienced because of the slave trade, African nations were left with severely imbalanced gender ratios, with females comprising up to 65 percent of the population in hard-hit areas such as Angola.[177] Moreover, many scholars (such as Barbara N. Ramusack) have suggested a link between the prevalence of prostitution in Africa today with the temporary marriages that were enforced during the course of the slave trade.[333]

Walter Rodney argued that the export of so many people had been a demographic disaster which left Africa permanently disadvantaged when compared to other parts of the world, and it largely explains the continent's continued poverty.[312] He presented numbers showing that Africa's population stagnated during this period, while those of Europe and Asia grew dramatically. According to Rodney, all other areas of the economy were disrupted by the slave trade as the top merchants abandoned

traditional industries in order to pursue slaving, and the lower levels of the population were disrupted by the slaving itself.

Others have challenged this view. J. D. Fage compared the demographic effect on the continent as a whole. David Eltis has compared the numbers to the rate of emigration from Europe during this period. In the 19th century alone over 50 million people left Europe for the Americas, a far higher rate than were ever taken from Africa.[334]

Other scholars accused Walter Rodney of mischaracterizing the trade between Africans and Europeans. They argue that Africans, or more accurately African elites, deliberately let European traders join in an already large trade in enslaved people and that they were not patronized.

As Joseph E. Inikori argues, the history of the region shows that the effects were still quite deleterious. He argues that the African economic model of the period was very different from the European model, and could not sustain such population losses. Population reductions in certain areas also led to widespread problems. Inikori also notes that after the suppression of the slave trade Africa's population almost immediately began to rapidly increase, even prior to the introduction of modern medicines.[335]

Cultural effects

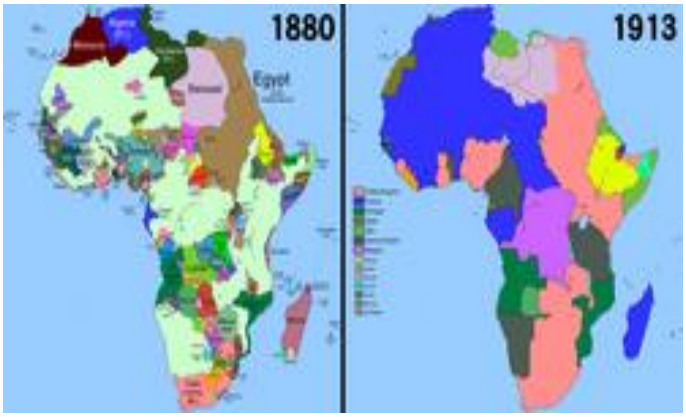
The cultural effects of the transatlantic slave trade in Africa are the reduction of traditional African religious practices. According to research in a 2021 census of religions practiced in Ghana published by the Office of International Religious Freedom, in 2021 the Ghana Embassy reported "71 percent of the population are Christian, 20 percent Muslim, 3 percent adhere to indigenous or animistic religious beliefs, and 6 percent belong to other religious groups or have no religious beliefs". Historian Nana Osei Bonsu argued that the transatlantic slave trade not only took millions of Africans from the continent but also caused a decline of traditional African religions and Ghanaian indigenous culture as Europeans believed African people's culture and religions were irrelevant and inferior. The slave trade resulted in the

colonization of Africa and its people, forcing many Africans to convert to Christianity.[336][337]

Elmina Castle was a slave fort in Ghana built in 1482 by the Portuguese and later used by the British colonial administration as its headquarters from 1872 into the 20th century, following which they used it as a prison to incarcerate African citizens.[338]

The transatlantic slave trade affected traditional trade routes in West-Central Africa. Africans traded goods and slaves using trade routes in the interior of Africa that connected to the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean coast where other commodities and enslaved people were traded. These trade routes were used by Africans for centuries and societies and kingdoms developed as a result. Europeans chose to trade primarily along the Atlantic coast because they did not have immunity to malaria that was endemic to the region and "they could not dominate further than their guns could fire, from ship or fort". The slave trade also left warlords in charge in African societies as they wanted to trade with Europeans to obtain guns to defeat their enemies and sell them to Europeans.[339][340]

The European system of monetization implemented with the slave trade replaced cowrie shells, the currency traditionally used among Africans. According to research from the National Park Service: "European trade goods supplanted former African reliance on indigenous material goods, natural resources and products as the economic basis of their society. At the same time Europeans increasingly required people in exchange for trade goods. Once this stage was reached, an African society had little choice but to trade human lives for European goods and guns; guns that had become necessary to wage wars for further captives in order to trade for goods upon which an African society was now dependent".[341]



Africa before and after colonization

The development of the antimalarial drug quinine in 1820 enabled Europeans to colonize the interior of Africa.[342][343]

By the end of the 19th century, European powers laid claim to 90 percent of land in Sub-Saharan Africa during the "Scramble for Africa". In this invasion and subsequent colonization, the seven European powers (Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Italy) removed African kingdoms of power, created national borders that did not align with the already existing ethnic borders in Africa and forced diverse tribal ethnic groups to coexist and be controlled under one colonial power. This caused an unnatural division of people and was the groundwork for the instability in the African continent beginning in the 20th century into the present day.

The slave forts built along the Gold Coast in Ghana during the years of the slave trade were owned and used by the British colonial administration as their headquarters well into the 20th century.[349] British forts in Ghana were vacated after Ghana gained independence in 1957. The placement of these forts dislocated African societies that lived and fished along the coast. British colonists used the fort to imprison African resistance leaders who organized resistance movements against colonization. In 1900, Yaa Asantewaa (Queen mother and war leader of the Ashanti people), was imprisoned at Elmina Castle because she led a war against the British for possession of the Golden Stool, or Ashanti royal throne.[350][351]

Legacy of racism

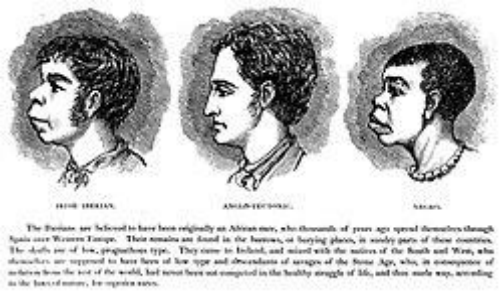
West Indian Creole woman, with her black servant, circa 1780

Walter Rodney states:

The role of slavery in promoting racist prejudice and ideology has been carefully studied in certain situations, especially in the USA. The simple fact is that no people can enslave another for four centuries without coming out with a notion of superiority, and when the colour and other physical traits of those peoples were quite different it was inevitable that the prejudice should take a racist form.[312]

Eric Williams argued that "A racial twist [was] given to what is basically an economic phenomenon. Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery."[352]

Similarly, John Darwin writes, "The rapid conversion from white indentured labour to black slavery ... made the English Caribbean a frontier of civility where English (later British) ideas about race and slave labour were ruthlessly adapted to local self-interest.... Indeed, the root justification for the system of slavery and the savage apparatus of coercion on which its preservation depended was the ineradicable barbarism of the slave population, a product, it was argued, of its African origins".[353]



"Scientific" racism

Although slavery was practiced in ancient times in various cultures, it did not have a global effect like the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas created by Europeans. The transatlantic slave trade's legacy is institutional racism on an international scale that led to racial discrimination in educational institutions and public places. In addition, scientific racism was taught in schools and some colleges in the United States and Europe in the 19th century and early 20th centuries that was used as a justification to enslave Africans.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights explained how European slavery differed from the slavery practiced by Africans and Native Americans. "Europeans brought a different kind of slavery to North America, however. Many Europeans saw enslaved people merely as property to be bought and sold. This 'chattel slavery' was a dehumanizing and violent system of abuse and subjugation. Importantly, Europeans viewed slavery in racist terms. Indigenous and African peoples were seen as less than human. This white supremacy justified the violence of slavery for hundreds of years."[358][359][360][361] Another example from an article from *The Wall Street Journal* explained, "New World slavery was a racialized institution in which slaves were black and slave owners were white. In contrast, owners and slaves in the Old World were generally of the same race. Distinctions between enslaved and freeborn people were often framed not in racial terms but in terms of language, culture and religion."[362][363][364][365] Scientific racism and the history of enslaving sub-Saharan Africans led to anti-black racism that is seen worldwide.[366]

End of the Atlantic slave trade

"Am I not a woman and a sister?" antislavery medallion from the late 18th century

Abolitionists of African, European, and American descent campaigned against the Atlantic slave trade.[367] Black abolitionists took a more radical approach to abolition than their white counterparts, encouraging strikes, slave rebellions aboard slave ships and on plantations, circulating petitions, telling personal narratives about the horrors of slavery, and advocating for freedom and equal rights for Black people in the African diaspora.

African abolitionists

According to sociologist José Lingna Nafafé, the first movement against slavery and the Atlantic slave trade started in the 17th century among Africans in the Portuguese empire. Lourenço da Silva de Mendouça, a royal from Angola's Ndongo Kingdom, campaigned against the slave trade while traveling through Italy, Spain, and the Vatican in Rome. Mendonça petitioned the Vatican, Portugal, Italy, and Spain in 1684 to end the enslavement of Africans, presenting his case to Pope Innocent XI, and demanded the abolition for Africans, New Christians (Jews converted to Christianity) and American Indians. This was a century before abolitionists William Wilberforce and Thomas Buxton emerged.[370][*better source needed*][371][372]

Olaudah Equiano was a member of the 'Sons of Africa' an abolitionist group of 12 African men that campaigned against slavery and the slave trade.

Slavery's supporters cited Africans enslaving each other and claimed this as evidence of African's inferior nature. A common narrative of the abolition of the Atlantic slave

trade portrays European Christians as morally superior and saviors of Africans from enslavement. In addition, Christian narratives also justified the slave trade, and the colonialism that followed British abolition.

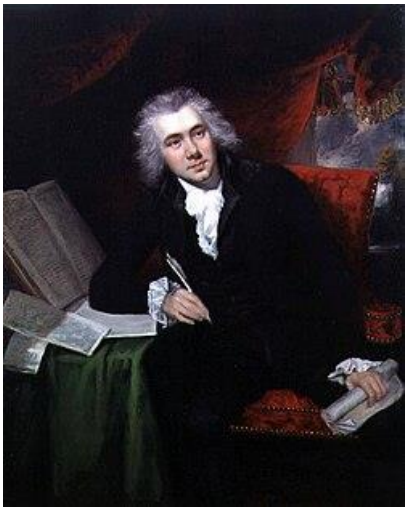
Historian and author Benedetta Rossi states that some African societies implemented laws that prohibited the slave trade and slavery before European contact. Rossi writes: "...the actions of African critics of slavery were informed by cultural representations and normative traditions that varied from society to society. Second, at the individual level, what actors thought and did about slavery and abolition depended on their position in society: wealthy slaveowners, political rulers, religious authorities, and enslaved persons had different interests and tactics, which they developed in the political and economic circumstances of their times." African rulers who passed anti-slavery laws only abolished certain forms of slavery. African nations who opposed the slave trade did so for various reasons including cultural, religious, political, and economic motivations.

In addition, African resistance to enslavement on slave ships and various rebellions in the Americas sparked debates about abolishing the slave trade and slavery.[378] Abolitionist Olaudah Equiano was a former slave who was kidnapped from present day Nigeria and wrote an autobiography about his life published in 1789 that discussed the horrors of slavery, and gave lectures in Britain advocating abolition of the Atlantic slave trade and chattel slavery. In 1788, Equiano participated in the House of Commons debates about slavery and abolition of the slave trade, wrote letters to the government, and corresponded with parliamentarians.

Author and historian Bronwen Everill writes the British were not the first to abolish the slave trade and African leaders in Sierra Leone had a role in ending the transatlantic slave trade. Formerly enslaved Black Britons founded Sierra Leone in West Africa in 1787, on land inhabited by the Temne people. Over the years, Black Loyalists from North America moved to the colony. The Temne, Susu, and freedmen opposed the slave trade. The Sierra Leone Company in London managed the colony, and Africans and freedmen wanted to establish trade with the Sierra Leone Company without selling people. Sierra Leone's story reveals the British navy's reliance on African entities

opposing the slave trade to achieve abolition. Britain took control of the Sierra Leone colony from the Sierra Leone Company, establishing a court and naval patrol to combat the slave trade by seizing ships.

American and European abolitionists



William Wilberforce (1759–1833), politician and philanthropist who was a leader of the movement to abolish the slave trade

In Britain, America, Portugal, and in parts of Europe, opposition developed against the slave trade. David Brion Davis says that abolitionists assumed "that an end to slave imports would lead automatically to the amelioration and gradual abolition of slavery".[383] In Britain and America, opposition to the trade was led by members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Thomas Clarkson and establishment Evangelicals such as William Wilberforce in Parliament. Many people joined the movement and they began to protest against the trade, but they were opposed by the owners of the colonial holdings.[384] Following Lord Mansfield's decision in 1772, many abolitionists and slave-holders believed that slaves became free upon entering the British isles.[385] However, in reality occasional instances of slavery continued in Britain right up to abolition in the 1830s. The Mansfield ruling on *Somerset v Stewart* only decreed that a slave could not be transported out of England against his will.[386]

Under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, the new U.S. state of Virginia in 1778 became the first slave-owning state and one of the first jurisdictions anywhere to stop the importation of new slaves for sale; it made it a crime for traders to bring in slaves from out of state or from overseas for sale; migrants from within the United States were allowed to bring their own slaves. The new law freed all slaves brought in illegally

after its passage and imposed heavy fines on violators.[387][388][389] All the other states in the United States followed suit, although South Carolina reopened its slave trade in 1803.[390]

Denmark, which had been active in the slave trade, was the first country to ban the trade through legislation in 1792, which took effect in 1803.[391] Britain banned the slave trade in 1807, imposing stiff fines for any slave found aboard a British ship (*see Slave Trade Act 1807*). The Royal Navy moved to stop other nations from continuing the slave trade and declared that slaving was equal to piracy and was punishable by death. The United States Congress passed the Slave Trade Act of 1794, which prohibited the building or outfitting of ships in the U.S. for use in the slave trade. The U.S. Constitution (Article I, section 9, clause 1) barred a federal prohibition on importing slaves for 20 years; at that time the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves prohibited imports on the first day the Constitution permitted: January 1, 1808. It was generally thought that the transatlantic slave trade ended in 1867, but evidence was later found of voyages until 1873.[17]

British abolitionism

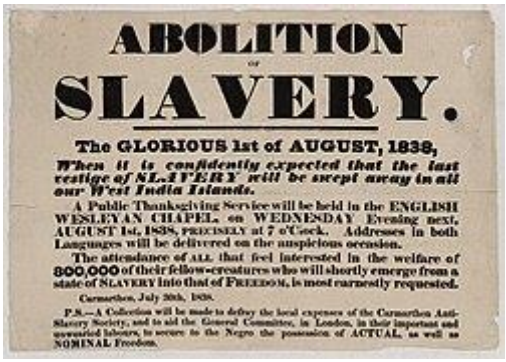
Quakers began to campaign against the British Empire's slave trade in the 1780s, and from 1789 William Wilberforce was a driving force in the British Parliament in the fight against the trade. The abolitionists argued that the trade was not necessary for the economic success of sugar in the British West Indian colonies. This argument was accepted by wavering politicians, who did not want to destroy the valuable and important sugar colonies of the British Caribbean. Parliament was also concerned about the success of the Haitian Revolution, and they believed they had to abolish the trade to prevent a similar conflagration from occurring in a British Caribbean colony.[392]

On 22 February 1807, the House of Commons passed a motion by 283 votes to 16 to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Hence, the slave trade in British ships was abolished, but not the still-economically viable institution of slavery itself, which provided Britain's most lucrative import at the time, sugar. Williams argues that abolitionists did not move against sugar and slavery itself until after the sugar industry went into terminal

decline after 1823.[393] However, economic historians persuasively argue that sugar plantations remained profitable after that date, with other motivations existing for the campaign to end slavery in the British Caribbean.[394]

The United States passed its own Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves the next week (March 2, 1807), although probably without mutual consultation. The act only took effect on the first day of 1808; since a compromise clause in the US Constitution (Article 1, Section 9, Clause 1) prohibited federal, although not state, restrictions on the slave trade before 1808. The United States did not, however, abolish its internal slave trade, which became the dominant mode of US slave trading until the 1860s.[395] In 1805 the British Order-in-Council had restricted the importation of slaves into colonies that had been captured from France and the Netherlands.[385] Britain continued to press other nations to end its trade; in 1810 an Anglo-Portuguese treaty was signed whereby Portugal agreed to restrict its trade into its colonies; an 1813 Anglo-Swedish treaty whereby Sweden outlawed its slave trade; the Treaty of Paris 1814 where France agreed with Britain that the trade is "repugnant to the principles of natural justice" and agreed to abolish the slave trade in five years; the 1814 Anglo-Dutch treaty where the Dutch outlawed its slave trade.[385]

Castlereagh and Palmerston's diplomacy


ABOLITION
of
SLAVERY.

The GLORIOUS 1st of AUGUST, 1838,

When it is confidently expected that the last vestige of SLAVERY will be swept away in all our West India Islands.

A Public Thanksgiving Service will be held in the ENGLISH WESLEYAN CHAPEL, on WEDNESDAY Evening next, AUGUST 1st, 1838, PRECISELY at 7 o'Clock. Addresses in both Languages will be delivered on the auspicious occasion.

The attendance of ALL that feel interested in the welfare of 800,000 of their fellow-creatures who will shortly emerge from a state of SLAVERY into that of FREEDOM, is most earnestly requested.

Carmarthen, July 20th, 1838.

P.S.—A Collection will be made to defray the local expenses of the Carmarthen Anti-Slavery Society, and to aid the General Committee, in London, in their important and unwearied labours, to secure to the Negro the possession of ACTUAL, as well as NOMINAL Freedom.

Abolition of Slavery The Glorious 1st of August 1838

Abolitionist opinion in Britain was strong enough in 1807 to abolish the slave trade in all British possessions, although slavery itself persisted in the colonies until 1833.[396] Abolitionists after 1807 focused on international agreements to abolish the slave trade. Foreign Minister Castlereagh switched his position and became a strong supporter of the movement. Britain arranged treaties with Portugal, Sweden and Denmark in the period between 1810 and 1814, whereby they agreed to end or restrict

their trading. These were preliminary to the Congress of Vienna negotiations that Castlereagh dominated and which resulted in a general declaration condemning the slave trade.[397]

The problem was that the treaties and declarations were hard to enforce, given the very high profits available to private interests. As Foreign Minister, Castlereagh cooperated with senior officials to use the Royal Navy to detect and capture slave ships. He used diplomacy to make search-and-seize agreements with all the governments whose ships were trading. There was serious friction with the United States, where the southern slave interest was politically powerful. Washington recoiled at British policing of the high seas. Spain, France and Portugal also relied on the international slave trade to supply their colonial plantations.

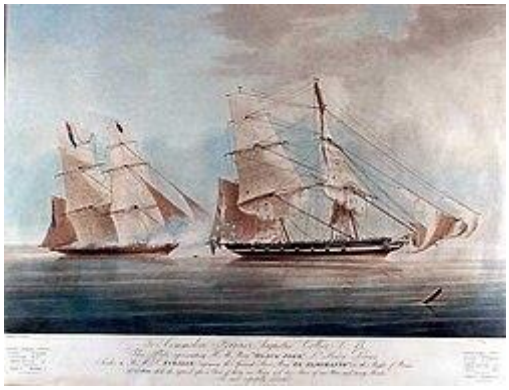
As more and more diplomatic arrangements were made by Castlereagh, the owners of slave ships started flying false flags of nations that had not agreed, especially the United States. It was illegal under American law for American ships to engage in the slave trade, but the idea of Britain enforcing American laws was unacceptable to Washington. Lord Palmerston and other British foreign ministers continued the Castlereagh policies. Eventually, in 1842 in 1845, an arrangement was reached between London and Washington. With the arrival of a staunchly anti-slavery government in Washington in 1861, the Atlantic slave trade was doomed. In the long run, Castlereagh's strategy on how to stifle the slave trade proved successful.[398]

Prime Minister Palmerston detested slavery, and in Nigeria in 1851 he took advantage of divisions in native politics, the presence of Christian missionaries, and the maneuvers of British consul John Beecroft to encourage the overthrow of King Kosoko. The new King Akitoye was a docile non-slave-trading puppet.[399]

British Royal Navy

The Royal Navy's West Africa Squadron, established in 1808, grew by 1850 to a force of some 25 vessels, which were tasked with combating slavery along the African coast.[400] Between 1807 and 1860, the Royal Navy's Squadron seized approximately 1,600 ships involved in the slave trade and freed 150,000 Africans who were aboard

these vessels.[401] Several hundred slaves a year were transported by the navy to the British colony of Sierra Leone, where they were made to serve as "apprentices" in the colonial economy until the Slavery Abolition Act 1833.[402]



Capture of slave ship *El Almirante* by the British Royal Navy in the 1800s. HMS *Black Joke* freed 466 slaves.

Last slave ship to the United States

Even though it was prohibited, in response to the North's reluctance or refusal to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the Atlantic slave trade was "re-open[ed] ... by way of retaliation".[404] In 1859, "the trade in slaves from Africa to the Southern coast of the United States is now carried on in defiance of Federal law and of the Federal Government."[404]

The last *known* slave ship to land on U.S. soil was the *Clotilda*, which in 1859 illegally smuggled a number of Africans into the town of Mobile, Alabama.[405] The Africans on board were sold as slaves; however, slavery in the U.S. was abolished five years later following the end of the American Civil War in 1865. Cudjoe Lewis, who died in 1935, was long believed to be the last survivor of *Clotilda* and the last surviving slave brought from Africa to the United States,[406] but recent research has found that two other survivors from *Clotilda* outlived him, Redoshi (who died in 1937) and Matilda McCrear (who died in 1940).[407][408]

However, according to Senator Stephen Douglas, Lincoln's opponent in the Lincoln–Douglas debates:

In regard to the slave trade, Mr. Douglas stated that there was not the shadow of doubt but that it had been carried on quite extensively for a long time back, and that there had been more slaves transported into the Southern States during the last year

[1858] than had ever been transported before in any one year, even when the slave trade was legal. It was his confident belief that over 15,000 slaves had been brought into this country during the past year. He had seen, with his own eyes, three hundred of these recently-transported, miserable beings, in a slave-pen in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and also large numbers at Memphis, Tennessee.[409]

The image contrasts two scenes: Abraham Lincoln advocating equality with a worker, while McClellan shakes hands with Jefferson Davis, representing the Southern slave system.

Brazil ends the Atlantic slave trade

The last country to ban the Atlantic slave trade was Brazil; a first law was approved in 1831, however it was only enforced in 1850 through the new Eusébio de Queirós Law. Despite the prohibition, it took another three years for the trade to effectively end. Between the first law in 1831 and the effective ban of transatlantic trade in 1850, an estimated 500,000 Africans were enslaved and illegally trafficked to Brazil,[410] and until 1856, the year of the last recorded seizure of a slave ship by the Brazilian authorities, around 38,000 Africans still entered the country as slaves.[411]

Historians João José Reis, Sidney Chalhoub, Robert W. Slenes and Flávio dos Santos Gomes proposed that another reason for the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil was the Malê Revolt in 1835. On January 25, 1835, an estimated 600 free and enslaved Africans armed with guns ran through the streets of Salvador murdering whites and slaveholders. Abolitionists argued that if the slave trade and slavery continued, slave resistance movements would increase, resulting in more deaths. Seventy three percent of the Africans in the Malê revolt were Yoruba men who converted to Islam; some white Brazilians believed they had a spirit of resistance against enslavement.[412]

Economic motivation to end the slave trade

Battle between insurgent slaves and Napoleonic troops during the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804)

The historian Walter Rodney contends that it was a decline in the profitability of the triangular trades that made it possible for certain basic human sentiments to be asserted at the decision-making level in a number of European countries—Britain being the most crucial because it was the greatest carrier of African captives across the Atlantic. Rodney states that changes in productivity, technology, and patterns of exchange in Europe and the Americas informed the decision by the British to end their participation in the trade in 1807.[312]

Nevertheless, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri[413] argue that it was neither a strictly economic nor a moral matter. First, because slavery was (in practice) still beneficial to capitalism, providing not only an influx of capital but also disciplining hardship into workers (a form of "apprenticeship" to the capitalist industrial plant). The more "recent" argument of a "moral shift" (the basis of the previous lines of this article) is described by Hardt and Negri as an "ideological" apparatus in order to eliminate the sentiment of guilt in western society. Although moral arguments did play a secondary role, they usually had major resonance when used as a strategy to undercut competitors' profits. This argument holds that Eurocentric history has been blind to the most important element in this fight for emancipation, precisely, the constant revolt and the antagonism of slaves' revolts. The most important of those being the Haitian Revolution.

The shock of this 1804 revolution introduced an essential political argument into the end of the slave trade as slaveholders in North America feared a similar situation could happen in the United States, where enslaved people in the Southern states might free

themselves through an armed resistance movement and free all enslaved people. The success of enslaved and free blacks in Haiti in freeing themselves through revolt invoked fear among many whites in North America. St. George Tucker, a Virginian jurist, said this about the Haitian Revolution: "enough to make one shudder in fear of similar calamities in this country". Some white Americans and whites in the Caribbean suggested ending the slave trade and slavery to prevent an uprising like the one in Haiti.[414][415] A Jamaican planter, Bryan Edwards, observed the Haitian revolution and argued that the enslaved people who revolted were newly transported slaves from Africa. Edwards and other planters believed the slave revolts in the Caribbean were instigated by these new slaves, and some abolitionists suggested ending the slave trade to prevent further slave insurrections.[416] In Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, Denmark Vesey and Gullah Jack planned a slave insurrection inspired by the Haitian Revolution.[417]

The Haitian Revolution affected France's colonial economy. Saint Domingue (Haiti) was France's wealthiest colony and the world's top producer of sugar and coffee; it was also a global leader in cacao and indigo. Enslaved labor made Saint Domingue the wealthiest colony in the world and furnished two-thirds of France's overseas trade—because of Saint Domingue's wealth it was nicknamed "*Pearl of the Antilles.*" After free and enslaved people gained their independence from France, France and French slaveholders wanted financial compensation from Haiti in the amount of 150 million francs to compensate for their lost wealth, calling it an "Independence Debt" because France had lost its wealthiest colony when Haiti gained independence.[418][419]

Haitians defeated the French, British, and Spanish during the revolution. Prior to the revolution, the United States was a major trade partner with Saint Domingue. After the revolution, the United States refused to recognize Haiti as an independent Black nation.[420] Haiti was no longer the main exporter of sugar after the revolution, Cuba became the main supplier of sugar to foreign nations, and Louisiana became a center of sugar production in the United States. Slave revolts affected the economy of the slave trade as slaveholders lost property in enslaved people through death, running away, and a decrease in the production of cash crops resulting in a shift in trade to other nations.[421][422]

However, both James Stephen and Henry Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux, wrote that the slave trade could be abolished for the benefit of the British colonies, and the latter's pamphlet was often used in parliamentary debates in favour of abolition. William Pitt the Younger argued on the basis of these writings that the British colonies would be better off, in their economic position as well as in their security, if the trade was abolished. Consequently, according to historian Christer Petley, abolitionists argued, and even some absentee plantation owners accepted, that the trade could be abolished "without substantial damage to the plantation economy". William Grenville, 1st Baron Grenville argued that "the slave population of the colonies could be maintained without it". Petley points out that government took the decision to abolish the trade "with the express intention of improving, not destroying, the still-lucrative plantation economy of the British West Indies."

Legacy

Sierra Leone

In 1787, the British helped 400 freed slaves, primarily African Americans freed during the American Revolutionary War who had been evacuated to London, to relocate to Sierra Leone. Most of the first group of settlers died due to disease and warfare with Indigenous peoples. About 64 survived to establish the second "Province of Freedom" following the failed first attempt at colonization between 1787 and 1789.

In 1792, 1200 Nova Scotian Settlers from Nova Scotia settled and established the Colony of Sierra Leone and the settlement of Freetown; these were newly freed African Americans and their descendants. Many of the adults had left Patriot owners and fought for the British in the Revolutionary War. The Crown had offered slaves freedom who left rebel masters, and thousands joined the British lines. More than 1,200 volunteered to settle and establish the new colony of Freetown, which was established by British abolitionists under the Sierra Leone Company.[424][*page needed*][427]

Liberia

In 1816, a group of wealthy European-Americans, some of whom were abolitionists and others who were racial segregationists, founded the American Colonization Society with the express desire of sending liberated African Americans to West Africa.

In 1820, they sent their first ship to Liberia, and within a decade around two thousand African Americans had been settled there. Such resettlement continued throughout the 19th century, increasing following the deterioration of race relations in the Southern states of the US following Reconstruction in 1877.[428]

The American Colonization Society's proposal to send African Americans to Liberia was not universally popular among African Americans, and the proposal was seen as a plot to weaken the influence of the abolitionist movement.[429][430] The scheme was widely rejected by prominent African-American abolitionists such as James Forten[431] and Frederick Douglass.[432]

Rastafari movement

The Rastafari movement, which originated in Jamaica, where 92% of the population are descended from the Atlantic slave trade, has made efforts to publicise the slavery and to ensure it is not forgotten, especially through reggae music.[433]

Apologies

Worldwide

Slave dungeon inside Osu Castle in Ghana

In 1998, UNESCO designated 23 August as International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition. Since then there have been a number of events recognizing the effects of slavery.

At the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, African nations demanded a clear apology for slavery from the former slave-trading countries. Some nations were ready to express an apology, but the opposition, mainly from the United

Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and the United States blocked attempts to do so. A fear of monetary compensation might have been one of the reasons for the opposition.

On March 25, 2026, the United Nations General Assembly has voted to recognise the enslavement of Africans during the transatlantic slave trade as "the gravest crime against humanity."[434]

Benin

In 1999, President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin (formerly the Kingdom of Dahomey) issued a national apology for the role Africans played in the Atlantic slave trade.[432] Luc Gnacadja, minister of environment and housing for Benin, later said: "The slave trade is a shame, and we do repent for it."[435] Researchers estimate that 3 million slaves were exported out of the Slave Coast bordering the Bight of Benin.[435]

Denmark

Denmark had a foothold in Ghana for more than 200 years and trafficked as many as 4,000 enslaved Africans per year.[436] Danish Foreign Minister, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen declared publicly in 1992: "I understand why the inhabitants in the West Indian Islands celebrate the day they became part of the U.S. But for Danish people and Denmark the day is a dark chapter. We exploited the slaves in the West Indian Islands during 250 years and made good money on them, but when we had to pay wages, we sold them instead, without even asking the inhabitants (...) That really wasn't a decent thing to do. We could at least have called a referendum, and asked people which nation they wanted to belong to. Instead we just let down the people."[437]:69

France

On 30 January 2006, Jacques Chirac (the then French President) said that 10 May would henceforth be a national day of remembrance for the victims of slavery in France, marking the day in 2001 when France passed a law recognising slavery as a crime against humanity.[438]

Ghana

Cape Coast slave castle in Ghana

President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana apologized for his country's involvement in the slave trade.[432]

Netherlands

At a UN conference on the Atlantic slave trade in 2001, the Dutch Minister for Urban Policy and Integration of Ethnic Minorities Roger van Boxtel said that the Netherlands "recognizes the grave injustices of the past." On 1 July 2013, at the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies, the Dutch government expressed "deep regret and remorse" for the involvement of the Netherlands in the Atlantic slave trade. The municipal government of Amsterdam, which co-owned the colony of Surinam, and De Nederlandsche Bank, which was involved in slavery between 1814 and 1863, apologized for their involvement on 1 July 2021 and 1 July 2022, respectively.[439][440]

A formal apology on behalf of the Dutch government was issued by Prime Minister Mark Rutte in 2022 following a review by an advisory committee. Government ministers were sent to seven former colonies to reiterate the Dutch state's formal apology. Some activists continued to call for Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands to issue an apology.[441][442]

Nigeria

Slave Port in Badagry, Lagos State Nigeria

In 2009, the Civil Rights Congress of Nigeria wrote an open letter to all African chieftains who participated in trade calling for an apology for their role in the Atlantic slave trade: "We cannot continue to blame the white men, as Africans, particularly the traditional rulers, are not blameless. In view of the fact that the Americans and Europe have accepted the cruelty of their roles and have forcefully apologized, it would be logical, reasonable and humbling if African traditional rulers ... [can] accept blame and formally apologize to the descendants of the victims of their collaborative and exploitative slave trade."[443]

United Kingdom

In December 1999, Liverpool City Council passed a formal motion apologising for the city's part in the slave trade. It was unanimously agreed that Liverpool acknowledges its responsibility for its involvement in three centuries of the slave trade. The city council has made an unreserved apology for Liverpool's involvement and the continual effect of slavery on Liverpool's black communities.[444]

In November 2006, British Prime Minister Tony Blair made a partial apology for Britain's role in the African slavery trade. However African rights activists denounced it as "empty rhetoric" that failed to address the issue properly. They feel his apology stopped shy to prevent any legal retort.[445] Blair again apologized on 14 March 2007.[446]

In August 2007, Ken Livingstone (Mayor of London) apologized publicly for London's role in the slave trade. "You can look across there to see the institutions that still have the benefit of the wealth they created from slavery," he said, pointing towards the financial district, before breaking down in tears. He said that London was still tainted by the horrors of slavery. Jesse Jackson praised Mayor Livingstone and added that reparations should be made.[447]

In 2020, the Bank of England apologized for the role of directors in the Atlantic slave trade and pledged to remove pictures and statues of the 25 bank leaders who owned or traded in slavery.[448][449]

United States

In February 2007, the Virginia General Assembly passed House Joint Resolution Number 728[450] acknowledging "with profound regret the involuntary servitude of Africans and the exploitation of Native Americans, and call for reconciliation among all Virginians". With the passing of that resolution, Virginia became the first of the 50 United States to acknowledge through the state's governing body their state's involvement in slavery. The passing of this resolution came on the heels of the 400th-anniversary celebration of the city of Jamestown, Virginia, which was the first permanent English colony to survive in what would become the United States. Jamestown is also recognized as one of the first slave ports of the American colonies. On 31 May 2007, the Governor of Alabama, Bob Riley, signed a resolution expressing "profound regret" for Alabama's role in slavery and apologizing for slavery's wrongs and lingering effects. Alabama is the fourth state to pass a slavery apology, following votes by the legislatures in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.[451]

On 30 July 2008, the United States House of Representatives passed a resolution apologizing for American slavery and subsequent discriminatory laws. The language included a reference to the "fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity of slavery and Jim Crow" segregation.[452] On 18 June 2009, the United States Senate issued an apologetic statement decrying the "fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery". The news was welcomed by President Barack Obama.[453]

The legal institution of human chattel slavery, comprising the enslavement primarily of Africans and African Americans, was prevalent in the United States of America from its founding in 1776 until 1865, predominantly in the South. Slavery was found throughout European colonization in the Americas. From 1526, during the early colonial period, it was practiced in what became Britain's colonies, including the Thirteen Colonies that formed the United States. Under the law, children were born into slavery, and an enslaved person was treated as property that could be bought, sold, or given away. Slavery lasted in about half of U.S. states until abolition in 1865, and issues concerning slavery seeped into every aspect of national politics, economics, and social custom.[454] In the decades after the end of Reconstruction in 1877, many of slavery's economic and social functions were continued through segregation, sharecropping, and convict leasing. Involuntary servitude as a punishment for crime remains legal.

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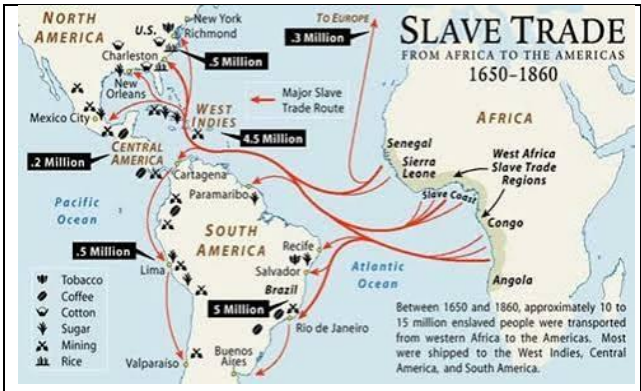
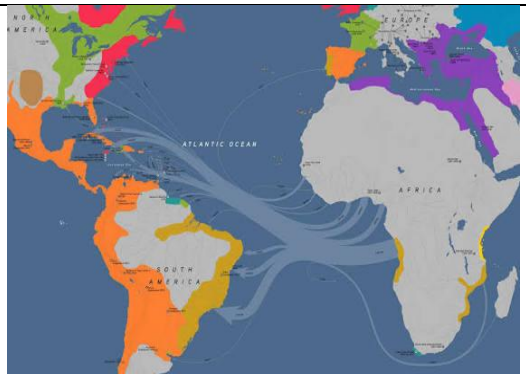
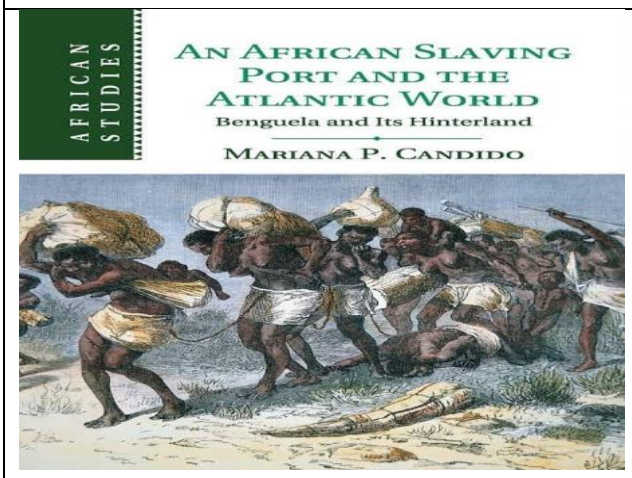
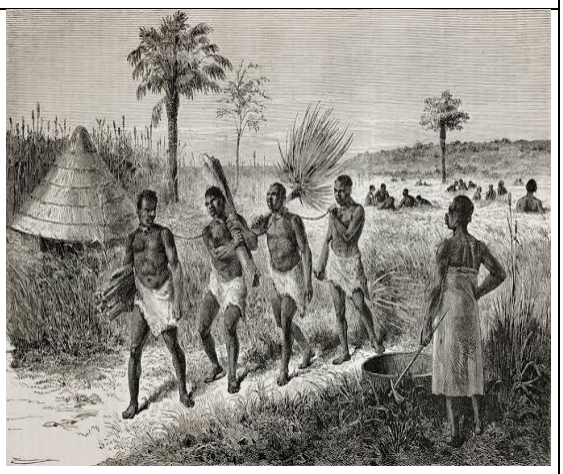
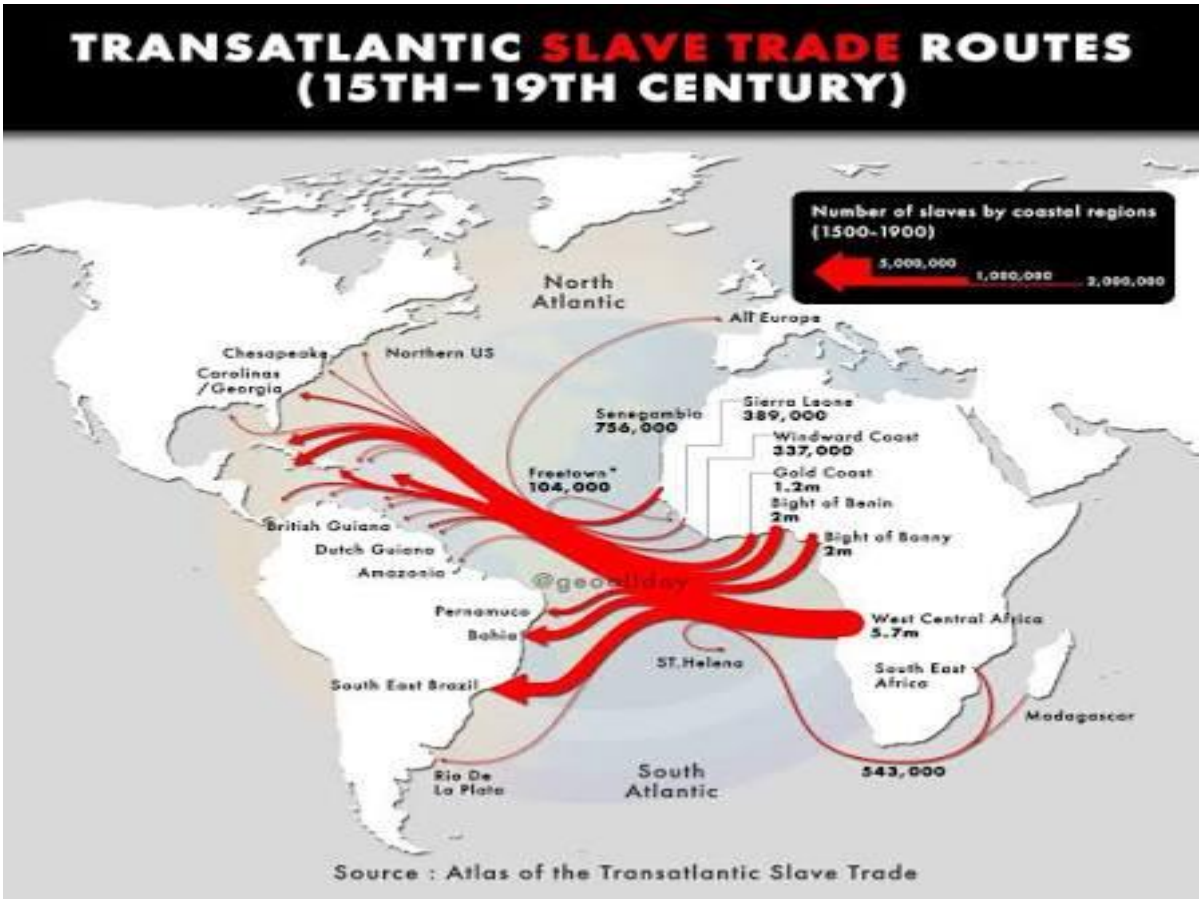
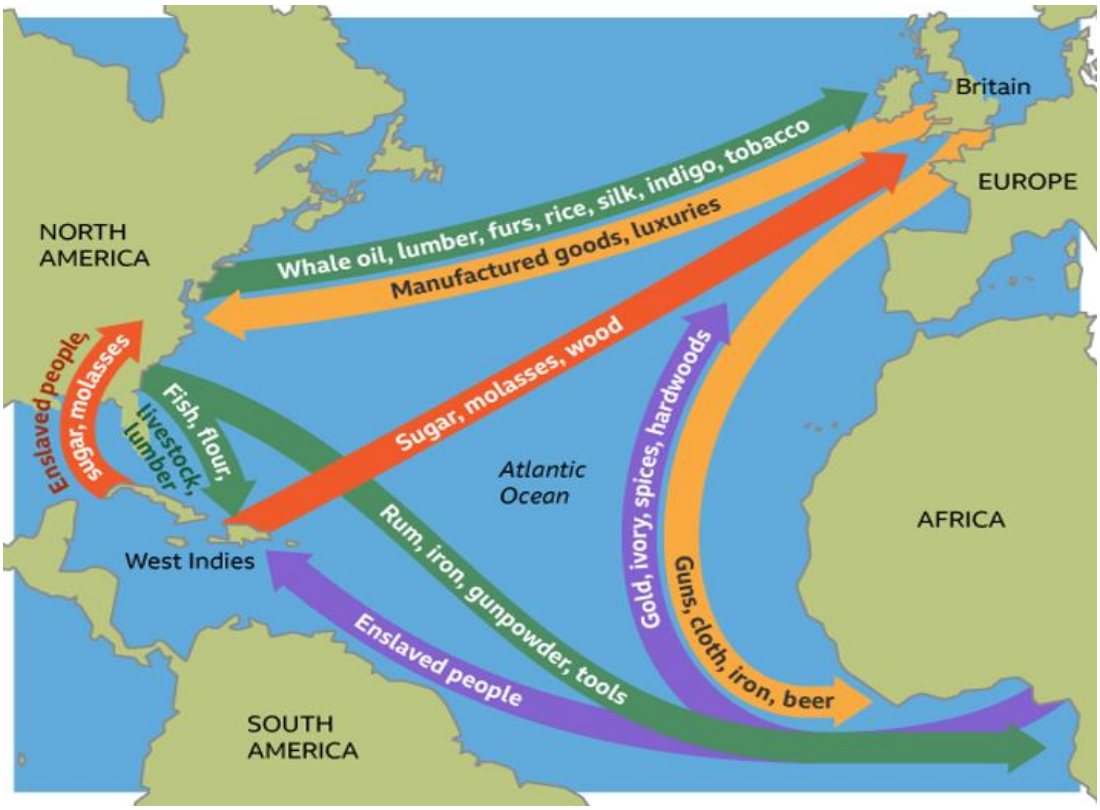




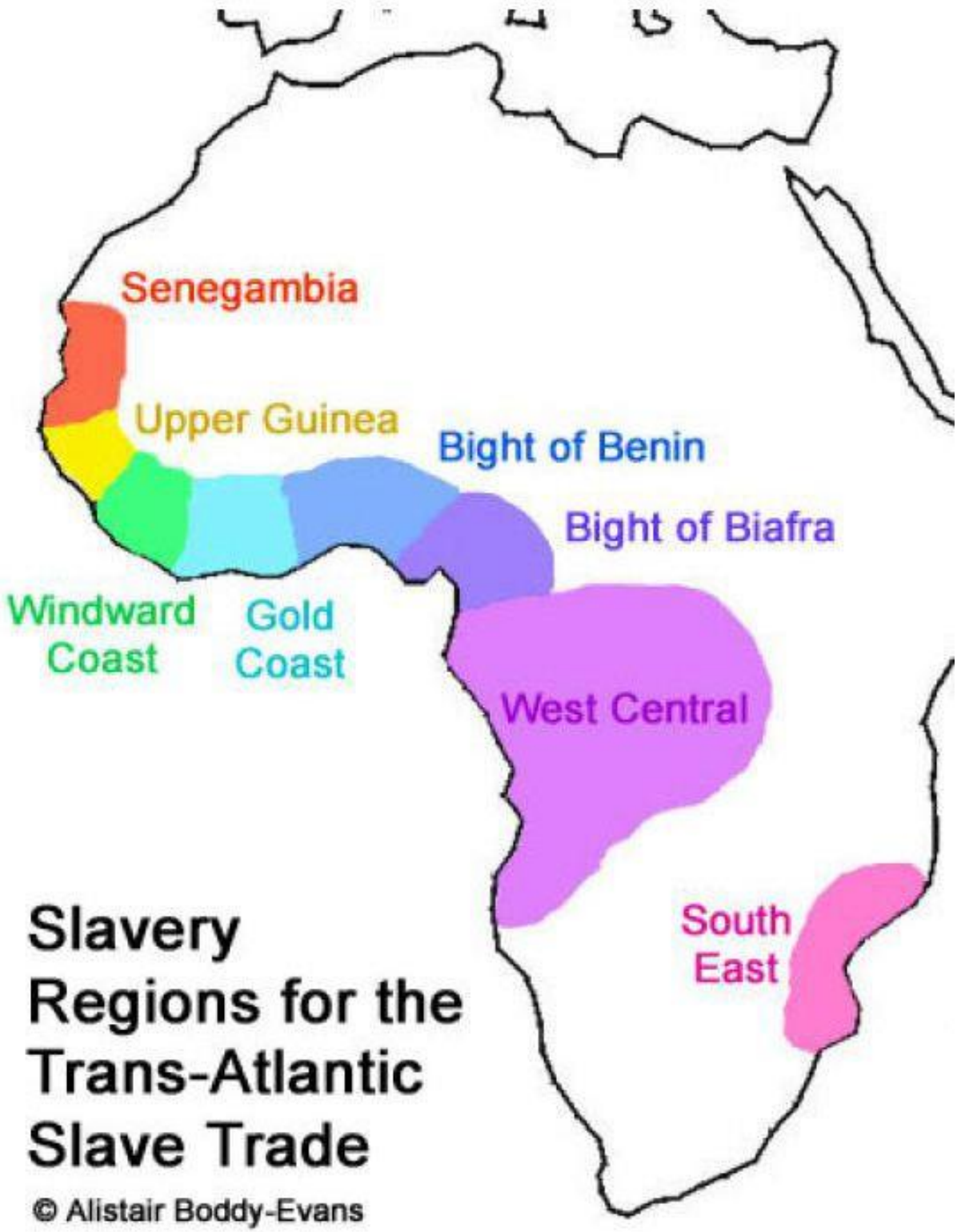





TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE ROUTES
(15TH–19TH CENTURY)
Number of slaves by coastal regions (1500-1900)
5,000,000
1,000,000
2,000,000
North Atlantic
All Europe
Chesapeake
Northern US
Carolinas /Georgia
Senegambia 756,000
Sierra Leone 389,000
Windward Coast 337,000
Gold Coast 1.2m
Bight of Benin 2m
Bight of Biafra 2m
Freetown* 104,000
British Guiana
Dutch Guiana
Amazonia
Pernambuco
Bahia
South East Brazil
West Central Africa 5.7m
St. Helena
South East Africa
Madagascar
543,000
Rio De La Plata
South Atlantic
Source : Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade

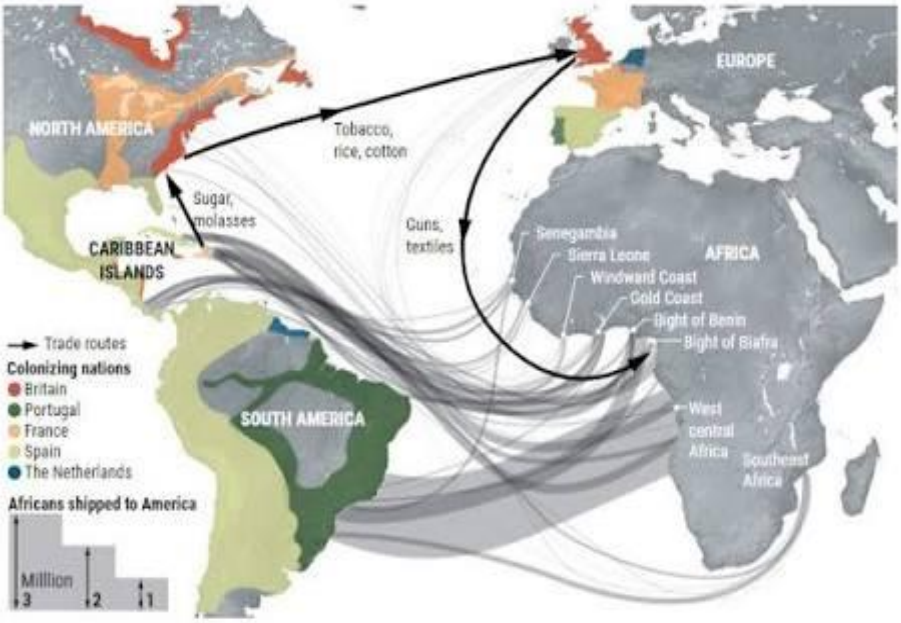

Britain
EUROPE
NORTH AMERICA
Whale oil, lumber, furs, rice, silk, indigo, tobacco
Manufactured goods, luxuries
Enslaved people, sugar, molasses
Fish, flour, livestock, lumber
Sugar, molasses, wood
Atlantic Ocean
Gold, ivory, spices, hardwoods
Guns, cloth, iron, beer
AFRICA
West Indies
Rum, iron, gunpowder, tools
Enslaved people
SOUTH AMERICA

EM ESTA PLANA
Escosia
ingala terra
flãde
franca
italia
sicilia
tunis
Africa
mina
Reino de benins

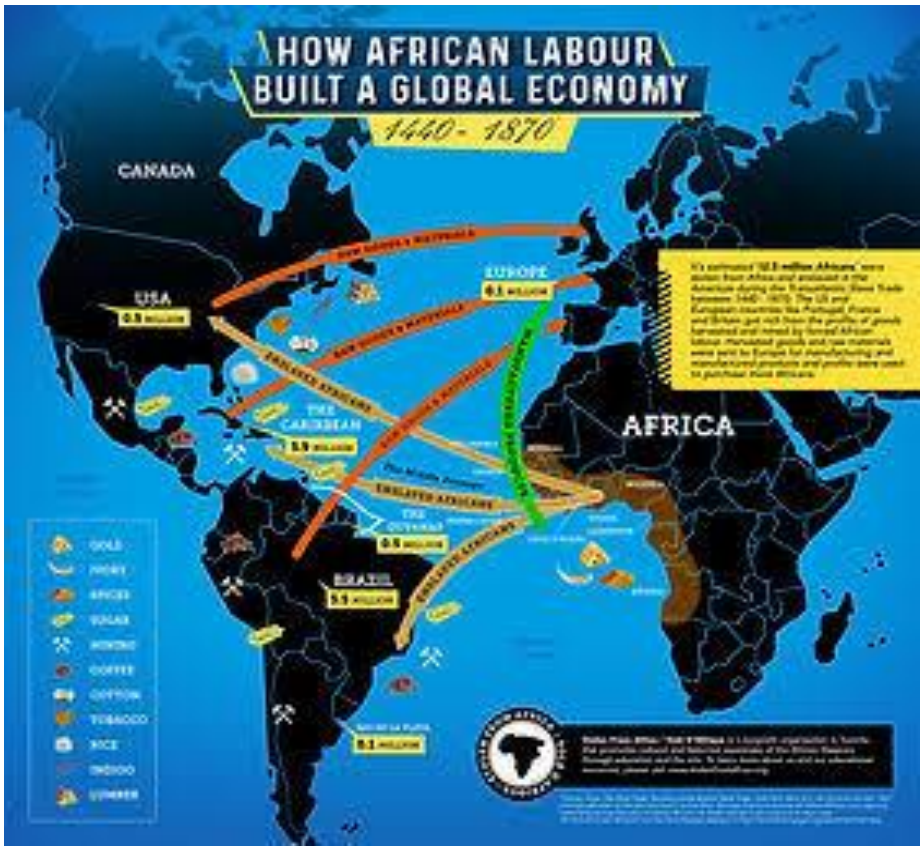

Senegambia
Upper Guinea
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Windward Coast
Gold Coast
West Central
South East
Slavery Regions for the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
© Alistair Boddy-Evans

When people were traded like goods

In the "triangular trade" of the 16th through 19th centuries, millions of people were shipped to the Americas as slaves, raw materials were transported to Europe, and manufactured goods went to Africa. The three-way trade provided European collectors access to specimens from Africa and the Americas.



(MAP) AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1500–1870/PEARSON EDUCATION, INC., ADAPTED BY N. DESAI/SCIENCE; (DATA) TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE DATABASE/EMORY CENTER FOR DIGITAL SCHOLARSHIP



Abolitionism in the USA

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abolitionism_in_the_United_States

In the United States, abolitionism, the movement that sought to end Chattel slavery in the country, was active from the colonial era until the American Civil War, the end of which brought about the abolition of American Chattel Slavery, except as punishment for a crime, through the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (ratified 1865).

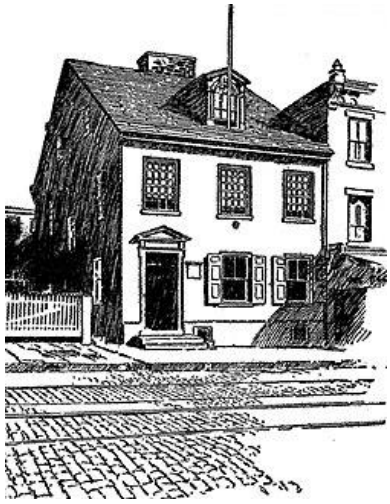
The anti-slavery movement originated during the Age of Enlightenment, focused on ending the transatlantic slave trade. In Colonial America, a few German Quakers issued the 1688 Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery, which marked the beginning of the American abolitionist movement. Before the Revolutionary War, evangelical colonists were the primary advocates for the opposition to slavery and the slave trade, doing so on the basis of humanitarian ethics. Still, others such as James Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia, also retained political motivations for the removal of slavery. Prohibiting slavery through the 1735 Georgia Experiment in part to prevent Spanish partnership with Georgia's runaway slaves, Oglethorpe eventually revoked the act in 1750 after the Spanish's defeat in the Battle of Bloody Marsh eight years prior.[2]

During the Revolutionary era, all states abolished the international slave trade, but South Carolina reversed its decision. Between the Revolutionary War and 1804, laws, constitutions, or court decisions in each of the Northern states provided for the gradual or immediate abolition of slavery.[a] No Southern state adopted similar policies. In 1807, Congress made the importation of slaves a crime, effective January 1, 1808, which was as soon as Article I, section 9 of the Constitution allowed. A small but dedicated group, under leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, agitated for abolition in the mid-19th century. John Brown became an advocate and militia leader in attempting to end slavery by force of arms. In the Civil

War, immediate emancipation became a war goal for the Union in 1863 and was fully achieved in 1865.

History

In Colonial America



Thones Kunders's house at 5109 Germantown Avenue, where the 1688 Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery was written

American abolitionism began well before the United States was founded as a nation. In 1652, Rhode Island made it illegal for any person, black or white, to be "bound" longer than ten years. The law, however, was widely ignored,[10] and Rhode Island became involved in the slave trade in 1700.[11]

An early prominent example of resistance by enslaved people occurred during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. Occurring in Virginia, the rebellion saw European indentured servants and African people (of indentured, enslaved, and free negroes) band together against William Berkeley because of his refusal to fully remove Native American tribes in the region. At the time, Native Americans in the region were hosting raids against lower-class settlers encroaching on their land after the Third Powhatan War (1644–1646), which left many white and black indentured servants and slaves without a sense of protection from their government.[12] Led by Nathaniel Bacon, the unification that occurred between the white lower class and blacks during this rebellion was perceived as dangerous and thus was quashed with the implementation of the Virginia Slave Codes of 1705.[13] Still, this event introduced the premise that blacks and whites could work together towards the goal of self-liberation, which became increasingly prevalent as abolition gained traction within America.[14]

Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), judge who wrote *The Selling of Joseph* (1700) which denounced the spread of slavery in the American colonies

The first written statement against slavery in Colonial America was prepared in 1688 by members of the Religious Society of Friends.[15] On 18 February 1688, Francis Daniel Pastorius, the brothers Derick and Abraham op den Graeff and Gerrit Hendricksz of Germantown, Pennsylvania, drafted the 1688 Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery, a two-page condemnation of slavery, and sent it to the governing bodies of their Quaker meeting. The intention of the petition was to stop slavery within the Quaker community, where 70% of Quakers owned slaves between 1681 and 1705.[15] It acknowledged the universal rights of all people.[15] While the Quaker establishment did not take action at that time, the unusually early, clear, and forceful argument in the petition initiated the spirit that finally led to the end of slavery in the Society of Friends (1776) and in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1780). The Quaker Quarterly Meeting of Chester, Pennsylvania, made its first protest in 1711. Within a few decades the entire slave trade was under attack, being opposed by such Quaker leaders as William Burling, Benjamin Lay, Ralph Sandiford, William Southby, John Woolman,[16] and Anthony Benezet.[17] Benezet was particularly influential, inspiring a later generation of notable anti-slavery activists, including Granville Sharp, John Wesley, Thomas Clarkson,[18] Olaudah Equiano,[19] Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, Absalom Jones, and Bishop Richard Allen,[20] among others.[21]

Samuel Sewall,[22] a prominent Bostonian, wrote *The Selling of Joseph* (1700)[23] in protest of the widening practice of outright slavery as opposed to indentured servitude in the colonies. This is the earliest-recorded anti-slavery tract published in the future United States.[24]

Slavery was banned in the colony of Georgia soon after its founding in 1733. The colony's founder, James Edward Oglethorpe, fended off repeated attempts by South Carolina merchants and land speculators to introduce slavery into the colony. His motivations included tactical defense against Spanish collusion with runaway slaves, and prevention of Georgia's largely reformed criminal population from replicating South Carolina's planter class structure. In 1739, he wrote to the Georgia Trustees urging them to hold firm:

If we allow slaves we act against the very principles by which we associated together, which was to relieve the distresses. Whereas, now we should occasion the misery of thousands in Africa, by setting men upon using arts to buy and bring into perpetual slavery the poor people who now live there free.

—James Edward Oglethorpe, 1739[25]

In 1737, Quaker abolitionist Benjamin Lay published *All Slave-Keepers That Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*,[26] which was printed by his friend, Benjamin Franklin.[27] The following year, during the 1738 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in Burlington, New Jersey, Lay made a speech against slavery during which he threw off a cloak to reveal he was dressed as a soldier and wearing a sword (shocking to the pacifist quakers), then plunged the sword into a book containing a hidden bladder of fake blood (pokeberry juice), splattering those nearby in criticism of the violence they were perpetrating by practicing slavery.[28][29]

On September 9, 1739, a literate slave named Jemmy led a rebellion against South Carolina slaveholders in an event referred to as the Stono Rebellion (also known as Cato's Conspiracy and Cato's Rebellion.) The runaway slaves involved in the revolt intended to reach Spanish-controlled Florida to attain freedom, but their plans were thwarted by white colonists in Charlestown, South Carolina.[30] The event resulted in 25 colonists and 35 to 50 African slaves killed, as well as the implementation of the 1740 Negro Act to prevent another slave uprising. In her book, "The Slave's Cause" by Manisha Sinha, Sinha considers the Stono Rebellion to be an important act of abolition from the perspective of the slave, recognizing their agency and subsequent humanity as cause for self-liberation.[31]

Slave revolts following the Stono Rebellion were a present mode of abolition undertaken by slaves and were an indicator of black agency that brewed beneath the surface of the abolitionist movement for decades and eventually sprouted later on through figures such as Frederick Douglass, an escaped black freeman who was a popular orator and essayist for the abolitionist cause.[32]

Grave of Benjamin Kent, lawyer who freed a slave in America (1766)

The struggle between Georgia and South Carolina led to the first debates in Parliament over the issue of slavery, occurring between 1740 and 1742.[25]

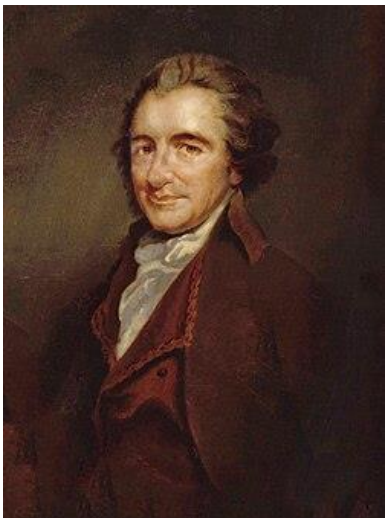
Rhode Island Quakers, associated with Moses Brown, were among the first in America to free slaves. Benjamin Rush was another leader, as were many Quakers. John Woolman gave up most of his business in 1756 to devote himself to campaigning against slavery along with other Quakers.[33]

Between 1764 and 1774, seventeen enslaved African Americans appeared before the Massachusetts courts in freedom suits, spurred on the decision made in the *Somerset v. Stewart* case, which although not applying the colonies was still received positively by American abolitionists.[34] Boston lawyer Benjamin Kent represented them.[35] In 1766, Kent won a case (*Slew v. Whipple*) to liberate Jenny Slew, a mixed-race woman who had been kidnapped in Massachusetts and then handled as a slave.[36]

According to historian Steven Pincus, many of the colonial legislatures worked to enact laws that would limit slavery.[37] The Provincial legislature of Massachusetts Bay, as noted by historian Gary B. Nash, approved a law "prohibiting the importation and purchase of slaves by any Massachusetts citizen." The Loyalist governor of

Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, vetoed the law, an action that prompted angered reaction from the general public.[38][39] American abolitionists were cheered by the decision in *Somerset v Stewart* (1772), which prohibited slavery in the United Kingdom, though not in its colonies.[*citation needed*] In 1774, the influential Fairfax Resolves called for an end to the "wicked, cruel and unnatural" Atlantic slave trade.[40]

Abolitionism during and after the Revolutionary War



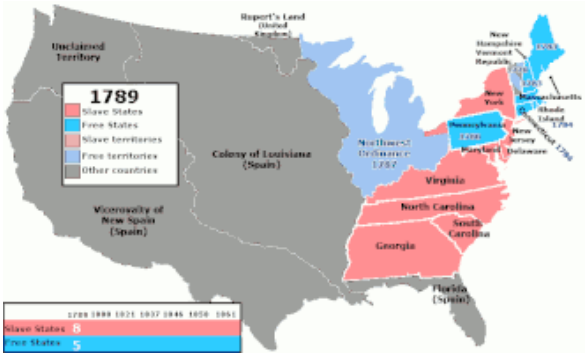
Thomas Paine's 1775 article "African Slavery in America" was one of the first to advocate abolishing slavery and freeing slaves.

One of the first articles advocating the emancipation of slaves and the abolition of slavery was written by Thomas Paine. Titled "African Slavery in America", it appeared on 8 March 1775 in the *Postscript to the Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*.[41]

The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage (Pennsylvania Abolition Society) was the first American abolition society, formed 14 April 1775, in Philadelphia, primarily by Quakers. The society suspended operations during the American Revolutionary War and was reorganized in 1784, with Benjamin Franklin as its first president.[42][43]

In 1777, the Vermont Republic became the first independent state in North America to prohibit slavery: slaves were not directly freed, but masters were required to remove slaves from Vermont.[44]

The Constitution included several provisions which accommodated slavery, although none used the word. Passed unanimously by the Congress of the Confederation in 1787, the Northwest Ordinance forbade slavery in the Northwest Territory, a vast area (the future Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) in which slavery had been legal, but population was sparse.[*citation needed*]



An animation showing when states and territories forbade or admitted slavery 1789–1861

The first state to begin a gradual abolition of slavery was Pennsylvania, in 1780. All importation of slaves was prohibited, but none were freed at first, only the slaves of masters who failed to register them with the state, along with the "future children" of enslaved mothers. Those enslaved in Pennsylvania before the 1780 law went into effect were not freed until 1847.[44]

Massachusetts took a much more radical position. In 1780, during the Revolution, Massachusetts ratified its constitution and included within it a clause that declared all men equal. Based upon this clause, several freedom suits were filed by enslaved African Americans living in Massachusetts. In 1783, its Supreme Court, in the case of *Commonwealth v. Nathaniel Jennison*, reaffirmed the case of *Brom and Bett v. Ashley*, which held that even slaves were people who had a constitutional right to liberty. This gave freedom to slaves, effectively abolishing slavery.[45]

States with a greater economic interest in slaves, such as New York and New Jersey, passed gradual emancipation laws. While some of these laws were gradual, these states enacted the first abolition laws in the entire "New World".[46] In the State of New York, the enslaved population was transformed into indentured servants before being granted full emancipation in 1827. In other states, abolitionist legislation

provided freedom only for the children of the enslaved. In New Jersey, slavery was not fully prohibited until the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.[47]

Abolition of slavery in the various states of the US over time:

Abolition of slavery during or shortly after the American Revolution (Vermont, 1777; Massachusetts [including Maine], 1783)
The Northwest Ordinance, 1787
Gradual emancipation in New York (starting 1799, ended 1827), Pennsylvania (1780–1857), New Hampshire (1783–1857), Connecticut [including the Western Reserve] (1784–1848), Rhode Island (1784–1853) and New Jersey (starting 1804; ended by Thirteenth Amendment, 1865)
The Missouri Compromise, 1821
Effective abolition of slavery by Mexican or joint US/British authority
Abolition of slavery by Congressional action, 1861
Abolition of slavery by Congressional action, 1862
Emancipation Proclamation as originally issued, 1 Jan 1863
Subsequent operation of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863
Abolition of slavery by state action during the Civil War
Operation of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1864
Operation of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865
Thirteenth Amendment to the US constitution, 18 Dec 1865
Territory incorporated into the US after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment

All of the other states north of Maryland began gradual abolition of slavery between 1781 and 1804, based on the Pennsylvania model and by 1804, all the Northern states had passed laws to gradually or immediately abolish it.[48][b] Some slaves continued in involuntary, unpaid "indentured servitude" for two more decades, and others were moved south and sold to new owners in slave states.[*citation needed*]

Some individual slaveholders, particularly in the upper South, freed slaves, sometimes in their wills. Many noted they had been moved by the revolutionary ideals of the equality of men. The number of free blacks as a proportion of the black population in the upper South increased from less than 1 percent to nearly 10 percent between 1790 and 1810 as a result of these actions. Some slave owners, concerned about the increase in free blacks, which they viewed as destabilizing, freed slaves on condition that they emigrate to Africa.[*citation needed*]

All U.S. states abolished the transatlantic slave trade by 1798. South Carolina, which had abolished the slave trade in 1787, reversed that decision in 1803. In the American South, freedom suits were rejected by the courts, which held that the rights in the state constitutions did not apply to African Americans.[49]

The South after 1804

The institution of slavery remained solid in the South, and that region's customs and social beliefs evolved into a strident defense of slavery in response to the rise of a growing anti-slavery stance in the North. In 1835 alone, abolitionists mailed over a million pieces of anti-slavery literature to the South, giving rise to the gag rules in Congress, after the theft of mail from the Charleston, South Carolina, post office, and much back-and-forth about whether postmasters were required to deliver this mail.[50] According to the Postmaster General, they were not.[51]

Under the Constitution, the importation of enslaved persons could not be prohibited until 1808 (20 years). As the end of the 20 years approached, an Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves sailed through Congress with little opposition. President Jefferson signed it, and it went effect on January 1, 1808.

In 1820, the Act to Protect the Commerce of the United States and Punish the Crime of Piracy was passed. This law made importing slaves into the United States a death penalty offense.

Abolitionism's re-emergence

In 1830, most Americans were, at least in principle, opposed to slavery. However, opponents of slavery deliberated on how to end the institution, as well as what would become of the slaves once they were free. As put in *The Philanthropist*:[52]:59

If the chain of slavery can be broken, ... we may cherish the hope ... that proper means will be devised for the disposal of the blacks, and that this foul and unnatural crime of holding men in bondage will finally be rooted out from our land.

In the 1830s there was a progressive shift in thinking in the North. Mainstream opinion changed from gradual emancipation and resettlement of freed blacks in Africa, sometimes a condition of their manumission, to immediatism: freeing all the slaves immediately and sorting out the problems later. This change was in many cases sudden, a consequence of the individual's coming in direct contact with the horrors of American slavery, or hearing of them from a credible source. As it was put by Amos Adams Lawrence, who witnessed the capture and return to slavery of Anthony Burns, "we went to bed one night old-fashioned, conservative, Compromise Union Whigs and waked up stark mad Abolitionists."[53]

Garrison and immediate emancipation

Wm. Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), publisher of the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* and one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society

The American beginning of abolitionism as a political movement is usually dated from 1 January 1831, when Wm. Lloyd Garrison (as he always signed himself) published the first issue of his new weekly newspaper, *The Liberator* (1831), which

appeared without interruption until slavery in the United States was abolished in 1865, when it closed.

Immediate abolition

Abolitionists included those who joined the American Anti-Slavery Society or its auxiliary groups in the 1830s and 1840s, as the movement fragmented.[54]:78 The fragmented anti-slavery movement included groups such as the Liberty Party; the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; the American Missionary Association; and the Church Anti-Slavery Society. Historians traditionally distinguish between moderate anti-slavery reformers or gradualists, who concentrated on stopping the spread of slavery, and radical abolitionists or immediatists, whose demands for unconditional emancipation often merged with a concern for Black civil rights. However, James Stewart advocates a more nuanced understanding of the relationship of abolition and anti-slavery prior to the Civil War:

While instructive, the distinction [between anti-slavery and abolition] can also be misleading, especially in assessing abolitionism's political impact. For one thing, slaveholders never bothered with such fine points. Many immediate abolitionists showed no less concern than did other white Northerners about the fate of the nation's "precious legacies of freedom". Immediatism became most difficult to distinguish from broader anti-Southern opinions once ordinary citizens began articulating these intertwining beliefs.[54]:78

Nearly all Northern politicians, such as Abraham Lincoln, rejected the "immediate emancipation" called for by the abolitionists, seeing it as "extreme". Indeed, many Northern leaders, including Lincoln, Stephen Douglas (the Democratic nominee in 1860), John C. Frémont (the Republican nominee in 1856), and Ulysses S. Grant married into slave-owning Southern families without any moral qualms.[*citation needed*]

Anti-slavery as a principle was far more than just the wish to prevent the expansion of slavery.[*citation needed*] After 1840, abolitionists rejected this because it let sin continue to exist; they demanded that slavery end everywhere, immediately and completely. John Brown was the only abolitionist to have actually planned a violent insurrection, though David Walker promoted the idea. The abolitionist movement was

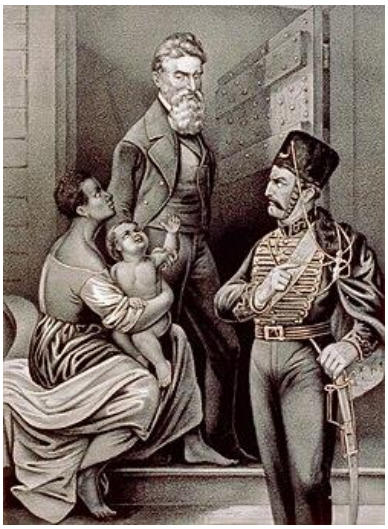
strengthened by the activities of free African Americans, especially in the Black church, who argued that the old Biblical justifications for slavery contradicted the New Testament.

African-American activists and their writings were rarely heard outside the Black community. However, they were tremendously influential on a few sympathetic white people, most prominently the first white activist to reach prominence, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, who was its most effective propagandist. Garrison's efforts to recruit eloquent spokesmen led to the discovery of ex-slave Frederick Douglass, who eventually became a prominent activist in his own right. Eventually, Douglass would publish his own widely distributed abolitionist newspaper, *North Star*.

Lysander Spooner (1808–1887), an individualist anarchist who wrote *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery* (1845)

In the early 1850s, the American abolitionist movement split into two camps over the question of whether the United States Constitution did or did not protect slavery. This issue arose in the late 1840s after the publication of *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery* by Lysander Spooner. The Garrisonians, led by Garrison and Wendell Phillips, publicly burned copies of the Constitution, called it a pact with slavery, and demanded its abolition and replacement.[*citation needed*] Another camp, led by Lysander Spooner, Gerrit Smith, and eventually Douglass, considered the Constitution to be an anti-slavery document. Using an argument based upon Natural Law and a form of social contract theory, they said that slavery fell outside the Constitution's scope of legitimate authority and therefore should be abolished.[*citation needed*]

Another split in the abolitionist movement was along class lines. The artisan republicanism of Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright stood in stark contrast to the politics of prominent elite abolitionists such as industrialist Arthur Tappan and his evangelist brother Lewis. While the former pair opposed slavery on a basis of solidarity of "wage slaves" with "chattel slaves", the Whiggish Tappans strongly rejected this view, opposing the characterization of Northern workers as "slaves" in any sense. (Lott, 129–130).



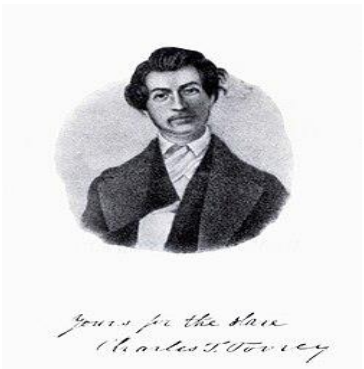
Idealized portrait of John Brown being adored by an enslaved mother and child as he walks to his execution

Many American abolitionists took an active role in opposing slavery by supporting the Underground Railroad.[55] This was made illegal by the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, arguably the most hated and most openly evaded federal legislation in the nation's history. Nevertheless, participants like Harriet Tubman, Henry Highland Garnet, Alexander Crummell, Amos Noë Freeman, and others continued with their work. Abolitionists were particularly active in Ohio, where some worked directly in the Underground Railroad. Since only the Ohio River separated free Ohio from slave Kentucky, it was a popular destination for fugitive slaves. Supporters helped them there, in many cases to cross Lake Erie by boat, into Canada. The Western Reserve area of northeast Ohio was "probably the most intensely antislavery section of the country."[56] The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue got national publicity. Abolitionist John Brown grew up in Hudson, Ohio. In the South, members of the abolitionist movement or other people opposing slavery were often targets of lynch mob violence before the American Civil War.[57]

Numerous known abolitionists lived, worked, and worshipped in downtown Brooklyn, from Henry Ward Beecher, who auctioned slaves into freedom from the pulpit of Plymouth Church, to Nathaniel Eggleston, a leader of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,[58] who also preached at the Bridge Street African Methodist Episcopal Church, and lived on Duffield Street. His fellow Duffield Street residents Thomas and Harriet Truesdell were leading members of the abolitionist movement. Mr. Truesdell was a founding member of the Providence Anti-slavery Society before moving to Brooklyn in 1838. Harriet Truesdell was also very active in the movement, organizing an anti-slavery convention in Pennsylvania Hall (Philadelphia). Another prominent Brooklyn-based abolitionist was Rev. Joshua Leavitt, trained as a lawyer at Yale, who stopped practicing law in order to attend Yale Divinity School, and subsequently edited the abolitionist newspaper *The Emancipator* and campaigned against slavery, as well as advocating other social reforms. In 1841, Leavitt published *The Financial Power of Slavery*, which argued that the South was draining the national economy due to its reliance on enslaved workers. In 2007, Duffield Street was given the name Abolitionist Place, and the Truesdells' home at 227 Duffield received landmark status in 2021.[59]

Summary of progress

The federal government prohibited the transatlantic slave trade in 1808, prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia in 1850, outlawed slavery in the District of Columbia in 1862, and, with the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, made slavery unconstitutional altogether, except as punishment for a crime, in 1865. This was a direct result of the Union victory in the American Civil War. The central issue of the war was slavery.[60][61][62][63]



Charles Turner Torrey, c. 1840, from *Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey*, Joseph P. Lovejoy, ed. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co.), 1847

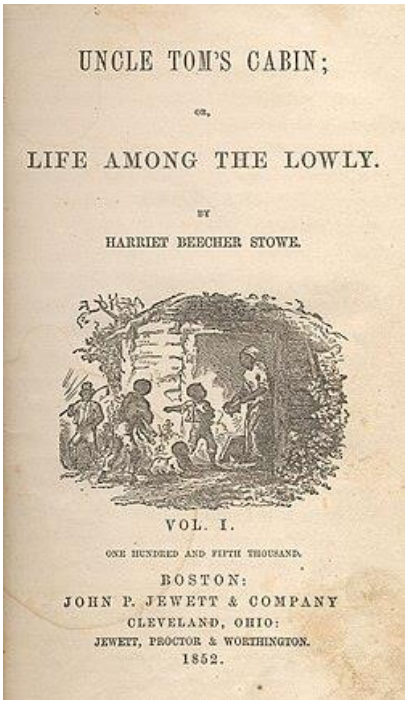
In the North, most opponents of slavery supported other modernizing reform movements such as the temperance movement, public schooling, and prison- and asylum-building. They were split on the issue of women's activism and their political role, and this contributed to a major rift in the Society. In 1839, brothers Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan left the Society and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which did not admit women. Other members of the Society, including Charles Turner Torrey, Amos Phelps, Henry Stanton, and Alanson St. Clair, in addition to disagreeing with Garrison on the women's issue, urged taking a much more activist approach to abolitionism and consequently challenged Garrison's leadership at the Society's annual meeting in January 1839. When the challenge was beaten back,[64] they left and founded the New Organization, which adopted a more activist approach to freeing slaves. Soon after, in 1840, they formed the Liberty Party, which had as its sole platform the abolition of slavery.[65] By the end of 1840, Garrison himself announced the formation of a third new organization, the Friends of Universal Reform, with sponsors and founding members including prominent reformers Maria Chapman, Abby Kelley Foster, Oliver Johnson, and Bronson Alcott (father of Louisa May Alcott).

Abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison repeatedly condemned slavery for contradicting the principles of freedom and equality on which the country was founded. In 1854, Garrison wrote:

I am a believer in that portion of the Declaration of American Independence in which it is set forth, as among self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Hence, I am an abolitionist. Hence, I cannot but regard oppression in every form – and most of all, that which turns a man into a thing – with indignation and abhorrence. Not to cherish these feelings would be recreancy to principle. They who desire me to be dumb on the subject of slavery, unless I will open my mouth in its defense, ask me to give the lie to my professions, to degrade my manhood, and to stain my soul. I will not be a liar, a poltroon, or a hypocrite, to accommodate any party, to gratify any sect, to escape any odium or peril, to save any interest, to preserve any institution, or to promote any object.

Convince me that one man may rightfully make another man his slave, and I will no longer subscribe to the Declaration of Independence. Convince me that liberty is not the inalienable birthright of every human being, of whatever complexion or clime, and I will give that instrument to the consuming fire. I do not know how to espouse freedom and slavery together.[66]

Uncle Tom's Cabin and *The Impending Crisis of the South*



***Uncle Tom's Cabin* inflamed public opinion in the North and Europe against the personified evils of slavery**

The most influential abolitionist publication was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the best-selling novel[67] by Harriet Beecher Stowe, who had attended the anti-slavery debates at Lane, of which her father, Lyman Beecher, was the president. Outraged by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 (which made the escape narrative part of everyday news), Stowe emphasized the horrors that abolitionists had long claimed about slavery. Her depiction of the evil slave owner Simon Legree, a transplanted Yankee who kills the Christ-like Uncle Tom, outraged the North, helped sway British public opinion against the South, and inflamed Southern slave owners who tried to refute it by showing that some slave owners were humanitarian.[68] Although incredibly influential to the abolitionist struggle, it also proved the largely white preference that abolition still carried during this time period, as a white woman's retelling of American slavery became more influential during this time than several black abolitionist

newspaper's depictions of slavery.[69] It inspired numerous anti-Tom, pro-slavery novels, several written and published by women.

According to a book reviewer, "Next to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Hinton Helper's critique of slavery and the Southern class system, *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857), was arguably the most important antislavery book of the 1850s."[70] According to historian George M. Fredrickson, "it would not be difficult to make a case for *The Impending Crisis* as the most important single book, in terms of its political impact, that has ever been published in the United States."[71] Helper was a Southerner and a virulent racist, but he was nevertheless an abolitionist, because, as he argued in *The Impending Crisis of the South*, slavery hurt the economic prospects of non-slaveholders and was an impediment to the growth of the entire region of the South.

The Constitution and ending slavery

The Republican strategy of using the Constitution

Two diametrically opposed anti-slavery positions emerged regarding the United States Constitution. The Garrisonians emphasized that the document permitted and protected slavery and was therefore "an agreement with hell" that had to be rejected in favor of immediate emancipation. The mainstream anti-slavery position adopted by the new Republican party argued that the Constitution could and should be used to eventually end slavery. They assumed that the Constitution gave the government no authority to abolish slavery directly. However, there were multiple tactics available to support the long-term strategy of using the Constitution as a battering ram against the peculiar institution. First Congress could block the admission of any new slave states. That would steadily move the balance of power in Congress and the Electoral College in favor of freedom. Congress could abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories. Congress could use the Commerce Clause[72] to end the interstate slave trade, thereby crippling the steady movement of slavery from the southeast to the southwest. Congress could recognize free blacks as full citizens and insist on due process rights to protect fugitive slaves from being captured and returned to bondage. Finally, the government could use patronage powers to promote the anti-

slavery cause across the country, especially in the border states. Pro-slavery elements considered the Republican strategy to be much more dangerous to their cause than radical abolitionism. Lincoln's election was met by secession. Indeed, the Republican strategy mapped the "crooked path to abolition" that prevailed during the Civil War.[73][74]

Events leading to emancipation

In the 1850s, the slave trade remained legal in all 16 states of the American South. While slavery was fading away in the cities and border states, it remained strong in plantation areas that grew cash crops such as cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco or hemp. By the 1860 United States census, the slave population in the United States had grown to four million.[75] American abolitionism, after Nat Turner's revolt ended its discussion in the South, was based in the North, and white Southerners alleged it fostered slave rebellion.

The white abolitionist movement in the North was led by social reformers, especially William Lloyd Garrison, founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and writers such as John Greenleaf Whittier and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Black activists included former slaves such as Frederick Douglass, and free blacks such as the brothers Charles Henry Langston and John Mercer Langston, who helped to found the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society.[76][c]

Some abolitionists said that slavery was criminal and a sin; they also criticized slave owners for using black women as concubines and taking sexual advantage of them.[79]

Compromise of 1850

The Compromise of 1850 attempted to resolve issues surrounding slavery caused by the War with Mexico and the admission to the Union of the slave Republic of Texas. The Compromise of 1850 was proposed by "The Great Compromiser" Henry Clay; support was coordinated by Senator Stephen A. Douglas. Through the compromise, California was admitted as a free state after its state convention unanimously opposed slavery there, Texas was financially compensated for the loss of its territories northwest of the modern state borders, and the slave trade (not slavery) was

abolished in the District of Columbia. The Fugitive Slave Law was a concession to the South. Abolitionists were outraged, because the new law required Northerners to help in the capture and return of runaway slaves.[80]

Republican Party

Main article: History of the United States Republican Party

In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas–Nebraska Act, which opened those territories to slavery if the local residents voted that way. The anti-slavery gains made in previous compromises were reversed. A firestorm of outrage brought together former Whigs, Know-Nothings, and former Free Soil Democrats to form a new party in 1854–56, the Republican Party. It included a program of rapid modernization involving the government promotion of industry, railroads, banks, free homesteads, and colleges, all to the annoyance of the South. The new party denounced the Slave Power – that is the political power of the slave owners who supposedly controlled the national government for their own benefit and to the disadvantage of the ordinary white man.[81]

The Republicans wanted to achieve the gradual extinction of slavery by market forces, because its members believed that free labor was superior to slave labor. Southern leaders said the Republican policy of blocking the expansion of slavery into the West made them second-class citizens, and challenged their autonomy. With the 1860 presidential victory of Abraham Lincoln, seven Deep South states whose economy was based on cotton and slavery decided to secede and form a new nation. The American Civil War broke out in April 1861 with the firing on Fort Sumter in South Carolina. When Lincoln called for troops to suppress the rebellion, four more slave states seceded.

This Democratic editorial cartoon links Republican candidate John Frémont (far right) to temperance, feminism, Fourierism, free love, Catholicism, and abolition.

The crisis in Kansas Territory and the neighboring slave state of Missouri turned bloody during what was known as the Bleeding Kansas crisis of the 1850s. Proslavery *border ruffians* and *Bushwhackers* fought antislavery "free-staters" and *Jayhawkers*. Paramilitary guerrilla warfare became widespread in the area, as a prelude to the Civil War. The violence would spread to many other places, including the Senate Chamber of the U.S. Capitol where a Southern Democrat attacked a Northern Republican with a cane as his political allies watched.

Explorer, army veteran, and abolitionist John C. Frémont ran as the first Republican nominee for president in 1856. The new party crusaded on the slogan: "Free soil, free silver, free men, Frémont and victory!" Although he lost, the party showed a strong base. It dominated in Yankee areas of New England, New York and the northern Midwest, and had a strong presence in the rest of the North. It had almost no support in the South, where it was roundly denounced in 1856–60 as a divisive force that threatened civil war.[82] The newly-formed Republican Party gained quite a standing in the 1856 to 1857 election cycle in the U.S. House and Senate, cementing its status as the primary party for abolitionists and northerners for some time.

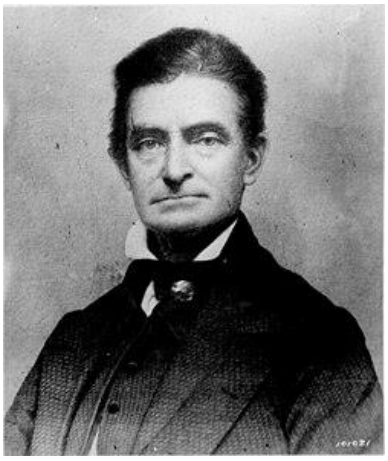
Without using the term "containment", the new Party in the mid-1850s proposed a system of containing slavery once it gained control of the national government. Historian James Oakes explains the strategy:

The federal government would surround the south with free states, free territories, and free waters, building what they called a "cordon of freedom" around slavery,

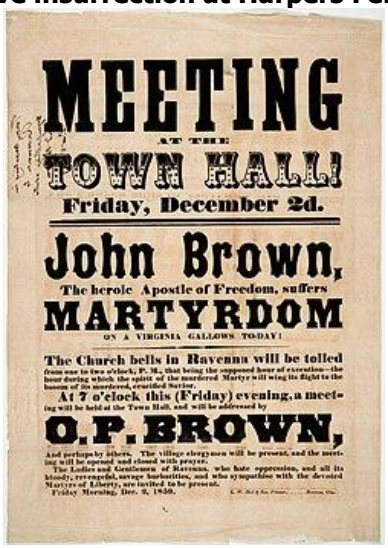
hemming it in until the system's own internal weaknesses forced the slave states one by one to abandon slavery.[83]

Militant abolitionists demanded *immediate* emancipation, not a slow-acting containment. Some rejected the new party, and in turn its leaders reassured voters they were not trying to abolish slavery in the U.S. altogether, which was politically impossible, and were just working against its spread.

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry



John Brown (1800–1859), abolitionist who advocated armed rebellion by slaves. He slaughtered pro-slavery settlers in Kansas and in 1859 was hanged by the state of Virginia for leading an unsuccessful slave insurrection at Harpers Ferry.


MEETING
AT THE
TOWN HALL!
Friday, December 2d.
John Brown,
The heroic Apostle of Freedom, suffers
MARTYRDOM
ON A VIRGINIA GALLOWS TO-DAY!
The Church bells in Ravenna will be tolled
At 7 o'clock this (Friday) evening, a meeting will be held at the Town Hall, and will be addressed by
O.P. BROWN,
The Ladies and Gentlemen of Ravenna, who hate oppression, and all its bloody, revengeful, savage barbarities, and who sympathize with the devoted Martyrs of Liberty, are invited to be present.

Bells rung in Ravenna, Ohio, at the hour of John Brown's execution.

John Brown has been called "the most controversial of all 19th-century Americans".[84] When Brown was hanged after his attempt to start a slave rebellion in 1859, church bells rang across the North, there was a 100-gun salute in Albany, New York, large memorial meetings took place throughout the North, and famous writers

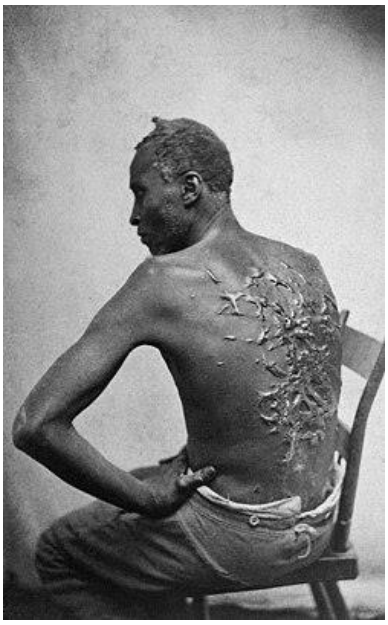
such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau joined other Northerners in praising Brown.[85] Whereas Garrison was a pacifist, Brown believed violence was unfortunately necessary to end slavery.

The raid, though unsuccessful in the short term, may have helped Lincoln get elected and moved the Southern states to secede, leading to the Civil War. Some historians regard Brown as a crazed lunatic, while David S. Reynolds hails him as the man who "killed slavery, sparked the civil war, and seeded civil rights".[86][87]

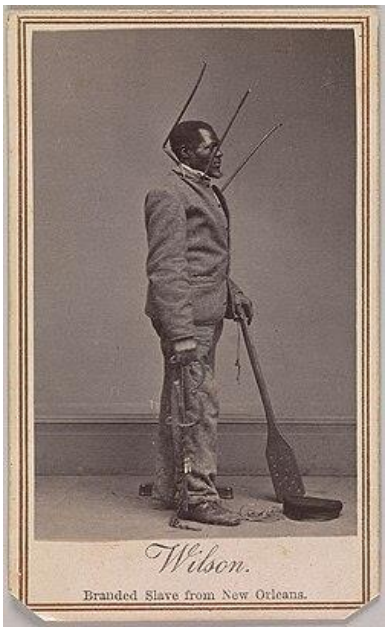
His raid in October 1859 involved a band of 22 men who seized the Federal armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (since 1863, West Virginia), knowing it contained tens of thousands of weapons. Brown believed the South was on the verge of a gigantic slave uprising and that one spark would set it off.[*citation needed*] Brown's supporters George Luther Stearns, Franklin B. Sanborn, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Theodore Parker, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Gerrit Smith were all abolitionists, members of the so-called Secret Six who provided financial backing for Brown's raid. Brown's raid, says historian David Potter, "was meant to be of vast magnitude and to produce a revolutionary slave uprising throughout the South".[88]

The raid did not go as expected. Brown hoped to have quickly a small army of runaway slaves, but made no provision to inform these potential runaways, although he got a little local support. Lt. Colonel Robert E. Lee of the U.S. Army was dispatched to put down the raid, and Brown was quickly captured. He was tried for treason against the Commonwealth of Virginia, murder, and inciting a slave revolt, was found guilty of all charges, and was hanged. At his trial, Brown exuded a remarkable zeal and single-mindedness that played directly to Southerners' worst fears. Under Virginia law there was a month between the sentencing and the hanging, and in those weeks Brown spoke gladly with reporters and anyone else who wanted to see him, and wrote many letters. Few individuals did more to cause secession than John Brown, because Southerners believed he was right about an impending slave revolt. The day of his execution, Brown prophesied, "the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had as I now think vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."[89]

American Civil War



This photo of Gordon was widely distributed by abolitionists.[90]



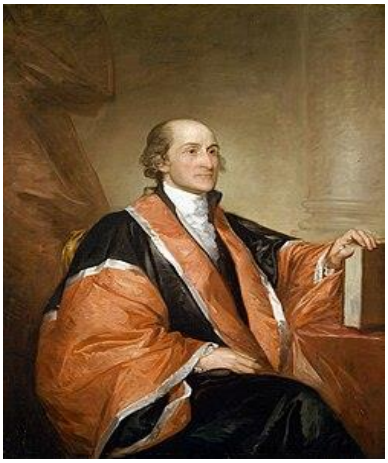
Wilson Chinn, a branded slave from Louisiana--became one of the most widely circulated photos of the abolitionist movement during the American Civil War

The American Civil War began with the stated goal of preserving the Union, and Lincoln said repeatedly that on the topic of slavery, he was only opposed to its spread to the Western territories. This view of the war progressively changed, one step at a time, as public sentiment evolved, until by 1865 the war was seen in the North as primarily concerned with ending slavery. The first federal act taken against slavery during the war occurred on 16 April 1862, when Lincoln signed the District of Columbia

Compensated Emancipation Act, which abolished slavery in Washington, D.C. A few months later, on June 19, Congress banned slavery in all federal territories, fulfilling Lincoln's 1860 campaign promise.[91] Meanwhile, the Union suddenly found itself dealing with a steady stream of thousands of escaped slaves, achieving freedom, or so they hoped, by crossing Union lines. In response, Congress passed the Confiscation Acts, which essentially declared escaped slaves from the South to be confiscated war property, and thus did not have to be returned to their Confederate owners. Although the initial act did not mention emancipation, the Second Confiscation Act, enacted on 17 July 1862, stated that escaped or liberated slaves belonging to anyone who participated in or supported the rebellion "shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves." Pro-Union forces gained control of the border states of Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia; all three states would abolish slavery before the end of the war. Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, effective 1 January 1863, which declared only those slaves in Confederate states to be free. The United States Colored Troops began operations in 1863. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was repealed in June 1864. Eventually support for abolition was enough to pass the Thirteenth Amendment, ratified in December 1865, which abolished slavery everywhere in the United States, freeing more than 50,000 people still enslaved in Kentucky and Delaware, in 1865 the only states in which slavery still existed.[92][93][94] The Thirteenth Amendment also abolished slavery among the Native American tribes.

Variations by area

Abolition in the North



John Jay (1745–1829), a founder of the New York Manumission Society in 1785

The abolitionist movement began about the time of the United States' independence. Quakers played a big role. The first abolition organization was the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, which first met in 1775; Benjamin Franklin was its president.[95] The New York Manumission Society was founded in 1785 by powerful politicians: John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and Aaron Burr.

There is quite a bit of confusion about when slavery was abolished in the Northern states, because "abolishing slavery" meant different things in different states. (Theodore Weld, in his pamphlet opposing slavery in the District of Columbia, gives a detailed chronology.[96]) It is true that beginning with the independent Republic of Vermont in 1777, all states north of the Ohio River and the Mason–Dixon line that separated Pennsylvania from Maryland passed laws that abolished slavery, although in some cases this did not apply to existing slaves, only their future offspring. These included the first abolition laws in the entire New World:[46] the Massachusetts Constitution, adopted in 1780, declared all men to have rights, making slavery unenforceable, and it disappeared through the individual actions of both masters and slaves.[97]

However, what the abolition forces passed in 1799 in New York State was an Act for the *gradual* abolition of slavery.[98] Slavery in New York did not officially end until 1827, and more than 70 enslaved people in New York appeared on the 1830 decennial census. No slaves appeared in the state's 1840 census.[99][100][101] New Jersey abolished slavery in 1804,[102] but in 1860 a dozen black people were still held as "perpetual apprentices".[103][104]

In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Congress of the Confederation prohibited slavery in the territories northwest of the Ohio River.

At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, slavery was the most contentious topic. Outright prohibition of slavery was impossible, because the Southern states (Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware) would never have agreed to it. The only restriction on slavery that was agreed to was to allow Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves, and even that was postponed for 20 years.[105] By that time, all the states except South Carolina had laws abolishing or severely limiting

the importation of slaves.[106] When 1808 approached, then-President Thomas Jefferson, in his 1806 annual message to Congress (State of the Union), proposed legislation, approved by Congress with little controversy in 1807, prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States effective the first day the Constitution permitted, January 1, 1808. As he put it, this would "withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights...which the morality, the reputation, and the best of our country have long been eager to proscribe".[107][108] However, about 1,000 slaves per year continued to be illegally brought (smuggled) into the United States;[109] see Wanderer and Clotilda. This was primarily via Spanish Florida and the Gulf Coast;[110] the United States acquired Florida from Spain in 1819, effective 1821, in part as a slave-control measure: no imports coming in, and certainly no fugitives escaping into a refuge.

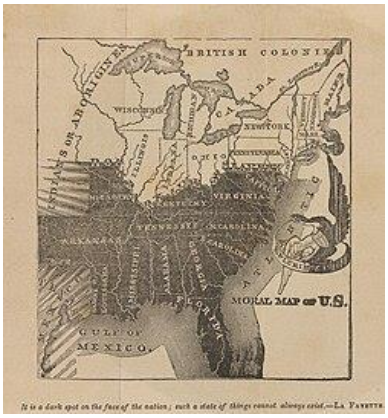
Congress declined to pass any restriction on the lucrative interstate slave trade, which expanded to replace the supply of African slaves (see Slavery in the United States#Slave trade).

Manumission by Southern owners

After 1776, Quaker and Moravian advocates helped persuade numerous slaveholders in the Upper South to free their slaves. Manumissions increased for nearly two decades. Many individual acts by slaveholders freed thousands of slaves. Slaveholders freed slaves in such numbers that the percentage of free black people in the Upper South increased from 1 to 10 percent, with most of that increase in Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. By 1810 three-quarters of blacks in Delaware were free. The most notable of men offering freedom was Robert Carter III of Virginia, who freed more than 450 people by "Deed of Gift", filed in 1791. This number was more slaves than any single American had freed before or after.[111] Often slaveholders came to their decisions by their own struggles in the Revolution; their wills and deeds frequently cited language about the equality of men supporting the decision to set slaves free. The era's changing economy also encouraged slaveholders to release slaves. Planters were shifting from labor-intensive tobacco to mixed-crop cultivation and needed fewer slaves.[112]

By 1860, 91.7% of the blacks in Delaware and 49.7% of those in Maryland were free. Such early free families often formed the core of artisans, professionals, preachers, and teachers in future generations.[112] However, this did not signal racial equality. Though free from slavery, blacks still faced immense discrimination. For example, Delaware affirmed and reaffirmed black disenfranchisement several times throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries. Delaware's General Assembly enacted harsh black codes throughout the 19th century that restricted travel, property ownership, expression, and socialization for African Americans.[113]

Western territories



This anti-slavery map shows the slave states in black, with black-and-white shading representing the threatened spread of slavery into Texas and the western territories.

During Congressional debate in 1820 on the proposed Tallmadge Amendment, which sought to limit slavery in Missouri as it became a state, Rufus King declared that "laws or compacts imposing any such condition [slavery] upon any human being are absolutely void, because contrary to the law of nature, which is the law of God, by which he makes his ways known to man, and is paramount to all human control". The amendment failed and Missouri became a slave state. According to historian David Brion Davis, this may have been the first time in the world that a political leader openly attacked slavery's perceived legality in such a radical manner.

Beginning in the 1830s, the U.S. Postmaster General refused to allow the mails to carry abolition pamphlets to the South.[114] Northern teachers suspected of abolitionism were expelled from the South, and abolitionist literature was banned. One Northerner, Amos Dresser (1812–1904), in 1835 was tried in Nashville, Tennessee, for possessing anti-slavery publications, convicted, and as punishment was whipped publicly.[115][116] Southerners rejected the denials of Republicans that they were

abolitionists. They pointed to John Brown's attempt in 1859 to start a slave uprising as proof that multiple Northern conspiracies were afoot to ignite slave rebellions. Although some abolitionists did call for slave revolts, no evidence of any other Brown-like conspiracy has been discovered.[117] The North felt threatened as well, for as Eric Foner concludes, "northerners came to view slavery as the very antithesis of the good society, as well as a threat to their own fundamental values and interests".[118] The famous, "fiery" abolitionist Abby Kelley Foster, from Massachusetts, was considered an "ultra" abolitionist who believed in full civil rights for all black people. She held to the view that the freed slaves would colonize Liberia. Parts of the anti-slavery movement became known as "Abby Kellyism". She recruited Susan B Anthony and Lucy Stone to the movement. Effingham Capron, a cotton and textile scion, who attended the Quaker meeting where Abby Kelley Foster and her family were members, became a prominent abolitionist at the local, state, and national levels.[119] The local anti-slavery society at Uxbridge, Massachusetts, had more than 25% of the town's population as members.[119]

Constituencies

Historian James M. McPherson in 1964 defined an abolitionist "as one who before the Civil War had agitated for the immediate, unconditional and total abolition of slavery in the United States". He notes that many historians have used a broader definition without his emphasis on immediacy. Thus he does not include opponents of slavery such as Abraham Lincoln or the Republican Party; they called for the immediate end to expansion of slavery before 1861.[120]

As such, abolitionism in the United States was identified by historians as an expression of moralism,[121] it often operated in tandem with another social reform effort, the temperance movement. Slavery was also attacked, to a lesser degree, as harmful on economic grounds. Evidence was that the South, with many enslaved African Americans on plantations, was definitely poorer than the North, which had few.

Black Americans

Historians and scholars have largely overlooked the work of black abolitionists; instead, they have focused on only a few black abolitionists, such as Frederick Douglass.[122][123] Yet lesser-known black abolitionists, such as Martin

Delany and James Monroe Whitfield, also played an undeniably large role in shaping the movement. Black abolitionists had the distinct problem of having to confront an often-hostile American public, while still acknowledging their nationality and struggle.[124] As a result, many black abolitionists "intentionally adopted aspects of British, New England, and Midwestern cultures".[124] Furthermore, much of abolitionist rhetoric, and black abolitionist rhetoric in particular, were influenced by the Puritan preaching heritage.[125]

Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass was a notable black abolitionist, who significantly contributed to the transnational abolitionist movement through his lecture tours of the United Kingdom from 1845 to 1847.[126] In particular, he had a connection with Daniel O'Connell: Both O'Connell and Douglass strongly opposed slavery. On 4 October 1845, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society gave Douglass a Bible bound in gold.[127] African Americans, with Douglass being a key example, were involving themselves in US foreign relations and influencing British anti-slavery rhetoric. Douglass was best known for his speeches, and he completed 280 lectures across the UK and Ireland in the 19 months that he was there.[126] Black abolitionist rhetoric discussed relationships between power, race, and the popular imagination, showing the complexities of the morality and representation of the abolitionist debate.[128] Douglass and other black nationalists capitalised on pre-existing political and ideological debates among the UK to reassert the need for abolitionism.

Black women

In general, Black female abolitionists had separate motives and rhetorical strategies than White female abolitionists. They were often middle class and members of literary societies; the ones to which they belonged were often made up of solely Black women.[129] In their activist efforts, they held themselves to high moral standards to be viewed as legitimate by others. Sarah Mapps Douglass, a free-born Quaker who wrote articles for *The Liberator* on abolition also served as the secretary for a literary society for women in Philadelphia, where she emphasized the importance of education and morality for Black women.[130]

Black women that escaped slavery would sometimes write and publish their slave narratives as a way to argue for abolition. In opposition to male slave narratives, like Frederick Douglass's, which highlighted literacy, Black women emphasized the communities and relationships they formed as keys to their humanity and right to freedom.[131] They were also keen to highlight their relationship to motherhood, so as to emphasize their shared traits with white women and the ways in which they too could meet traditional expectations of white women.[132] Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* showcases her grandmother as the matriarch of her family, which shows how enslaved mothers are capable of nurturing like valued white women.[133]

Black women also played their role in the abolitionist movement, both domestically and internationally, showing involvement in US Foreign Relations. One notable example was Harriet Jacobs, who produced letters in England reflecting on her experiences as a slave in the US to challenge the pro-slavery movement in the USA.[134] The London Emancipation Committee published her letters into a book, titled: The Deeper Wrong: Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself.[134] The book was not just noticed in reform journals, but in the mainstream press. Lengthy British reviews show how the book helped abolitionists win public support in Britain.[134] Black abolitionist rhetoric could be done in literary form, a way for black women to have influence in an international abolitionist movement.

Black abolitionist rhetoric in the Caribbean and South America

Black abolitionist rhetoric was not only a transatlantic movement between Britain and the US, it also had influence in the Caribbean and South America. The 1833 legal case Mundrucu v Barker also carried international importance in the abolitionist campaign.[135] In taking a stand against segregation, a black Brazilian immigrant had focused worldwide attention on racism in slaveholding US society.[135] Here there was division between white Philadelphians who saw black Saint Dominguan refugees as a threat to the city and country's racial order, their way of trying to justify slavery.[135] This shows the connection between attitudes towards segregation and slavery helped shape black abolitionist rhetoric. This led to domestic organisations

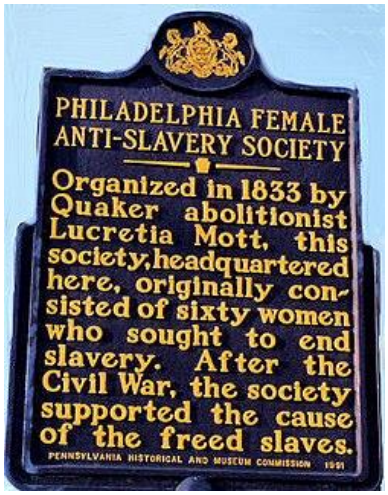
being established by interracial communities, such as the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.[135]

Working as Jamaican-based writers for New York newspapers between 1840 and 1851, the two black US-Jamaican brothers, Henry and George Davison provided inter-American perspectives on abolitionism.[135] Henry wrote letters to the National Anti-Slavery Standard.[135] Black Americans had opportunities to write for newspapers, providing publicity and discussion of abolitionist rhetoric. Slavery was moving beyond internal US divisions, but reaching influence outside of the USA. Black abolitionist rhetoric was not simply an African-American activity, but involved South American and Caribbean individuals too, showing an international movement.

Women

Like many Quakers, Lucretia Mott considered slavery an evil to be opposed.

William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newsletter the *Liberator* noted in 1847, "the Anti-Slavery cause cannot stop to estimate where the greatest indebtedness lies, but whenever the account is made up there can be no doubt that the efforts and sacrifices of the WOMEN, who helped it, will hold a most honorable and conspicuous position."[136] As the *Liberator* states, women played a crucial role as leaders in the anti-slavery movement.


PHILADELPHIA FEMALE
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
Organized in 1833 by Quaker abolitionist Lucretia Mott, this society, headquartered here, originally consisted of sixty women who sought to end slavery. After the Civil War, the society supported the cause of the freed slaves.
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION 1991

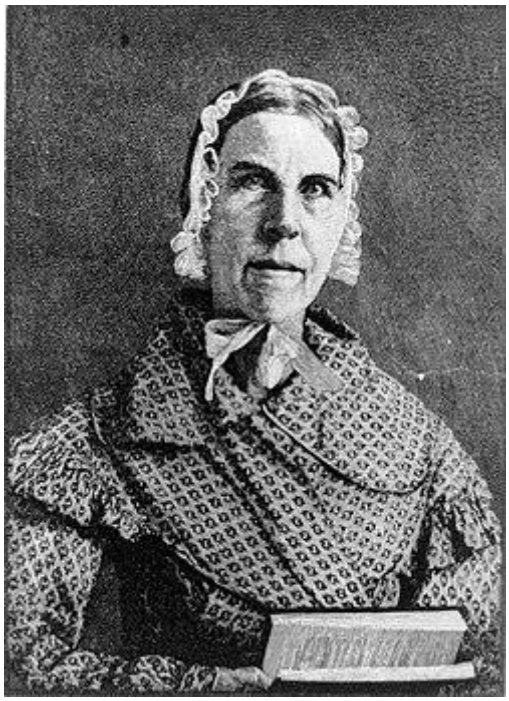
Plaque commemorating the founding of the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia in 1833

Angelina and Sarah Grimké were the first female anti-slavery agents, and played a variety of roles in the abolitionist movement. Though born in the South, the Grimké sisters became disillusioned with slavery and moved North to get away from it. Perhaps because of their birthplace, the Grimké sisters' critiques carried particular weight and specificity. Angelina Grimké spoke of her thrill at seeing white men do manual labor of any kind.[137] Their perspectives as native Southerners as well as women, brought a new important point of view to the abolitionist movement. In 1836, they moved to New York and began work for the Anti-Slavery Society, where they met and were impressed by William Lloyd Garrison.[138] The sisters wrote many pamphlets (Angelina's "Appeal to the Christian Women of the South" was the only appeal directly to Southern women to defy slavery laws) and played leadership roles at the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in 1837.[139] The Grimkés later made a notable speaking tour around the north, which culminated in Angelina's February 1838 address to a Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts.

Lucretia Mott was also active in the abolitionist movement. Though well known for her women's suffrage advocacy, Mott also played an important role in the abolitionist movement. During four decades, she delivered sermons about abolitionism, women's rights, and a host of other issues. Mott acknowledged her Quaker beliefs' determinative role in affecting her abolitionist sentiment. She spoke of the "duty (that) was impressed upon me at the time I consecrated myself to that Gospel which anoints

'to preach deliverance to the captive, to set at liberty them that are bruised ..."[140] Mott's advocacy took a variety of forms: she worked with the Free Produce Society to boycott slave-made goods, volunteered with the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, and helped slaves escape to free territory.[141]

Abby Kelley Foster, with a strong Quaker heritage, helped lead Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone into the abolition movement, and encouraged them to take on a role in political activism. She helped organize and was a key speaker at



Sarah Moore Grimké (1792–1873), abolitionist and women's rights advocate

The first National Women's Rights Convention, held in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1850. (The better-known Seneca Falls Convention, held in 1848, was not national).[142] She was an "ultra" abolitionist who believed in immediate and complete civil rights for all slaves. Since 1841, however, she had resigned from the Quakers over disputes about not allowing anti-slavery speakers in meeting houses (including the Uxbridge monthly meeting where she had attended with her family), and the group disowned her.[143][144][145] Abby Kelley became a leading speaker and the leading fundraiser for the American Anti-slavery Society. Radical abolitionism became known as "Abby Kelleyism".[146][147]

Other leaders in the abolitionist movement were Lydia Maria Child, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. But even beyond these well-known women, abolitionism maintained impressive support from white middle-class and some black women. It was these women who performed many of the logistical, day-to-day tasks that made the movement successful. They raised money, wrote and distributed propaganda pieces, drafted and signed petitions, and lobbied the legislatures. Though abolitionism sowed the seeds of the women's rights movement, most women became involved in abolitionism because of a gendered religious worldview, and the idea that they had feminine, moral responsibilities.[148] For example, in the winter of 1831–1832, women sent three petitions to the Virginia legislature, advocating emancipation of the state's slave population. The only precedent for such action was Catharine Beecher's organization of a petition protesting the Cherokee removal.[149] The Virginia petitions, while the first of their kind, were by no means the last. Similar backing increased leading up to the Civil War.

Even as women played crucial roles in abolitionism, the movement simultaneously helped stimulate women's-rights efforts. A full 10 years before the Seneca Falls Convention, the Grimké sisters were travelling and lecturing about their experiences with slavery. As Gerda Lerner says, the Grimkés understood their actions' great impact. "In working for the liberation of the slave," Lerner writes, "Sarah and Angelina Grimké found the key to their own liberation. And the consciousness of the significance of their actions was clearly before them. 'We Abolition Women are turning the world upside down.'"[150]

Women gained important experiences in public speaking and organizing that stood them in good stead going forward. The Grimké sisters' public speaking played a critical part in legitimizing women's place in the public sphere. Some Christian women created cent societies to benefit abolition movements, where many women in a church would each pledge to donate one cent a week to help abolitionist causes.[151]

Even though women were not allowed full access to political and religious spaces, they still played a big role in the abolitionist movement through both public activism and behind-the-scenes activism. As historian Julie Roy Jeffrey explains, a lot of women

relied on their religious faith and authority to speak out against slavery and challenge male-led church systems that tried to keep them quiet. They believed slavery went against Christian values and saw it as a deep moral wrong. In their speeches and writing, they made it clear that true faith could not exist alongside a system that discriminated against people. Women like Sarah Otis Ernst and Maria Child used persuasive writing, public speeches, and organizing work to fight not just slavery, but also the powerful systems that kept it going.[152] Ernst was a strong Garrisonian who got frustrated when mainstream abolitionists started watering down their message. She did not like that people in the movement were trying to be more politically strategic instead of sticking to the original beliefs, like full racial equality, immediate emancipation, and refusing to work with pro-slavery systems. At the 1852 American and Foreign Antislavery Society convention, around two-thirds of the 2,000 people there were women.[152] That says a lot about how involved women were, even though they often got written out of the story. They could not vote, but they used writing, speeches, and journalism to influence politics and public opinion. Their activism was real, public, and tied directly into national conversations.

Sojourner Truth meeting President Abraham Lincoln in 1864, symbolizing her role in both abolition and civil rights advocacy.

But not all women approached the movement the same way. There were clear differences between how white and Black women operated, and sometimes those differences caused conflict. White women, especially ones who were more religious,

focused a lot on the moral and spiritual arguments. They used Christian values to call out slavery as a sin and tried to appeal to other white Americans by framing it as a moral crisis. For example, Lydia Maria Child wrote about Christian duty and compassion to get people on board. But that type of activism did not always connect with what Black women were facing every day. And even inside the abolitionist circles, Black women were still often pushed to the side. They were not always given speaking time, leadership roles, or space in published work. Sojourner Truth had to fight just to speak at some events, and even then, people questioned her. White women could usually speak and be heard if they used moral language. Black women had to work twice as hard just to get into the room. They faced racism from inside the movement and also from the outside world, which made it even harder for their voices to be heard.

Stephanie J. Richmond talks about how central Black women were to abolition, even though they have been left out of most of the history. "Women like Sojourner Truth, Maria Stewart, and Harriet Tubman struggled not only for the abolition of slavery but for gender and racial equality as well".[153] They were not just giving speeches, they were founding antislavery groups, organizing communities, and building transatlantic networks. They were working through both racism and sexism and still finding ways to be powerful voices. Truth's line "Ain't I a Woman?" and Stewart saying she had to "stand for justice wherever I find it"[153] show how they were calling out not just slavery, but the whole system that tried to silence them. Harriet Tubman took a different route; she led people to freedom through the Underground Railroad and even worked for the Union Army. Black women's abolitionism looked different from that of white women. It was rooted in their personal experience and often more direct and action-focused. They made sure the fight for abolition was not just about ending slavery, but also about achieving full equality and justice.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in Seneca Falls, New York, home of the pioneering women's rights leader and site of early activism

The July 1848 Seneca Falls Convention grew out of a partnership between Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton that blossomed while the two worked, at first, on abolitionist issues. Indeed, the two met at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in the summer of 1840.[154] Mott brought oratorical skills and an impressive reputation as an abolitionist to the nascent women's rights movement.

Abolitionism brought together active women and enabled them to make political and personal connections while honing communication and organizational skills. Even Sojourner Truth, commonly associated with abolitionism, delivered her first documented public speech at the 1850 National Women's Rights Convention in Worcester. There, she argued for women's reform activism.[155]

Churches

The religious component of American abolitionism was great. It began with the Quakers, then moved to the other Protestants with the Second Great Awakening of the early 19th century. Many leaders were ministers. Saying slavery was sinful made its evil easy to understand, and tended to arouse fervor for the cause. The debate about slavery was often based on what the Bible said or did not say about it. John Brown, who had studied the Bible for the ministry, proclaimed that he was "an instrument of God".

The Second Great Awakening of the 1820s and 1830s in religion inspired groups that undertook many types of social reform. For some that included the immediate abolition of slavery as they considered it sinful to hold slaves as well as to tolerate slavery. Opposition to slavery, for example, was one of the works of piety of the Methodist

Churches, which were established by John Wesley.[156] "Abolitionist" had several meanings at the time. The followers of William Lloyd Garrison, including Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass, demanded the "immediate abolition of slavery", hence the name, also called "immediatism". A more pragmatic group of abolitionists, such as Theodore Weld and Arthur Tappan, wanted immediate action, but were willing to support a program of gradual emancipation, with a long intermediate stage.

The formation of Christian denominations that heralded abolitionism as a moral issue occurred, such as the organization of Wesleyan Methodist Connection by Orange Scott in 1843, and the formation of the Free Methodist Church by Benjamin Titus Roberts in 1860 (which is reflected in the name of Church).[157][158] The *True Wesleyan* a periodical founded by Orange Scott and Jotham Horton was used to disseminate abolitionist views.[159] The Methodist and Quaker branches of Christianity played an integral part in the formulation of abolitionist ideology in the United States.[160]

"Anti-slavery men", such as John Quincy Adams, did not call slavery a sin. They called it an evil feature of society as a whole. They did what they could to limit slavery and end it where possible, but were not part of any abolitionist group. For example, in 1841, John Quincy Adams represented the *Amistad* African slaves in the Supreme Court of the United States and argued that they should be set free.[161] In the last years before the war, "anti-slavery" could refer to the Northern majority, such as Abraham Lincoln, who opposed expansion of slavery or its influence, as by the Kansas–Nebraska Act or the Fugitive Slave Act. Many Southerners called all these abolitionists, without distinguishing them from the Garrisonians.

Historian James Stewart (1976) explains the abolitionists' deep beliefs: "All people were equal in God's sight; the souls of black folks were as valuable as those of whites; for one of God's children to enslave another was a violation of the Higher Law, even if it was sanctioned by the Constitution."[54]

Officers and men of the Irish-Catholic 69th New York Volunteer Regiment attend Catholic services in 1861.

Irish Catholics in the United States seldom challenged the role of slavery in society as it was protected at that time by the U.S. Constitution. They viewed the abolitionists as anti-Catholic and anti-Irish. Irish Catholics were generally well received by Democrats in the South.[162]

In contrast, most Irish Nationalists and Fenians supported the abolition of slavery. Daniel O'Connell, the Catholic leader of the Irish in Ireland, supported abolition in the United States. He organized a petition in Ireland with 60,000 signatures urging the Irish of the United States to support abolition. John O'Mahony, a founder of the Irish Republican Brotherhood was an abolitionist and served as colonel in the 69th Infantry Regiment during the Civil War.[163]

The Irish Catholics in the United States were recent immigrants; most were poor and very few owned slaves. They had to compete with free blacks for unskilled labor jobs. They saw abolitionism as the militant wing of evangelical anti-Catholic Protestantism.[164]

The Catholic Church in the United States had long ties in slaveholding Maryland and Louisiana. Despite a firm stand for the spiritual equality of black people, and the resounding condemnation of slavery by Pope Gregory XVI in his bull *In supremo apostolatus* issued in 1839, the American church continued in deeds, if not in public discourse, to avoid confrontation with slave-holding interests. In 1861, the Archbishop of New York wrote to Secretary of War Cameron: "That the Church is opposed to slavery ... Her doctrine on that subject is, that it is a crime to reduce men naturally free to a condition of servitude and bondage, as slaves." No American bishop

supported extra-political abolition or interference with states' rights before the Civil War.

The secular Germans of the Forty-Eighter immigration were largely anti-slavery. Prominent Forty-Eighters included Carl Schurz and Friedrich Hecker. German Lutherans seldom took a position on slavery, but German Methodists were anti-slavery.

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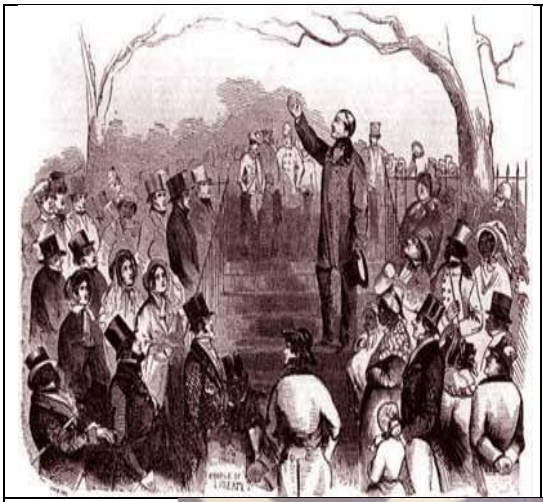

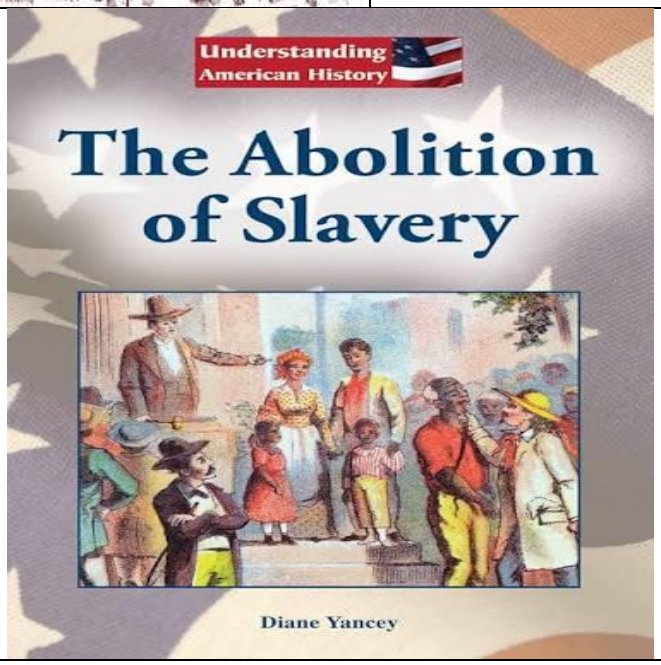

New Great Migration

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Great_Migration

The **New Great Migration** is the demographic change from 1970 to the present, which is a reversal of the previous 60-year trend of black migration within the United States.

Since 1970, deindustrialization of cities in the Northeastern and Midwestern United States, growth of jobs in the "New South" with lower costs of living, desire to reunite with family, cultural ties, the perception of lessening discrimination and religious connections have all acted to attract African Americans to the Southern United States in substantial numbers.[2][3] Between 1965 and 1970 around 287,000 African Americans left the Southern United States, while from 1975 to 1980, it is estimated 109,000 African Americans migrated to the Southern United States, showing the reversal of the original Great Migration.[2] Between 1975 and 1980, several Southern states saw net African American migration gains. In 2014, African American millennials moved in the highest numbers to Texas, Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina.[4] African American populations have continued to drop throughout much of the Northeast, especially from the state of New York[4][5] and from northern New Jersey,[6] as they rise in the South. In Massachusetts, even though the black population saw a net increase between 2010 and 2020, the Greater Boston area lost approximately 8,800 black residents and Massachusetts lost an average of 11,700 black residents per year from 2015 to 2020, with approximately half moving to Southern states and Georgia and Florida being the most popular destinations.[7]

African Americans are also moving to the suburbs.[8]

Fort Worth, San Antonio, Columbus, Houston, Jacksonville and Charlotte saw the largest growth in the black population.[9][10]

African Americans are also moving back to New Orleans and Louisiana.[11]

Demographic shifts

College graduates and middle-class migrants make up a major portion of the new migration. For instance, from 1965 to 2000, the states of Florida, Georgia, and Texas attracted the most black college graduates. The only state outside the former Confederate States that attracted a sizeable migration of black college graduates was Maryland, most of the population growth being in the counties surrounding Washington, D.C. In that same period, California was a net loser of black migration for the first time in three decades. While the migration is still in progress, much data is from this 35-year period.[12]

The New Great Migration is not evenly distributed throughout the South. As with the earlier Great Migration, the New Great Migration is primarily directed toward cities and large urban areas, especially those who are more progressive and were not the major battlefields of the Civil Rights Era. Such urban areas include Atlanta, Charlotte, Houston, Dallas, Raleigh, Washington, D.C., Tampa, Virginia Beach, San Antonio, Memphis, Orlando, Nashville, Jacksonville, and so forth. North Carolina's Charlotte metro area in particular, is a hot spot for African American migrants in the US. Between 1975 and 1980, Charlotte saw a net gain of 2,725 African Americans in the area. This number continued to rise as between 1985 and 1990 as the area had a net gain of 7,497 African Americans, and from 1995 to 2000 the net gain was 23,313 African Americans. This rise in net gain points to Atlanta, Charlotte, Dallas, and Houston being a growing hot spots for the migrants of The New Great Migration.[2] The percentage of Black Americans who live in the South has been increasing since 1990, and the biggest gains have been in the region's large urban areas, according to census data. The Black population of metro Atlanta more than doubled between 1990 and 2020, surpassing 2 million in the most recent census. The Black population also more than doubled in metro Charlotte while Greater Houston and Dallas-Fort Worth both saw their Black populations surpass 1 million for the first time. Several smaller metro areas also saw sizable gains, including San Antonio;[10] Raleigh and Greensboro, N.C.; and Orlando.[13] Primary destinations are states that have the most job opportunities, especially Georgia, North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida and Texas. Other southern states,

including Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama and Arkansas, have seen little net growth in the African American population from return migration.[*citation needed*]

Gentrification and migration flows

The most populated cities that house millions of African Americans and employ many more, including New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia, have undergone disproportionate residential evictions and measured gentrification that has moved African Americans to affordable suburbia.[14] According to Census Data from 2015-2018, zip codes with higher African American and Latino populations were considered concentrated centers of eviction, and their displacement was a result of severe socioeconomic inequality.[12][15] Most notably, cities, like Philadelphia, which were once a sacred refuge for African Americans as part of the Great Migration, feature gentrified African American populations that are forced to move to less advantaged non-gentrifying neighborhoods nearby. Additionally, the African Americans that move out of a city completely due to gentrification, are significantly more disadvantaged than their Non-Black counterparts who do the same. Population movement to the outer rings of cities and nearby suburbia aligns with Black Flight.[16]

Since 2018, the annual estimates of growth rates for metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas in the US Census have shown that major metropolitan areas, with a population of over 1 million people, have a growth rate significantly lower than minor metropolitan areas.[17] Updated rates in the 2022-2023 year publicized a differential of .2 between metropolitan areas (.68) and minor metropolitan areas (.46) on a 1.0 scale. A decade prior in 2011-2012, the positions were superimposed with metropolitan areas at a near peak (.96) and minor metropolitan areas (.67) being relatively similar to their present position. In the 2020s, Atlanta, Charlotte Dallas, Houston, Raleigh, and San Antonio are among the major metropolitan areas with the highest annual growth rates.[10] New York, NY, Los Angeles, California, and Chicago, Illinois are in the lower 10th percentile. On average in the last 13 years, the urban cores of northern major metropolitan areas exhibited a consistently negative growth trend - except a sharp decline and rebounding growth for the 2019-2022 pandemic era. Additionally, the outer suburbs of major metropolitan cities have the highest annual growth rates for its domestic population compared to immigrating populations

and inner suburb populations, meaning native citizens of major metropolitan areas are actively migrating to affordable areas nearby.[18]

Houston has one of the fastest growing black populations in the United States.

Despite communities of color moving to the suburbs and outer rings of cities, the frequency and intensity of black-white segregation experienced by these groups have varied insignificantly since 2000 per 2010 census data. While some of the largest southern counties with significant black populations display persistent segregation like Tarrant County, Texas, others like Fulton County, Georgia have improved since 2000. In the 2013 - 2017 period, black-white segregation dropped more points on the measured index for nearly all metropolitan cities with 45 of 51 indicating a decline. The Northeast displayed the heaviest concentration of highly-segregated major metropolitan areas. When virtually exclusively white neighborhoods diversified, segregation and isolation for minority groups grew in other neighborhoods, which has prevented segregation distributions from taking substantial point reductions. Integration of exclusively white neighborhoods is proven to be crucial for equitable distribution of economic and educational resources.[19][20]

For Black or African American citizens in all public work sectors of the North American Industry Classification System, Georgia, Florida, and Texas saw the most consistent job hires and growth from Q1, 2011 to Q4 2018.[21] Among those states, steady-income jobs, such as administrative services and healthcare are trending employment options for African Americans in Generation Y and Z. Relative to state population increases and decreases between 2010 and 2020, Texas, Georgia, and Florida were the states with the greatest mass migration regardless of population percentage.[22] Migration flow between regions from 2006 - 2019 showed that the South persistently gained the most citizens from domestic inter-regional movers;

notable state-level migration flows involved California, Texas, Florida, and New York.[23]

Religion

Religion has been suggested to be one of the causes of the New Great Migration. Many migrants of the New Great Migration try to find a "sign of God" about moving, and even those coming for job reasons will use faith to manage the feelings of uncertainty that come with moving to another state. Some migrants move to get more connected to their faith and see the move as a "spiritual journey", as the Southern states (often called the Bible Belt) have a large number of churches and a heavy connection to Protestant Christianity.

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The **New Great Migration** refers to the ongoing demographic reversal that began in 1970, characterized by millions of Black Americans migrating from the Northern and Western United States back to the **Southern United States**. This movement completely flipped the previous 60-year trend (the original Great Migration).
For an in-depth visual overview of how the demographics of the Black population in the U.S. have shifted over time back to the South:

Key Causes & Factors

- **Deindustrialization:** The decline of manufacturing in the Northeast and Midwest Rust Belt led to massive job losses in historical migration hubs like Chicago and Detroit.
- **The "New South":** Rapid economic expansion in Southern states created new tech, industrial, and corporate jobs.
- **Cost of Living:** Lower housing and living expenses in the South compared to Northern metropolitan centers.
- **Cultural and Family Ties:** Many Black Americans are returning to their ancestral homes, seeking to reconnect with extended family and a familiar cultural environment.

Major Destinations

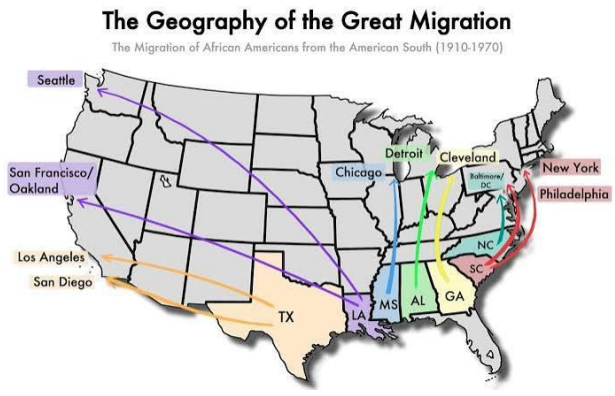
Unlike the first Great Migration, which was largely a rural-to-urban flight, the New Great Migration is highly **urban-to-suburban**. The primary metropolitan areas experiencing the largest influx of African American professionals and families include:

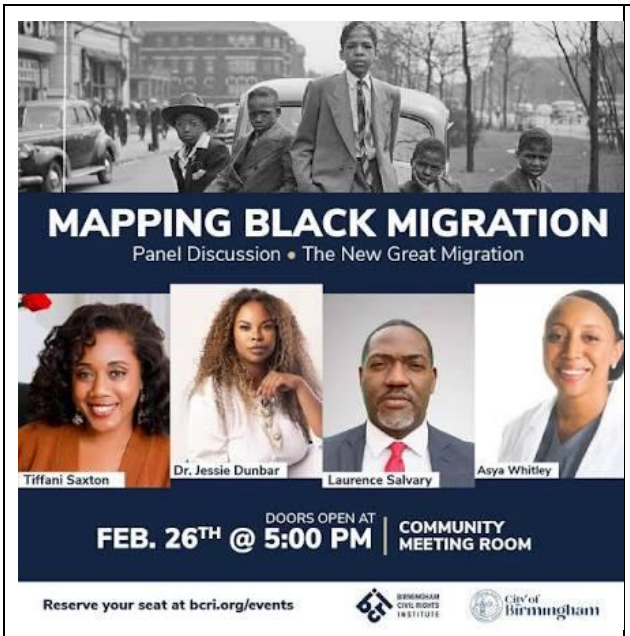
- **Atlanta, Georgia**
- **Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas**
- **Houston, Texas**
- **Charlotte, North Carolina**
- **Washington, D.C.**

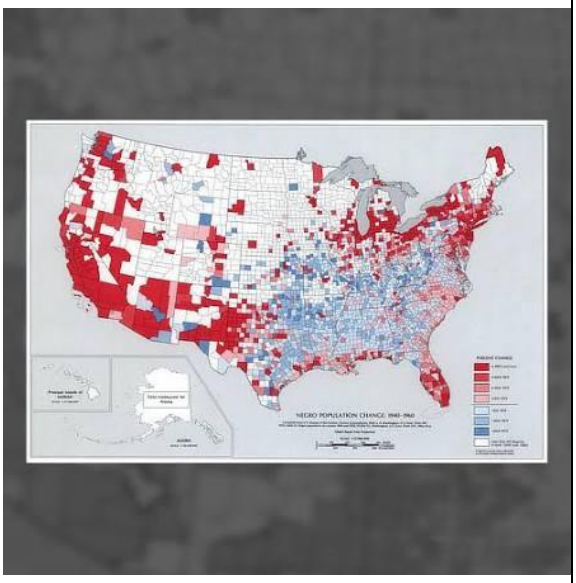
To better understand the economic, cultural, and social forces pushing individuals to relocate to the South:

Historical Contrast

Between 1916 and 1970, the original Great Migration saw nearly six million African Americans leave the rural South to escape Jim Crow laws, racial violence, and severe oppression, settling primarily in Northern and Western cities. The New Great Migration marks a return to the region, often viewed as a "reclaiming" of Southern heritage and an active choice to seek better quality of life and opportunities.







Also visit:

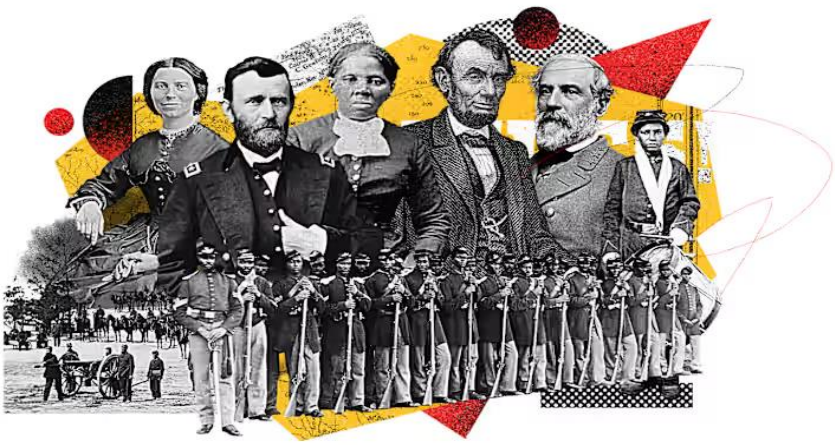
01] https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-new-great-migration-is-bringing-black-americans-back-to-the-south/

02] https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC6261363/

03] https://www.britannica.com/event/Great-Migration

The American Civil War

by Gary W. Gallagher



The Civil War marked a defining moment in United States history. Long simmering sectional tensions reached a critical stage in 1860–1861 when eleven slaveholding states seceded and formed the Confederate States of America. Political disagreement gave way to war in April 1861, as Confederates insisted on their right to leave the

Union and the loyal states refused to allow them to go. Four years of fighting claimed almost 1.5 million casualties (killed, dead from disease, wounded, or taken prisoner, and of whom at least 620,000 died) directly affected untold civilians, and freed four million enslaved African Americans.

The social and economic system based on chattel slavery that the seceding states had sought to protect lay in ruins. The inviolability of the Union, most of the loyal citizenry's pre-eminent concern throughout the conflict, was confirmed on the battlefield. In the longer term, preservation of the Union made possible the American economic and political colossus of the next century.

Before the outbreak of war in April 1861, the American republic had survived diplomatic and military crises and internal stresses. It weathered tensions with France in the late 1790s, a second war with Britain in 1812–1815, and disputes regarding international boundaries. Political wrangling over economic issues such as the tariff, a national bank, and government-supported public works (called internal improvements in the nineteenth century) proved divisive but posed no serious threat to the integrity of the Union. Despite fissures along ethnic and class lines, the majority of Americans had much in common. They were white, Christian, spoke English, and shared a heritage forged in the crucible of the Revolutionary War.

Questions relating to the institution of slavery set the stage for secession and war. Most men and women at the time would have agreed with Abraham Lincoln's assertion in his Second Inaugural Address that slavery "was, somehow, the cause of the war." Alexander H. Stephens, the Confederacy's vice president, minced no words when he proclaimed in March 1861 that slavery "was the immediate cause of the late rupture and the present revolution" to establish southern independence.**[1]** The framers of the United States Constitution had compromised regarding slavery, creating a democratic republic that sought to ensure its citizenry's freedoms while also reassuring the South that individual states would have the power to maintain and regulate slavery within their boundaries. The paradox of white liberty that rested in part on a foundation of black slavery was thus imbedded in the origins of the United States.

Debates over the expansion of slavery into federal territories, which were tied to the South's effort to maintain an equal number of free and slave states, created turmoil in national politics. The Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Wilmot Proviso of 1846 (which sought to prohibit slavery in lands acquired as a result of the Mexican-American War), the establishment of the Free Soil movement in 1848, the Compromise of 1850 (which ended parity in the Senate with California's admission as a free state), the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 (which helped foster deadly territorial violence), and the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision in 1857 marked mileposts along the road to sectional disruption. Outside the arena of national politics, the rise of the abolition movement, Nat Turner's bloody slave revolt in Virginia in 1831, publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery bestseller *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859 fed fears in the South that their slave-based social and economic systems might be in jeopardy.

As sectional divisions deepened, important institutions failed to act as stabilizing forces. Several Protestant denominations, including the Baptists and Methodists, split into northern and southern branches. The national political parties, which from the 1830s until the early 1850s had pursued compromise to maintain northern and southern wings, fractured along regional lines. The Whig Party collapsed as a national entity after the presidential election of 1852, and many northern voters came to view the Democratic Party as pro-southern. The Republican Party, which rapidly gained strength in the North following its creation in the mid-1850s, adamantly opposed extending slavery into the territories and won virtually no support in the South.

Historians have debated whether the North and South had become markedly different societies by 1860. Some portray the free-soil and free-labor North, with its burgeoning commercial and industrial interests, as an emerging capitalist giant at odds with an overwhelmingly agrarian South where most capital was invested in land and slaves. Others insist that the North and South were far more alike than different. It is clear that by the late-1850s many Americans *believed* there were fundamental differences between the sections and had come to distrust one another about how slavery should figure in the republic's future.

The election of 1860 triggered the secession crisis. Although Lincoln and the victorious Republicans had promised not to interfere with slavery in states where it already existed, they firmly opposed slavery's spread to any federal territories. Between December 1860 and February 1861, the seven Deep South states seceded to avoid what they perceived as a long-term threat to their slaveholding interests. After Confederates fired on Fort Sumter in mid-April 1861, Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion prompted four slave states of the Upper South, including Virginia, to join their Deep South brethren. Four other slave states, typically called the Border States, remained loyal to the Union.

Both sides mobilized on a scale unprecedented in American history. Drawing on an 1860 population of just more than 1,000,000 military-age white males, the Confederacy placed between 800,000 and 900,000 men in uniform (fragmentary records do not permit a precise count). The United States mustered at least 2.1 million men, about half of its 1860 military-age population. More than 180,000 African American men served in United States Army units and another 20,000 in the Navy. Apart from its much larger population, the United States held decided advantages in industrial capacity, commercial interests, and financial infrastructure.

Yet either side could have prevailed. The Confederacy sought independence and only had to defend itself. The United States sought to compel the seceded states to abandon their hopes to found a new nation. Union armies would have to invade the Confederacy, destroy its capacity to wage war, and crush the will of the southern people to resist. The Confederacy could win merely by prolonging the war to a point where the loyal citizenry considered the effort too costly in lives and money. George Wythe Randolph, who served as Confederate secretary of war, commented in 1861 that Union forces "may overrun our frontier States and plunder our coast but, as for conquering us, the thing is an impossibility."

Union and Confederate leaders adopted very different strategies to achieve victory. Beginning in 1861 with Winfield Scott's so-called "Anaconda Plan," the United States pursued a strategy that included a naval blockade to restrict the flow of goods into southern ports, a combined Army-Navy effort to divide the Confederacy by seizing

control of the Mississippi River, and major offensives into the Confederate hinterlands. The Confederacy first tried to defend all of its borders, but for most of the war Jefferson Davis and his advisers followed what often is termed a defensive-offensive strategy. Confederate armies generally stood on the strategic defensive, protecting as much of their territory as possible. When circumstances seemed favorable, the Confederacy launched offensives—the most important of which culminated in the Battles of Antietam and Perryville in 1862 and Gettysburg in 1863.

Military fortunes ebbed and flowed for more than three years before United States forces gained a decisive advantage. The loyal states wavered more than once in their determination, most notably after Robert E. Lee frustrated Union offensives in the spring of 1863 and the spring and early summer of 1864. A string of Union successes won by Ulysses S. Grant in the West at Forts Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga in 1862–1863, and by William Tecumseh Sherman at Atlanta in 1864, more than counterbalanced Lee's successes. By the autumn of 1864, with Grant as the Union general in chief, United States armies applied pressure in Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas that eventually forced a Confederate surrender in the spring of 1865.

The war touched the lives of almost every American. Women assumed larger responsibilities in the workplace. In the United States, they labored as nurses (previously a male occupation), government clerks, factory workers, members of the United States Sanitary Commission and other charitable organizations that assisted soldiers, and otherwise helped the war effort. Southern white women also worked as clerks and nurses and in factories, and thousands took responsibility for running farms, as did their northern counterparts. Although the war opened opportunities outside the household for women, its end brought a general return of old patterns of employment.

Enslaved people in the South shouldered a major part of the labor burden—as they always had—and allowed the Confederacy to put a high percentage of its military-age white men into uniform. No group was more directly affected by the outcome of the war than the four million black people who were enslaved in 1861. They emerged from the struggle with their freedom (made final by the ratification of the Thirteenth

Amendment to the Constitution in December 1865), though the extent to which they would be accorded equal rights remained unresolved.

Both sides made use of recent technological advances. Railroads moved hundreds of thousands of soldiers and vast quantities of supplies, and telegraphic communication permitted both governments to coordinate military movements in widely separated areas. The conflict featured numerous applications of recent military technology, among the most important of which were the rifle musket carried by most infantrymen on both sides and ironclad warships that saw action on a broad scale.

The two national governments expanded their powers in an effort to mount sustained war efforts. Ironically, the Confederacy, a republic allegedly devoted to states' rights, witnessed greater governmental intrusions into its citizens' lives. Both sides enacted a series of national taxes, tampered with civil liberties, and resorted to conscription. Many of these measures, especially the drafts implemented by the Confederacy in 1862 and by the United States in 1863, provoked heated political debate and overt antiwar activities. The war produced spending on a scale dwarfing that of any earlier period. In 1860, the federal budget was $63,000,000; in 1865, United States expenditures totaled nearly $1.3 billion—a 200-fold increase that does not include the roughly $1 billion the Confederate government spent that year.

Emancipation marked the war's most revolutionary development. Abolitionists and many Radical Republicans pressed for it from the outset, but the mass of white northerners (the free states were 98.8 percent white according to the 1860 census) always considered the conflict primarily a struggle for Union. As fighting dragged on and casualties mounted, Lincoln presented emancipation as a tool that would undermine the Confederacy. Although many Democrats remained bitter opponents, most of the loyal white citizenry eventually accepted emancipation as a tool to help win victory and restore the Union, to punish slaveholding aristocrats who had caused the war, and to prevent slavery-related issues from posing a future threat to the nation. Hundreds of thousands of enslaved people in the South did not wait for United States politicians to work out their fate, fleeing to Union military lines and thereby

applying pressure for governmental action that would transform a struggle for Union into one that also would kill slavery.

The cost of the war was appalling. More American soldiers lost their lives than in all other wars combined from the colonial period through the last phase of the Vietnam War. The war brought wide-scale economic destruction to the Confederate states, which lost two-thirds of their assessed wealth (emancipated slaves accounted for much of this). In contrast, the northern economy thrived. Two numbers convey a sense of the relative economic cost: between 1860 and 1870, northern wealth increased by 50 percent; during that same decade, southern wealth decreased by 60 percent.

Americans remembered the war in different ways. Most white northerners recalled a crusade that saved the Union. Black Americans placed freedom at the center of their memories of the conflict. Many ex-Confederates celebrated their failed effort to carve out a distinct destiny. Their arguments, which included an attempt to minimize the importance of slavery as a factor during the secession crisis and the war, became part of the remarkably durable "Lost Cause" school of interpretation. By the end of the nineteenth century, a reconciliationist movement united some white northerners and southerners in a shared public memory of the war that rarely spoke of emancipation or black participation and deliberately avoided discussion of the bitter animosities that had divided North and South. For the first five decades of the twentieth century, the Lost Cause and reconciliation memories proved most dominant in American popular culture. The emancipation tradition gained impetus in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, while the Lost Cause, at least in the public sphere, became far less prominent. Almost invisible was the Union cause, which largely disappeared from how Americans remembered and understood their great national trauma.

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[1] Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Address," March 21, 1861 in *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.*, ed. Frank Moore (New York: O.P. Putnam, 1862), 1:45.

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The Consequences of Union Victory, 1865

Introduction

The outcome of the Civil War resulted in a strengthening of U.S. foreign power and influence, as the definitive Union defeat of the Confederacy firmly demonstrated the strength of the United States Government and restored its legitimacy to handle the sectional tensions that had complicated U.S. external relations in the years before the Civil War. The renewed strength of the U.S. Government led to the defeat of French intervention in Mexico, and hastened the confederation of Canada in 1867.

Appomattox Court House, Virginia

Union victory also ensured continuing support for the international abolishment of racial slavery.

As the Confederacy collapsed, U.S. leaders were able to shift resources to resisting French intervention in Mexico and to deploy troops along the Texas-Mexico border. U.S. pressure, combined with Mexican resentment and military success against Emperor Maximilian ultimately compelled French Emperor Napoleon III to end his imperial venture in Mexico.

In the north, fears of a resurgent United States and calls by some U.S. politicians for the annexation of British North American territory allowed Canadian politicians to overcome their own sectional differences, while also spurring British parliamentary leaders to urge a stronger central government in British North America, especially after Irish-born civil war veterans launched several unsuccessful raids into Canada. This resulted in the British North America Act of 1867, which united Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Subsequently, in 1870, Canadian Prime Minister John MacDonald successfully convinced the British Government to cede the lands of the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada, crushing the hopes of U.S. expansionists who hoped to acquire those lands for the United States. Although it took considerable negotiation, the U.S. Government was also able to obtain restitution for claims stemming from the attacks on merchant shipping by British-built Confederate warships such as the Alabama.

Canadian Prime Minister John MacDonald

The renewed international image of the United States also helped Secretary of State William Seward in his attempts to acquire additional territory in the postwar period. In 1867, Seward succeeded in purchasing Alaska from the Russian Government. Seward also sought to acquire territories in the Caribbean, and to negotiate permission to build the Panama Canal. The postwar period also saw attempts by U.S. political leaders, including Seward, to resettle freed slaves abroad in either Mexico or Brazil, but the governments of those countries dissuaded Seward from these efforts. However, Brazil, where slavery remained legal until 1888, did become a magnet for disaffected Confederates angered by the end of slavery in the United States. Between 3,000 and 20,000 former Confederates resettled in Brazil, although a considerable number returned to the United States. However, William Lidgerwood, the U.S. Chargé d'Affaires in Brazil, recommended that passports be denied for those who had renounced U.S. citizenship. By doing so, Lidgerwood created a class of stateless people, because some former Confederates had renounced their Brazilian citizenship in order to return to the United States. Although many former Confederates were eventually able to return, some remained in Brazil and continued to advocate the proslavery cause.

The end of the Confederacy generally signaled a defeat for pro-slavery advocates as the international abolitionist movement gained strength in the 1860s and 1870s. Increasingly, abolitionists pressured European and American governments to end slavery and other forms of bondage in their territories. The Russian empire had already announced the end of serfdom in 1861, and the Dutch government abolished slavery in its colonies in 1863. The Spanish Government abolished slavery in Puerto Rico in 1873, although slavery would remain legal in Cuba until 1886. Brazil also took

measures toward gradual abolition in 1871, although slavery would not be fully abolished there until 1888.

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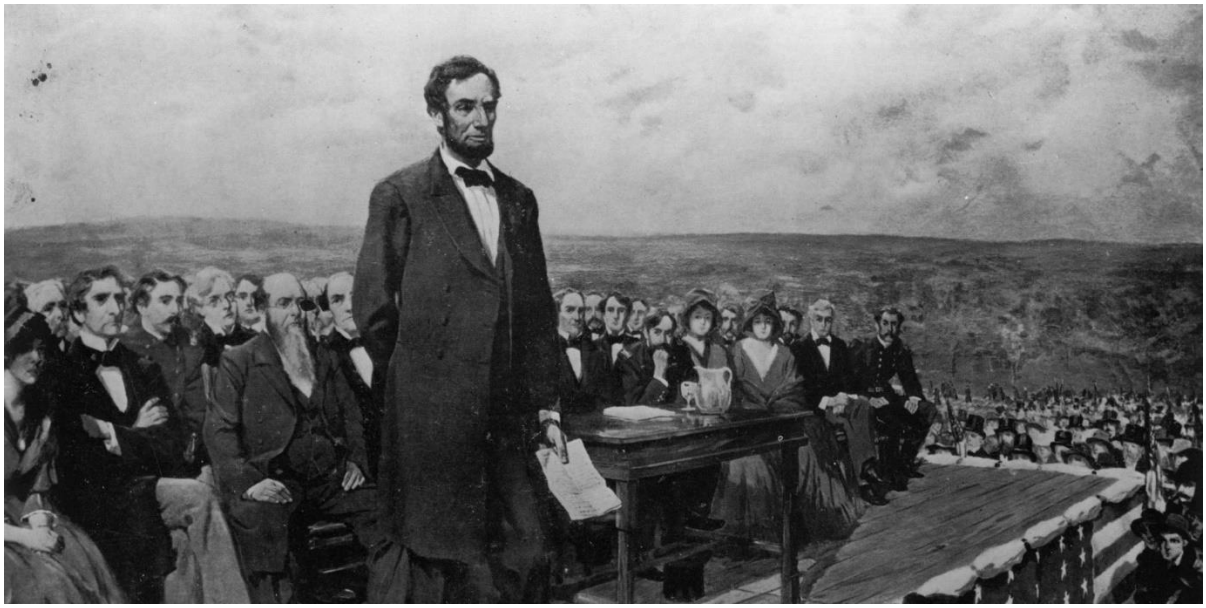
Why the Gettysburg Address is One of the Most Famous Speeches in History

Abraham Lincoln's 1863 Gettysburg Address contains fewer than 275 words. How did such a short speech carry such a long-lasting impact?

Christopher Klein



On the morning of November 19, 1863, approximately 15,000 people descended upon Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to officially dedicate its National Cemetery. Less than five months earlier, Gettysburg's farms transformed into fields of blood as one of the largest battles ever staged on the vast continent erupted on the hamlet's doorstep. The bodies of Union soldiers that carpeted the pastures after three days of carnage at the Battle of Gettysburg now rested in freshly dug graves beneath the blue autumn sky.

The cemetery's dedication ceremony had been delayed by a month out of deference to the schedule of the keynote speaker—celebrated orator Edward Everett. While the former statesman, diplomat and university president requested the occasion be postponed to provide more time to craft his speech, President Abraham Lincoln accepted an invitation from event organizer David Wills to share "a few appropriate remarks." With his oration intended to be a footnote to Everett's address, Lincoln fulfilled his assignment to keep his words sparse. His Gettysburg Address lasted less than two minutes.

The world little noted nor long remembered Everett's two-hour oration—except for its verbosity. By contrast, the 10-sentence speech delivered by Lincoln became perhaps the most famous in American history.

The Gettysburg Address: A New Declaration of Independence

After the carnage at the Battle of Gettysburg, Lincoln reaffirms his commitment to achieving freedom for all.

Gettysburg Address Enters the National Memory

The historical significance of the Gettysburg Address could not have been divined from the sprinkle of applause that greeted its conclusion. "Anything more dull and commonplace it would not be easy to produce," wrote the American correspondent for the *Times of London*.

In a divided America, Lincoln's call for a "new birth of freedom" initially resonated only with his fellow Republicans. "The Gettysburg Address was received for the most part as a partisan speech," says Martin Johnson, an associate professor of history at Miami University and author of *Writing the Gettysburg Address*. "For the first 30 or so years after the war, it was really seen as a Radical Republican speech." Following the Civil War, Union veterans in the Grand Army of the Republic kept the memory of the oration alive by organizing Memorial Day commemorations at which the Gettysburg Address was often recited.

The Gettysburg Address did not enter the broader American canon until decades after Lincoln's death—following World War I and the 1922 opening of the Lincoln Memorial, where the speech is etched in marble. As the Gettysburg Address gained in popularity, it became

a staple of school textbooks and readers, and the succinctness of the three-paragraph oration permitted it to be memorized by generations of American schoolchildren.

Beyond its brevity, the poetry of the Gettysburg Address is key to its historical longevity. "There are plenty of short speeches, but it's the beauty of the address and the phrases that stick in the mind that make it enduring," Johnson says. Lincoln eschewed the flowery Victorian flourishes favored by Everett and other speakers of the time for language as plain as the log cabin in which he was born. Although built with monosyllabic words, the composition nonetheless soars with its rhythm, biblical allusions and memorable phrases—right from its opening of "four score and seven years ago."

How the Battle of Gettysburg Turned the Tide of the Civil War

In a must-win clash, Union forces halted the northern invasion of Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army.

By: Sarah Pruitt

Lincoln Links Gettysburg to 1776

The power of the Gettysburg Address also comes from its linkage of the sacrifice of the dead Union soldiers—and those who would fall in subsequent battles—to the promise of the United States espoused in the Declaration of Independence.

Lincoln devoted the speech's opening paragraph to the revolutionary "fathers" who birthed "a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." In the following paragraph, he connected them to the fallen soldiers who "gave their lives that that nation might live" before binding them to "the living" in the third paragraph.

"Lincoln linked past, present and future in a powerful story that could mobilize and unify Americans around a radical Unionist vision of America that sought to assure that democracy and human rights would survive and triumph," Johnson says.

While the Declaration of Independence was dedicated to the ideal of equality, that could never be the reality in a country that condoned slavery. The Gettysburg Address reflected Lincoln's recent evolution that the Civil War was no longer just a fight to preserve the Union, but a battle for the survival of democracy and full abolition of slavery. The Great Emancipator called on Americans to dedicate themselves so that the United States "shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

A Timeless Call to Action

While Lincoln wrote the Gettysburg Address for the exact political moment in November 1863, the speech makes no explicit mention of "Gettysburg," "slavery" or "the Union." The lofty language wielded by the 16th president lends it a timeless quality that has spoken to subsequent generations of Americans confronting their own challenges.

"During World War I, World War II, the Cold War and the fight for Civil Rights—when Americans were facing really tough odds and perhaps struggling for the survival of the nation—the Gettysburg Address was one of the go-to texts to explain what the fight was all about," Johnson says. "It's an aspirational vision of the American project that we can always embrace."

Much as Lincoln in 1863 challenged the living to ensure the sacrifice of the fallen Union soldiers was not "in vain," the Gettysburg Address continues to stand as a call to action. "We're always going to face difficulties, and we're always going to be turning to liberty,

equality, and democracy to carry us through," Johnson says. "That message will always be perennial and pertinent because we're always exploring and expanding the nature of the American experiment."

Also visit: https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war

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Videos

01] The Civil War: When America Went to War with Itself | Full Documentary Series | FD History
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lGX9uveGbb0 [3:57:26]

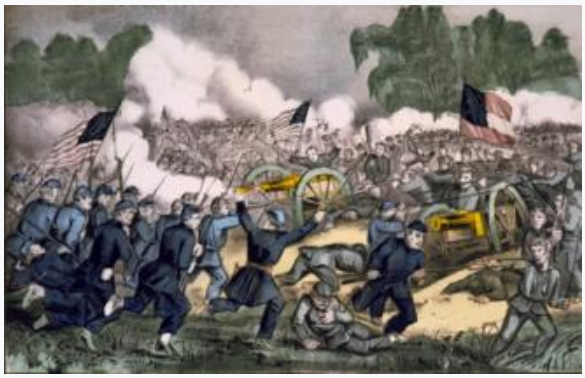
The American Civil War was one of the most devastating conflicts in US history — a brutal clash between North and South that raged for four long, bloody years. From 1861 to 1865, over 600,000 soldiers perished on the battlefields, while countless towns and cities lay in ruins. Brother fought brother in a bitter struggle that split the young nation apart, fuelled by deep political, economic, and ideological divisions. This documentary series delves into the causes and key moments of the Civil War — from the first shots fired at Fort Sumter to the final surrender at Appomattox. Through rare historical photographs, expert analysis, and vivid battlefield re-creations, we relive the courage and sacrifice of the soldiers, generals, and civilians who endured this tragic conflict. Explore the strategies of legendary commanders like Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, witness decisive battles such as Gettysburg and Antietam, and discover how the fight over slavery and states' rights reshaped America forever. With in-depth storytelling and powerful visuals, The American Civil War tells the story of a nation torn in two — and how it rose from the ashes.

02] The Entire History of the American Civil War - ALL EPISODES
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FTrbHDCQUCE [2:16:06]

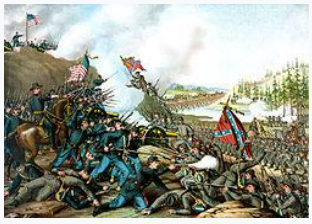
American Civil War

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Civil_War

American Civil War



Battle of Gettysburg



Battle of Franklin

US Horse Artillery Brigade officers

Battle of Antietam

A Harvest of Death

Ironclad USS *Atlanta*

Date	April 12, 1861 – May 26, 1865[a][b] (4 years, 1 month and 2 weeks)
Location	United States, Atlantic Ocean
Result	Union victory
Territorial changes	Dissolution of the Confederate States of America

Belligerents	
United States	Confederate States
Commanders and leaders	
• Abraham Lincoln **X** • Ulysses S. Grant • *and others...*	• Jefferson Davis (POW) • Robert E. Lee • *and others...*
Strength	
• 698,000 at peak[1] • 2,200,000 total[2]	• 360,000 at peak[2][3] • 750,000–1,000,000 total[4]
Casualties and losses	
• 110,000+ KIA or DOW	• 94,000+ KIA or DOW[5] • 164,000+ died from accidents or disease[2]

• 230,000+ died from accidents or disease[5][6] • 25,000–30,000 died in Confederate prisons[2][5] • **365,000+ total dead**[7]	• 26,000–31,000 died in Union prisons[6] • **290,000+ total dead**
• 282,000+ wounded[6] • 181,193 captured[8][c] • **828,000+ total casualties**	• 137,000+ wounded • 436,658 captured[8][d] • **864,000+ total casualties**
• 50,000 free civilians died[9] • 60,000 identified enslaved people, "tens of thousands" of unidentified enslaved people died from disease[10] • **616,222[11]–1,000,000+ total dead**	

The **American Civil War** (April 12, 1861 – May 26, 1865; also known by other names) was a civil war in the United States between the Union[e] ("the North") and the Confederacy ("the South"), which was formed in 1861 by states that had seceded from the Union to preserve slavery in the United States. The South saw slavery as threatened because of the election of Abraham Lincoln and the growing abolitionist movement in the North.[14] The war ended with Union victory, the dissolution of the Confederacy and the abolition of slavery, freeing four million African Americans.

Decades of controversy over slavery came to a head when Abraham Lincoln, a Republican who opposed slavery's expansion, won the 1860 presidential election. Seven slave states in the South responded to Lincoln's victory by seceding from the United States and forming the Confederate States of America. The Confederacy seized US forts and other federal assets in the South. The war began on April 12, 1861, when the Confederacy bombarded Fort Sumter in South Carolina. A wave of enthusiasm for

war swept over the North and South, as military recruitment soared. Four more Southern states seceded after the war began and, led by its president, Jefferson Davis, the Confederacy comprised eleven states, containing a third of the US population. Four years of intense combat, mostly in the South, ensued.

During 1861–1862 in the western theater, the Union made permanent gains, though in the eastern theater the conflict was inconclusive. The abolition of slavery became a Union war goal on January 1, 1863, when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared all slaves in rebel states to be free, applying to more than 3.5 million of the 4 million enslaved people in the country. To the west, the Union first destroyed the Confederacy's river navy by the summer of 1862, then much of its western armies, and seized New Orleans. The successful 1863 Union siege of Vicksburg split the Confederacy in two at the Mississippi River, while Confederate general Robert E. Lee's incursion north failed at the Battle of Gettysburg. General Ulysses S. Grant's western successes led Lincoln to promote him to command of all Union armies in 1864.

Inflicting an ever-tightening naval blockade of Confederate ports, the Union marshaled resources and manpower to attack the Confederacy from all directions. This led to the fall of Atlanta in 1864 to Union general William Tecumseh Sherman, followed by his March to the Sea, which culminated in his taking Savannah. The last significant battles raged around the ten-month Siege of Petersburg, gateway to the Confederate capital of Richmond. The Confederates abandoned Richmond, and on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant following the Battle of Appomattox Court House, setting in motion the end of the war.[f] Lincoln lived to see this victory but was shot by an assassin on April 14, dying the next day.

By the end of the war, much of the South's infrastructure had been destroyed. The Confederacy collapsed, the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, and four million enslaved black people were freed. The war-torn nation then entered the Reconstruction era in an attempt to rebuild the country, bring the former Confederate states back into the United States, and grant civil rights to freed slaves. The war is one of the most extensively studied and written about episodes in

the history of the United States. It remains the subject of cultural and historiographical debate. Of continuing interest is the myth of the Lost Cause of the Confederacy. The war was among the first to use industrial warfare. Railroads, the electrical telegraph, steamships, the ironclad warship, and mass-produced weapons were widely used. The war left an estimated 700,000 soldiers dead, along with an undetermined number of civilian deaths, making it the deadliest in American history.[g] The technology and brutality of the Civil War foreshadowed the coming world wars.

Origins

Main article: Origins of the American Civil War

Further information: Timeline of events leading to the American Civil War, Slave states and free states, Slavery in the United States, and Abolitionism in the United States

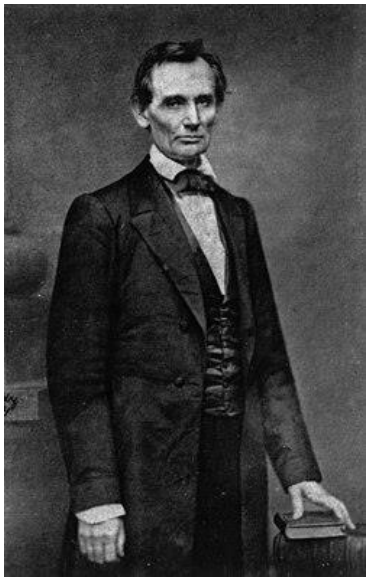
The origins of the war were rooted in the desire of the Southern states to preserve the institution of slavery.[15] Historians in the 21st century overwhelmingly agree on the centrality of slavery in the conflict—at least for the Southern states. They disagree on the North's reasons for refusing to allow the Southern states to secede.[16] The pseudo-historical Lost Cause ideology denies that slavery was the principal cause of the secession, a view disproven by historical evidence, including the seceding states' own secession documents.[17] After leaving the Union, Mississippi issued a declaration stating, "Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery—the greatest material interest of the world."[18][19]

The principal political battle leading to Southern secession was over whether slavery would expand into the Western territories destined to become states. Initially Congress had admitted new states into the Union in pairs, one slave and one free. This had kept a sectional balance in the Senate but not in the House of Representatives, as free states outstripped slave states in numbers of eligible voters.[20] Thus, at mid-19th century, the free-versus-slave status of the new territories was a critical issue, both for the North, where anti-slavery sentiment had grown, and for the South, where the fear of slavery's abolition had grown. Another factor leading to secession and the formation of the Confederacy was the development of white Southern nationalism in the preceding decades.[21] The primary reason for

the North to reject secession was to preserve the Union, a cause based on American nationalism.[22]

Background factors in the run up to the Civil War were partisan politics, abolitionism, nullification versus secession, Southern and Northern nationalism, expansionism, economics, and modernization in the antebellum period. As a panel of historians said in 2011, "while slavery and its various and multifaceted discontents were the primary cause of disunion, it was disunion itself that sparked the war."[23]

Lincoln's election



***Portrait of Abraham Lincoln*, an 1860 photograph portrait of Abraham Lincoln by Mathew Brady**

Abraham Lincoln won the 1860 presidential election.[24] Southern leaders feared Lincoln would stop slavery's expansion and put it on a course toward extinction.[25] His victory triggered declarations of secession by seven slave states of the Deep South, all of whose riverfront or coastal economies were based on cotton that was cultivated by slave labor.

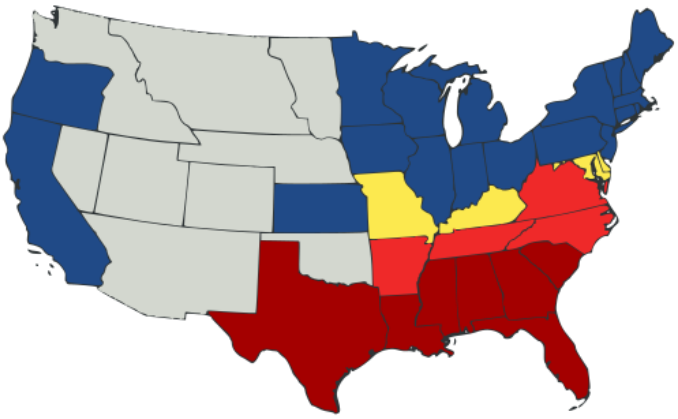
Lincoln was not inaugurated until March 4, 1861, four months after his 1860 election, which afforded the South time to prepare for war.[26] Nationalists in the North and "Unionists" in the South refused to accept the declarations of secession, and no foreign government ever recognized the Confederacy. The US government, under

President James Buchanan, refused to relinquish the nation's forts, which the Confederacy claimed were located in their territory.

According to Lincoln, the American people had demonstrated, beginning with their victory in the American Revolution and Revolutionary War and subsequent establishment of a sovereign nation, that they could successfully establish and administer a republic. Yet, Lincoln believed, a question remained unanswered: Could the nation be maintained as a republic, with its government selected by vote of the people, in the face of internal attempts to destroy it or separate from it?[27]

Outbreak of the war

Secession crisis

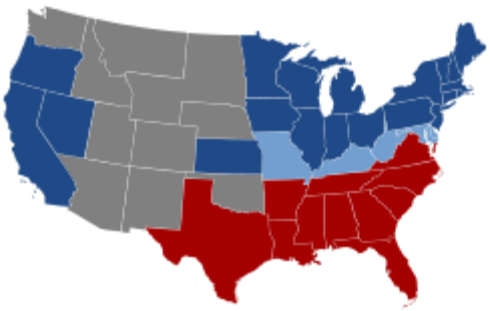


Status of the states, 1861

Slave states that seceded before April 15, 1861
Slave states that seceded after April 15, 1861
Border Southern states that permitted slavery but did not secede (both KY and MO had dual competing Confederate and Unionist governments)
Union states that banned slavery
Territories

Lincoln's election provoked South Carolina's legislature to call a state convention to consider secession. South Carolina had done more than any other state to advance the notion that a state had the right to nullify federal laws and even secede. On December 20, 1860, the convention unanimously voted to secede and adopted a secession declaration. It argued for states' rights for slave owners but complained about states' rights in the North in the form of resistance to the federal Fugitive Slave Act, claiming that Northern states were not fulfilling their obligations to assist in the return of fugitive slaves. The "cotton states"

of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed suit, seceding in January and February 1861.[26]



Division of the states during the American Civil War:

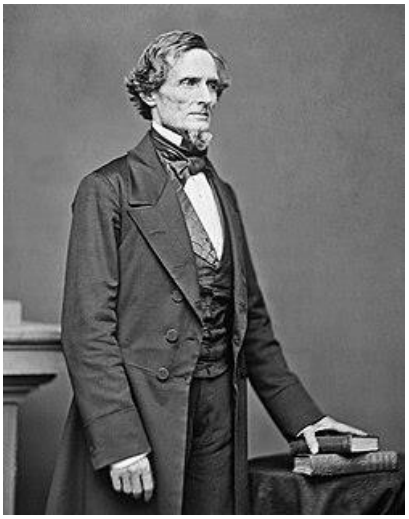
Union
Confederacy
Border states
Territories

Among the ordinances of secession, those of Texas, Alabama, and Virginia mentioned the plight of the "slaveholding states" at the hands of Northern abolitionists. The rest made no mention of slavery but were brief announcements by the legislatures of the dissolution of ties to the Union.[28] However, at least four—South Carolina,[29] Mississippi,[30] Georgia,[31] and Texas[32]—provided detailed reasons for their secession, all blaming the movement to abolish slavery and its influence over the North. Southern states believed that the Fugitive Slave Clause made slaveholding a constitutional right. These states agreed to form a new federal government, the Confederate States of America, on February 4, 1861.[33] They took control of federal forts and other properties within their boundaries, with little resistance from outgoing president James Buchanan, whose term ended on March 4. Buchanan said the Dred Scott decision was proof the Southern states had no reason to secede and that the Union "was intended to be perpetual". He added, however, that "The power by force of arms to compel a State to remain in the Union" was not among the "enumerated powers granted to Congress".[34] A quarter of the US army—the Texas garrison—was surrendered in February to state forces by its general, David E. Twiggs, who joined the Confederacy.[35]

Referring to the seven Southern states that initially seceded, historian James McPherson wrote, "Slaves constituted 47 percent of the population of the Confederate states but only 24 percent in the upper South."[36] He added, "In the four border

states the proportion of slaves and slaveowners was less than half what it was in the eleven states that seceded."[37] Eastern Tennessee and western Virginia also had less slavery and showed more support for the Union than the rest of the Confederacy. West Virginia left the rest of Virginia and joined the Union as West Virginia because of the slavery issue. Even within Virginia and Tennessee, which had seceded, McPherson wrote, "The voters in 35 Virginia counties with a slave population of only 2.5 percent opposed secession by a margin of three to one, while voters in the remainder of the state, where slaves constituted 36 percent of the population, supported secession by more than ten to one. The thirty counties of east Tennessee that rejected secession by more than two to one contained a slave population of only 8 percent, while the rest of the state, with a slave population of 30 percent, voted for secession by a margin of seven to one."[38]

As Southerners resigned their Senate and House seats, Republicans could pass projects that had been blocked. These included the Morrill Tariff, land grant colleges, a Homestead Act, a transcontinental railroad,[39] the National Bank Act, authorization of United States Notes by the Legal Tender Act of 1862, the end of slavery in the District of Columbia, and a ban on slavery in the territories.[40] The Revenue Act of 1861 introduced an income tax to help finance the war.[41]



Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America (1861–1865)

In December 1860, the Crittenden Compromise was proposed to re-establish the Missouri Compromise line, by constitutionally banning slavery in territories to the north of it, while permitting it to the south. The Compromise would likely have

prevented secession, but Lincoln and the Republicans rejected it.[42] Lincoln stated that any compromise that would extend slavery would bring down the Union.[43] A February peace conference met in Washington, proposing a solution similar to the Compromise; it was rejected by Congress. The Republicans proposed the Corwin Amendment, an alternative, not to interfere with slavery where it existed, but the South regarded it as insufficient. The remaining eight slave states rejected pleas to join the Confederacy, following a no-vote in Virginia's First Secessionist Convention on April 4.[44]

On March 4, Lincoln was sworn in as president. In his first inaugural address, he argued that the Constitution was a *more perfect union* than the earlier Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, was a binding contract, and that secession was "legally void".[45] He did not intend to invade Southern states, nor to end slavery where it existed, but he said he would use force to maintain possession of federal property,[45] including forts, arsenals, mints, and customhouses that had been seized.[46] "The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union." Where conditions did not allow peaceful enforcement of federal law, US marshals and judges would be withdrawn. No mention was made of bullion lost from mints. He stated that it would be US policy "to collect the duties and imposts"; "there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere" that would justify an armed revolution. His speech closed with a plea for restoration of the bonds of union, famously calling on "the mystic chords of memory" binding the two regions.[45]

The Confederacy sent delegates to Washington to negotiate a peace treaty. Lincoln rejected negotiations, because he claimed that the Confederacy was not a legitimate government and to make a treaty with it would recognize it as such.[47] Lincoln instead attempted to negotiate directly with the governors of seceded states, whose administrations he continued to recognize.[48]

Complicating Lincoln's attempts to defuse the crisis was Secretary of State William H. Seward, who had been Lincoln's rival for the Republican nomination. Embittered by his defeat, Seward agreed to support Lincoln's candidacy only after he was guaranteed

the executive office then considered the second most powerful. In the early stages of Lincoln's presidency Seward held little regard for him, due to his perceived inexperience. Seward viewed himself as the de facto head of government, the "prime minister" behind the throne. Seward attempted to engage in unauthorized and indirect negotiations that failed.[47] Lincoln was determined to hold all remaining Union-occupied forts in the seceded states: Fort Pickens, Fort Jefferson, and Fort Taylor in Florida, and Fort Sumter in South Carolina.[49]

Battle of Fort Sumter

The Battle of Fort Sumter, as depicted by Currier and Ives

The American Civil War began on April 12, 1861, when Confederate forces opened fire on the Union-held Fort Sumter. Fort Sumter is located in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina.[50] Its status had been contentious for months. Outgoing president Buchanan had dithered in reinforcing its garrison, commanded by Major Robert Anderson. Anderson took matters into his own hands and on December 26, 1860, under the cover of darkness, sailed the garrison from the poorly placed Fort Moultrie to the stalwart island Fort Sumter.[51] Anderson's actions catapulted him to hero status in the North. An attempt to resupply the fort on January 9, 1861, failed and nearly started the war then, but an informal truce held.[52] On March 5, Lincoln was informed the fort was low on supplies.[53]

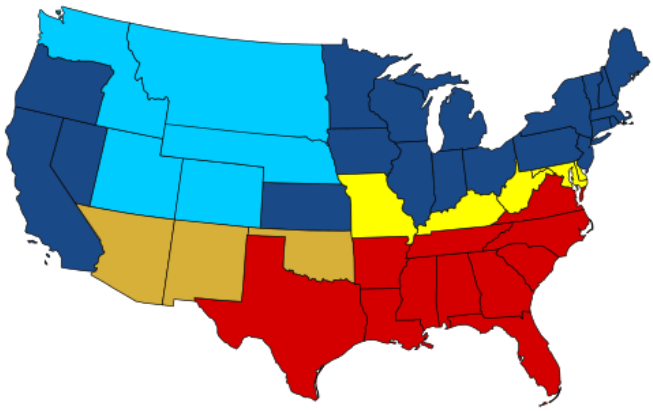
Fort Sumter proved a key challenge to Lincoln's administration.[53] Back-channel dealing by Seward with the Confederates undermined Lincoln's decision-making; Seward wanted to pull out.[54] But a firm hand by Lincoln tamed Seward, who was a staunch Lincoln ally thereafter. Lincoln decided holding the fort, which would require reinforcing it, was the only workable option. On April 6, Lincoln informed the Governor

of South Carolina that a ship with food but no ammunition would attempt to supply the fort. Richard N. Current wrote:

In short, it appears that Lincoln, when he decided to send the Sumter expedition, considered hostilities to be *probable*. It also appears, however, that he believed an unopposed and peaceable provisioning to be at least barely *possible*.... He thought hostilities would be the likely result, and he was determined that, if they should be, they must clearly be initiated by the Confederates. "To say that Lincoln meant that the first shot would be fired by the other side *if a first shot was fired*, ... is not to say that he maneuvered to have the first shot fired."[55]

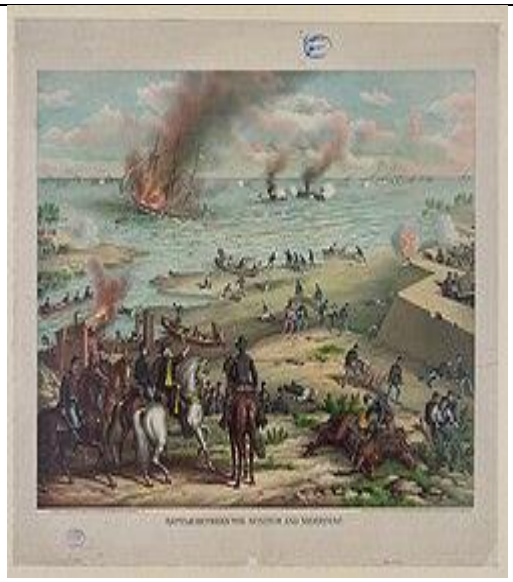
James McPherson describes this win-win approach as "the first sign of the mastery that would mark Lincoln's presidency"; the Union would win if it could resupply and hold the fort, and the South would be the aggressor if it opened fire on an unarmed ship supplying starving men.[56] An April 9 Confederate cabinet meeting resulted in Davis ordering General P. G. T. Beauregard to take the fort before supplies reached it.[57]

At 4:30 a.m. on April 12, Confederate forces fired the first of 4,000 shells at the fort; it fell the next day. The loss of Fort Sumter lit a patriotic fire under the North.[58] On April 15, Lincoln called on the states to field 75,000 militiamen for 90 days; impassioned Union states met the quotas quickly.[59] On May 3, 1861, Lincoln called for an additional 42,000 volunteers for three years.[60][61] Shortly after this, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina seceded and joined the Confederacy. To reward Virginia, the Confederate capital was moved to Richmond.[62]



US secession map, showing the Union and the Confederacy

Union states
Union territories not permitting slavery
Southern Border Union states, permitting slavery
(One of these states, West Virginia, was created in 1863, while KY, WV and MO had dual competing Confederate and Unionist governments)
Confederate states
Union territories that permitted slavery (claimed by Confederacy) at the start of the war, but where slavery was outlawed by the US in 1862



Battle between the USS *Monitor* and *Merrimack*

Rioters attacking a building during the New York anti-draft riots of 1863

Timeline < :: >American Civil War

Colonial Period : 1607–1775

1619	• A Dutch ship arrives in the Virginia Colony carrying about twenty black Africans as indentured servants. From this beginning, African slavery is introduced to the future United States.[2][3][4]
1640	• The General Court of Virginia orders John Punch, a runaway black servant, to "serve his master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere." Thus, "John Punch, a black man, was sentenced to [a] lifetime [of] slavery."[5][6]

1652	• After earlier laws in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (1641) and Connecticut Colony (1650) limit slavery to some extent, a 1652 law in the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations clearly limits bond service to no more than 10 years or no later than a person attaining the age of 24.[7] Nevertheless, Newport becomes a large slave trade center a century later.[8]
1654	• John Casor of Northampton County is the first Virginian to be judicially confirmed as a slave for life other than for violation of the law.[9][10]
1671	• About 2,000 of the 40,000 inhabitants of colonial Virginia are imported slaves. White indentured servants working for five years before their release are three times as numerous and provide much of the hard labor.[11]
1712	• A slave insurrection in New York City causes significant property damage and results in severe punishment or execution of the rebels.[12]
1719	• Non-slaveholding farmers in Virginia persuade the Virginia General Assembly to discuss a prohibition of slavery or a ban on importing slaves. In response, the assembly raises the tariff on slaves to five pounds, which about equals the full price of an indenture, so as not to make importation of slaves as initially attractive or preferable to a mere indenture for a term of years.[13]
1739	• In South Carolina, the Stono Rebellion becomes the largest slave uprising yet in the Thirteen Colonies, with 25 white people and 35 to 50 black people killed.[14][15]
1741	• Another insurrection of slaves in New York City causes significant property damage; slaves are severely punished or executed.[16]
1774	• Quakers, led by James Pemberton and others including Benjamin Rush and Benjamin Franklin, organize the

	first abolitionist society in the colonies, the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, in Philadelphia.[17][18]

American Revolution and Confederation period, 1776–1787

1776	• The United States Declaration of Independence declares "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Slavery remains legal in the new nation.[2] A clause condemning slavery is included in the Declaration but is removed at the insistence of South Carolina and Georgia.[19]
1777	• The Republic of Vermont, an independent state at the time, prohibits slavery in its constitution.[20][21]
1778	• The Virginia legislature passes a law, with Thomas Jefferson's support and probably authorship, that bans importing slaves into Virginia. It is the first state to ban the slave trade, and all other states eventually follow suit.[22][23]
1779	• John Laurens attempts to convince the Continental Congress to allow slaves to join the Continental Army in return for freedom. The Congress gives him permission to do this, but opposition from the South Carolina legislature prevents it.
1780	• A gradual emancipation law is adopted in Pennsylvania.[24][25][26] • Massachusetts bans slavery in its constitution.[24][25][27]
1782	• Virginia liberalizes its very strict law preventing manumission; under the new law, a master may emancipate slaves in his will or by deed.[23]
1783	• The New Hampshire Constitution says children will be born free, but some slavery persists until the 1840s.[28]
1784	• Rhode Island and Connecticut pass laws providing for gradual emancipation of slaves.[29] • The Continental Congress rejects by one vote Jefferson's proposal to prohibit slavery in all territories, including areas that become the states of Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee.[30]
1786	• George Washington writes: "There is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it [slavery]."[31] Civil War era historian William Blake says these "sentiments were confined to a few liberal and enlightened men."[23]

1787	• July 13: Under the Articles of Confederation, the Continental Congress passes the Northwest Ordinance to govern the frontier territory north of the Ohio River and west of Pennsylvania, which includes the future states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In the ordinance, Congress prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude in the Northwest Territory and requires the return of fugitive slaves captured in the territory to their owners. The law no longer applies as soon as the territories become states. In the following years, anti-slavery Northerners cite the ordinance many times as precedent for the limitation, if not the abolition, of slavery in the United States. Despite the terms of the ordinance, Southern-born settlers try and fail to pass laws to allow slavery in Indiana and Illinois.[32]

Early Constitutional Period, 1787–1811

1787	• The Constitutional Convention drafts the new United States Constitution with many compromises between supporters and opponents of slavery, including the Three-Fifths Compromise, which increases legislative representation in the House of Representatives and Electoral College by counting each slave as three-fifths of a person (Article I, Section 2). Additionally, the passage of any law that would prohibit the importation of slaves is forbidden for 20 years (Article I, Section 9) and the return of slaves who escape to free states is required (Article IV, Section 2).[2][24][33]
1789	• August 7: Congress re-adopts the Northwest Ordinance under the Constitution.[34][35]
1790	• The total U.S. slave population according to the 1790 United States census is 697,681.[36][37][38] The number will grow to nearly 4 million by 1860, 3.5 million of whom live in the seceding Southern states.[39][40][41]
1791	• Vermont is admitted to the Union as a free state.[21] • Kentucky is admitted to the Union by a joint resolution of Congress before the state has adopted a constitution.[21] • Robert Carter III of Virginia gradually begins to free his 452 slaves. He will perform the largest manumission of slaves in U.S. history.[42] • The Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is passed, declaring that all powers not included in the Constitution are delegated to states.
1792	• Kentucky drafts a constitution permitting slavery and is admitted to the Union.[21]

1793	• Congress passes the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, based on Article IV Section 2 of the Constitution and guaranteeing a slaveholder's right to recover an escaped slave.[24][43] • Eli Whitney Jr. invents the cotton gin, making possible the profitable large-scale production of short-staple cotton in the South. The demand for slave labor increases with the resulting increase in cotton production.[44]
1794	• In the Slave Trade Act of 1794 Congress prohibits ships from engaging in the international slave trade.[45] By 1794, every existing state has banned the international slave trade (though South Carolina reopens it in 1803).[46]
1796	• Tennessee is admitted to the Union as a slave state.[24]
1798	• The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia pass the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, which are anonymously written by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Most other states reject the Resolutions, which claim that the states can negate federal laws that go beyond the federal government's limited powers. In the second Kentucky resolution of November 1799, the Kentucky legislature says the remedy for an unconstitutional act is "nullification".[47][48][49]
1799	• New York enacts a law that gradually abolishes slavery. It declares children of slaves born after July 4, 1799, to be legally free, but the children have to serve an extended period of indentured servitude: to the age of 28 for males and to 25 for females. Slaves born before that date were redefined as indentured servants but essentially continued as slaves for life.[50] • George Washington dies on December 14, 1799. His will frees the 124 slaves that he owns outright upon the death of his wife, Martha. They are freed by Martha in 1801, about 18 months before her death.[51] Richard Allen, a black minister, calls on the nation's white leaders to follow Washington's lead.[52][53]
1800	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1800 United States census is 893,605 (as corrected by late additions from Maryland and Tennessee).[54][55] • The Gabriel Plot is led by Gabriel Prosser, a literate blacksmith slave. He plans to seize the Richmond, Virginia armory, then take control of the city, which would lead to freedom for himself and other slaves in the area. The plot is discovered before it can be carried out; Gabriel, along with 26 to 40 others, are executed.[56]
1803	• The United States purchases the Louisiana Territory from France. Slavery already exists in the territory and efforts to restrict it fail; the new lands thereby permit a great expansion of slave plantations.[57]

	• Ohio is admitted to the Union as a free state. Three hundred Blacks live there and the legislature tries to keep others out.[58]
1804	• New Jersey enacts a law that provides for the gradual abolition of slavery. All states north of the Mason–Dixon line (the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania) have now abolished or provided for the gradual abolition of slavery within their boundaries.[59] • The American Convention of Abolition Societies meets without any societies from Southern states in attendance.[60] • Haiti becomes the first independent country in the Americas made up of freed slaves after the conclusion of the Haitian Revolution. Following the revolution, under the orders of the radical general Jean-Jacques Dessalines, almost the entirety of the remaining white French population of Haiti is ethnically cleansed in the 1804 Haiti Massacre. As a result of these events, white supremacist sentiment was bolstered in the Antebellum South.
1805	• January: Slaves overpower and whip their overseer and assistants at Chatham Manor, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in protest of shortened holidays. An armed posse of white men quickly gathers to capture the slaves, killing one slave in the attack. Two others die trying to escape and the posse deports two more, likely to slavery in the Caribbean.[61]
1806	• Virginia repeals much of the 1782 law that had permitted more liberal emancipation of slaves, making emancipation much more difficult and expensive. Also, a statute permits a widow to revoke a manumission provision in her husband's will within one year of his death.[62]
1807	• With the expiration of the 20-year ban on Congressional action on the subject, President Thomas Jefferson, a lifelong enemy of the slave trade[*citation needed*], calls on Congress to criminalize the international slave trade, calling it "violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe".[63] At Jefferson's urging, Congress outlaws the international slave trade in an Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves, whereby importing or exporting slaves becomes a federal crime, effective January 1, 1808; in 1820 it is made the crime of piracy. Previously about 14,000 new foreign-born slaves had arrived in the U.S. each year. This number is dramatically reduced following the new law, but illegal smuggling continues to bring in about 1,000 new slaves per year.[63] During the debates, Congressman John Randolph of Roanoke warns that outlawing the slave trade might become the "pretext of universal

	emancipation" and further warns that it would "blow up the constitution". If ever there should be disunion, he prophesies, the line would be drawn between the states that did and those that did not hold slaves.[64]
1810	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1810 United States census is 27,510 slaves in the North and 1,191,364 in the South.[65][66] The percentage of free blacks increases in the Upper South from less than one percent before the American Revolution to 10 percent by 1810. Three-quarters of all blacks in Delaware are free.[67]
1811	• Slave Charles Deslondes leads a slave uprising in the Louisiana territory. Two white people are killed before the uprising is crushed, and 95 blacks are killed in retaliation.[68]

1812–1849

1812	• April 30: Louisiana is admitted to the Union as a slave state.[69]
1814	• The Hartford Convention, featuring delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island and others, discusses New England's opposition to the War of 1812 and trade embargoes. The convention report says that New England had a "duty" to assert its authority over unconstitutional infringements on its sovereignty, a position similar to the later nullification theory put forward by South Carolina. The war soon ends and the convention and the Federalist Party which had supported it fall out of favor, especially in the South, although leaders in Southern states later adopt the states' rights concept for their own purposes.[70]
1816	• Henry Clay, James Monroe, Bushrod Washington, Robert Finley, Samuel John Mills Jr. and others organize the American Colonization Society to fund the migration of about 10,000 freed slaves to Liberia.[71] • In Philadelphia, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first black denomination in the United States, is established by Richard Allen.[72] • December 11: Indiana is admitted to the Union as a free state. The 1816 state constitution frees all the slaves within state lines.[73]
1817	• December 10: Mississippi is admitted to the Union a slave state.[74]
1818	• December 3: Illinois is admitted to the Union as a free state.[75] • The Missouri Territory petitions Congress for admission to the Union as a slave state. Missouri's possible admission as a slave

	state threatens the balance of 11 free states and 11 slave states. Three years of debate ensue.[76]
1819	• December 14: Alabama is admitted to the Union as a slave state.[77] • Missouri again petitions for admission to the Union.[78] • U.S. Representative James Tallmadge Jr. of New York submits an amendment to the legislation for the admission of Missouri which would prohibit further introduction of slaves into Missouri. The proposal would also free all children of slave parents in Missouri when they reached the age of 25. Representative Thomas W. Cobb of Georgia threatens disunion if Tallmadge persists in attempting to have his amendment enacted.[79] The measure passes in the House of Representatives but is defeated in the Senate.[80][81] • Southern Senators delay a bill to admit Maine as a free state in response to the delay of Missouri's admission as a slave state.[79]
1820	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1820 United States census is 1,538,000.[82] • Speaker of the House Henry Clay of Kentucky proposes the Missouri Compromise to break the Congressional deadlock over Missouri's admission to the Union.[83] The compromise proposes that Missouri be admitted as a slave state and that the northern counties of Massachusetts, later the State of Maine, be admitted as a free state, thereby preserving the balance between slave and free states.[84] The Missouri Compromise also includes a provision that prohibits slavery in all territory west of the Mississippi River and north of 36°30' latitude, with the exception of Missouri. Many Southerners argue against the exclusion of slavery from such a large area of the country, but the compromise passes nevertheless.[79][85] • March 15: Maine is admitted to the Union as a free state. • The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is founded in New York City.[86]
1821	• August 10: Missouri is admitted to the Union as a slave state. Its legislature soon passes a law excluding free blacks and mulattoes from the state in violation of a Congressional condition to its admission.[79]
1822	• The Vesey Plot causes fear among whites in South Carolina, who are convinced that Denmark Vesey and other slaves are planning a violent slave uprising in the Charleston area. The plot is discovered and Vesey and 34 of his presumed followers are seized and hanged.[87] • Edward Coles, a former Virginia slaveholder who manumitted his slaves and became an anti-slavery advocate, narrowly defeats

	pro-slavery Joseph Philips, 33.16% to 31.22% in the 1822 Illinois gubernatorial election.[88]
1824	• Congregationalist minister Charles Grandison Finney, a leader of the religious revivals of the Second Great Awakening, includes abolitionism among its social reforms.[89] • Illinois voters reject a proposal for a new constitutional convention that could have made slavery legal outright, 6640 against to 4972 for.[90]
1826	• New Jersey, later followed by Pennsylvania, passes the first personal liberty laws, which require a judicial hearing before an alleged fugitive slave can be removed from the state.[91] • Thomas Cooper of South Carolina publishes *On the Constitution*, an early essay in favor of states' rights.[92]
1827	• The process of gradual emancipation is completed in New York state and the last indentured servant is freed.[93]
1828	• Congress passes the Tariff of 1828. It is called the "Tariff of Abominations" by its opponents in the cotton South.[94] • The opposition of Southern cotton planters to transfer of federal funds in one state to another state for internal improvements and to protective tariffs to aid small Northern industries competing with foreign goods leads a South Carolina legislative committee to issue a report entitled *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*.[84] The report outlines the nullification doctrine, which proposes to reserve to each state the right to nullify an act of Congress that injures perceived reserved state rights as unconstitutional and permit the state to prevent the law's enforcement within its borders.[84] James Madison of Virginia calls the doctrine a "preposterous and anarchical pretension." The report threatens secession of South Carolina over high tariff taxes. In 1831, Vice President John C. Calhoun admits he was the author of the previously unsigned South Carolina committee report.[84][95]
1829	• David Walker, a freed slave from North Carolina living in Boston, publishes *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, calling on slaves to revolt and destroy slavery.[96]
1830	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1830 United States census is 2,009,043.[82] • In *North Carolina v. Mann*, the Supreme Court of North Carolina rules that slave owners have absolute authority over their slaves and cannot be found guilty of committing violence against them. • Daniel Webster delivers a speech entitled *Reply to Hayne*. Webster condemns the proposition expressed by Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina that Americans must choose between

	liberty and union. Webster's closing words become an iconic statement of American nationalism: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"[97] • The National Negro Convention, a black abolitionist and civil rights organization, is founded.[98]
1831	• Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing *The Liberator*, a greatly influential publication. About this time, abolitionism takes a radical and religious turn. Many abolitionists begin to demand immediate emancipation of slaves.[99] • August 21: Nat Turner leads a slave revolt in Southampton County, Virginia. At least 55 white persons are killed. Whites in turn kill about 100 blacks in the area in retaliation, during the search for Turner and his companions and in retaliation for their actions. Turner is captured several months later, after which he and 12 of his followers are executed. Turner's actions outrage Southerners and some suspect abolitionists supported him. The uprising leads to harsher laws against blacks in slaveholding states, making their education and assembly illegal.[100] • Southern defenders of slavery start describing it as a "positive good", not just a "necessary evil".[101][102]
1832	• Congress enacts a new protective tariff, the Tariff of 1832, which offers South Carolina and the South little relief and provokes new controversy between the sections of the country.[103][104] • John C. Calhoun further explains the nullification doctrine in an open letter to South Carolina Governor James Hamilton Jr., arguing that the Constitution only raises the federal government to the level of the state, not above it. He argues that nullification is not secession and does not require secession to take effect.[104] • Thomas R. Dew writes *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, a strong defense of slavery and attack on colonization in Africa by freed slaves.[105] • November 19: South Carolina calls a state convention, which passes an Ordinance of Nullification with an effective date of February 1, 1833. The convention declares the tariff void because it threatens the state's essential interests. The South Carolina legislature acts to enforce the ordinance.[91][103][106] • President Andrew Jackson, a Southerner and slave owner, calls nullification "rebellious treason" and warns that he will use force against possible secessionist actions in South Carolina caused by the Nullification Crisis.[103] Congress passes the "Force Bill", which permits the President to use the Army and Navy to enforce the law. Jackson also urges Congress to modify the tariff, which they soon do.[103][106]

1833	• The Compromise Tariff of 1833 proposed by Henry Clay ends the Nullification Crisis by lowering some tariff rates. No other states support South Carolina's argument and position and, after Clay's compromise legislation passes, South Carolina withdraws its resolution.[91] • The abolitionist American Anti-Slavery Society is founded in Philadelphia. The movement soon splits into five factions[85] that do not always agree but which continue to advocate abolition in their own ways.[91][107][108] • Abolitionist Lydia Maria Child of Massachusetts publishes *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*. Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner are persuaded to become abolitionists.[91]
1834	• Anti-slavery "debates" are held at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. Lane had been founded by abolitionist evangelist and writer Theodore Weld with financial help from abolitionist merchants and philanthropists Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan.[109]
1835	• May 26: The U.S. House of Representatives passes the Pinckney Resolutions. The first two resolutions state that Congress has no constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in the states and that it "ought not" to do so in the District of Columbia. The third resolution, from the outset known as the "gag rule", says: "All petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatsoever, to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid on the table and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."[110][111] Massachusetts representative and former President John Quincy Adams leads an eight-year battle against the gag rule. He argues that the Slave Power, as a political interest, threatens constitutional rights.[91][112][113] • A Georgia law prescribes the death penalty for publication of material with the intention of provoking a slave rebellion.[112]
1836	• The Republic of Texas declares and wins its independence from Mexico in the Texas Revolution.[111][114][115] • June 15: Arkansas is admitted to the Union as a slave state.[114] • Committed abolitionists Angelina Grimké Weld and her sister Sarah Grimké who were born in Charleston, South Carolina, move to Philadelphia because of their anti-slavery philosophy and Quaker faith. In 1836, Angelina publishes "An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South", inviting them to overthrow slavery, which she declares is a horrible system of oppression and cruelty.[116]

	• Democratic Party nominee Martin Van Buren, a New Yorker with Southern sympathies, wins the 1836 presidential election.[113] • Lynching of Francis McIntosh, a free man of color, who had fatally stabbed one police officer. He was attacked by an angry mob, chained to a locust tree and burned alive without a trial in St. Louis, Missouri, on April 28, 1836. In a speech in January 1838, Abraham Lincoln called McIntosh's lynching "revolting to humanity".[117]
1837	• In Alton, Illinois, a mob kills abolitionist and anti-slavery editor Elijah P. Lovejoy, whose newspaper angered Southerners and Irish Catholics.[118] • January 26: Michigan is admitted to the Union as a free state.[114]
1838	• Pennsylvania Hall (Philadelphia), built by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, was destroyed by arson three days after it opened. • Anti-slavery societies claim to have 250,000 members.[119]
1839	• Slaves revolt on the Spanish ship *La Amistad* and attempt to return it to Africa, but the ship ends up in the U.S. After a highly publicized Supreme Court case argued by John Quincy Adams, the slaves are freed in March 1841, and most return to Africa.[120][121] • Influential abolitionist Theodore Weld, assisted by his new wife Angelina Grimké and her sister Sarah, exposes the reality of American slavery in *American Slavery As It Is*. He uses as evidence the slave owners' own words, as found in Southern newspaper advertisements and articles seeking the recapture of fugitives.[122]
1840	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1840 United States census is 2,487,000.[82] • The abolitionist Liberty Party nominates James G. Birney of Kentucky for President.[123] • William Henry Harrison wins the 1840 Presidential election.[124] • Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan organize the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.[125]
1841	• The last lifetime indentured servant in New York is freed.[126] • William Henry Harrison dies in office after 31 days of becoming president, and his VP, John Tyler, takes over.[127] • Slaves being moved from Virginia to Louisiana seize the brig *Creole* and land in the Bahamas, which as a British colony had already abolished slavery. The British give asylum to 111 slaves (giving the 19 ringleaders accused of murder their freedom once the case is decided in court). The U.S.

	government protests and in 1855 the British paid $119,000 to the original owners of the slaves.[128]
1842	• In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, the U.S. Supreme Court declares the Pennsylvania personal liberty law unconstitutional as in conflict with federal fugitive slave law. The Court holds that enforcement of the fugitive slave law is the responsibility of the federal government.[129][130]
1843	• Massachusetts and eight other states pass personal liberty laws under which state officials are forbidden to assist in the capture of fugitive slaves.[131]
1844	• The Methodist Episcopal Church, South breaks away from the Methodist Episcopal Church on the issue of slavery.[132] • Well-known black abolitionist, Charles Lenox Remond, and famous white abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, declare they would rather see the union dissolved than keep the Constitution only through the retention of slavery.[133]
1845	• March 3: Florida is admitted to the Union as a slave state.[134] • The Southern Baptist Convention breaks from the Northern Baptists but does not formally endorse slavery.[132] • Frederick Douglass publishes his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. The book details his life as a slave.[135] • Former U.S. Representative and Governor of South Carolina and future U.S. Senator James Henry Hammond writes *Two Letters on Slavery in the United States, Addressed to Thomas Clarkson, Esq.*, in which he expresses the view that slavery is a "positive good."[105] • Anti-slavery advocates denounce Texas Annexation as evil expansion of slave territory. Whigs defeat an annexation treaty but Congress annexes Texas to the United States as a slave state by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress on a joint resolution without ratification of a treaty by a two-thirds vote in the U.S. Senate.[136] • December 29: Texas is admitted to the Union as a slave state.[137]
1846	• The Walker Tariff reduction leads to a period of free trade until 1860. Republicans (and Pennsylvania Democrats) attack the low level of the tariff rates.[138] • James D.B. DeBow establishes *DeBow's Review*, the leading Southern magazine, which becomes an ardent advocate of secession. DeBow warns against depending on the North economically.[139] • The Mexican–American War begins. The administration of President James K. Polk had deployed the Army to disputed

	Texas territory and Mexican forces attacked it.[140] Whigs denounce the war. Antislavery critics charge the war is a pretext for gaining more slave territory. The U.S. Army quickly captures New Mexico.[141] • Northern representatives in the U.S. House of Representatives pass the Wilmot Proviso which would prevent slavery in territory captured from Mexico. Southern Senators block passage of the proviso into law in the U. S. Senate. The Wilmot Proviso never becomes law but it does substantially increase friction between the North and South. Congress also rejects a proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the west coast and other compromise proposals.[142] • December 28: Iowa is admitted to the Union as a free state.[143]
1847	• The Massachusetts legislature resolves that the "unconstitutional" Mexican–American War was being waged for "the triple object of extending slavery, of strengthening the slave power, and of obtaining control of the free states".[141] • John C. Calhoun asserts that slavery is legal in all of the territories, foreshadowing the U.S. Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision in 1857.[144][145] • Democrat Lewis Cass of Michigan proposes letting the people of a territory vote on whether to permit slavery in the territory. This theory of popular sovereignty would be further endorsed and advocated by Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois in the mid-1850s.[146]
1848	• The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo confirms the Texas border with Mexico and U.S. possession of California and the New Mexico territory. The U.S. Senate rejects attempts to attach the Wilmot Proviso during the ratification vote on the treaty.[147][148] • Radical New York Democrats and anti-slavery Whigs form the Free-Soil party. The party names former President Martin Van Buren as its presidential candidate and demands enactment of the Wilmot Proviso. The party argues that rich planters will squeeze out small white farmers and buy their land. The Whig Party candidate, General Zachary Taylor, a Southern slave owner, wins the United States Presidential Election of 1848. Taylor expresses no view on slavery in the Southwest during campaign. After the election, he reveals a plan to admit California and New Mexico to the Union as free states covering the entire Southwest, and to exclude slavery from any territories. Taylor warns the South that he will meet rebellion with force. His moderate views on the expansion of slavery and the acceptability of the Wilmot Proviso angered his unsuspecting Southern supporters but did not fully satisfy Northerners who wanted to limit or abolish slavery.[149] • May 29: Wisconsin is admitted to the Union as a free state.[150]

	• The Oregon Treaty between the United States and Great Britain ends the Oregon boundary dispute, defines the final western segment of the Canada–United States border and ends the scare of a war between the U.S. and Great Britain. Northern Democrats complain that the Polk administration backed down on the demand that the northern boundary of Oregon be set at 54°40' latitude and sacrificed Northern expansion while supporting Southern expansion through the Mexican–American War and the treaty ending that war.[147] • The Polk administration offers Spain $100 million for Cuba. Spain rejects the offer.[151] • Southerners support Narciso López's attempt to cause an uprising in Cuba in favor of American annexation of the island, which allows slavery. López is defeated and flees to the United States. He is tried for violation of neutrality laws but a New Orleans jury fails to convict him.[152]
1849	• The California Gold Rush quickly populates Northern California with Northern-born and immigrant settlers who outnumber Southern-born settlers. California's constitutional convention unanimously rejects slavery and petitions to join the Union as a free state without first being organized as a territory. President Zachary Taylor asks Congress to admit California as a free state, saying he will suppress secession if it is attempted by any dissenting states.[153] • Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery. She makes about 20 trips to the South and returns along the Underground Railroad with slaves seeking freedom.[154]

Compromise of 1850 to the Election of 1860

1850	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1850 United States census is 3,204,313.[36][82][155] • March 11: U.S. Senator William H. Seward of New York delivers his "Higher Law" address. He states that a compromise on slavery is wrong because under a higher law than the Constitution, the law of God, all men are free and equal.[156] • April 17: U.S. Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi pulls a pistol on anti-slavery Senator Benton on the floor of the Senate.[157] • President Taylor dies on July 9 and is succeeded by Vice President Millard Fillmore. Although he is a New Yorker, Fillmore is inclined to compromise with or even support Southern interests.[143] • Henry Clay proposes the Compromise of 1850 to handle California's petition for admission to the union as a free state and Texas's demand for land in New Mexico. Clay proposes (1) admission of California as a free state, (2) prohibition of Texas expansion into New Mexico, (3) compensation of $10 million to

	Texas to finance its public debt, (4) permission to citizens of New Mexico and Utah to vote on whether slavery would be allowed in their territories via popular sovereignty, (5) a ban of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, though slavery would still be allowed in the district, and (6) a stronger fugitive slave law with more vigorous enforcement. • Under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, a slave owner could reclaim a runaway slave by establishing ownership before a commissioner rather than in a jury trial, and imposed harsh penalties to anyone who aided runaway slaves. Clay's initial omnibus bill that included all these provisions failed. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois then established different coalitions that passed each provision separately.[158] • Responses to the Compromise of 1850 varied. Southerners cease movement toward disunion but are angered by Northern resistance to enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. Anti-slavery forces are upset about possible expansion of slavery in the Southwest and the stronger fugitive slave law that could require all U.S. citizens to assist in returning fugitive slaves.[158] • The Nashville Convention of nine Southern states discusses states' rights and slavery in June; in November, the convention talks about secession but adjourns due to the passage of the laws that constitute the Compromise of 1850.[159] • The Utah Territory is organized and adopts a slave code. Only 29 enslaved black Americans are found in the territory in 1860[160] although several hundred Native Americans were enslaved in the territory as well.[161] • October: The Boston Vigilance Committee frees two fugitive slaves, Ellen and William Craft, from jail and prevents them from being returned to Georgia.[162]
1851	• Southern Unionists in several states defeat secession measures. Mississippi's convention denies the existence of the right to secession.[160] • February: a crowd of black men in Boston frees fugitive slave Shadrach Minkins, also known as Fred Wilkins, who was being held in the federal courthouse, and helps him escape to Canada.[162] • April: The federal government guards fugitive slave Thomas Sims with 300 soldiers to prevent local sympathizers from helping him with an escape attempt.[162] • September: Free blacks confront a slave owner, his son and their official posse who are trying to capture two fugitive slaves near Christiana, Pennsylvania. In the fight that follows, the slave owner is killed while his son is seriously wounded.[163] The subsequent trial for treason of one of the white onlookers also stoked passions.

	• October: Black and white abolitionists free fugitive slave Jerry McHenry from the Syracuse, New York jail and aid his escape to Canada.[162]
1852	• In *Lemmon v. New York*, a New York court frees eight slaves in transit from Virginia with their owner.[164] • In the Act in Relation to Service, the Utah Territory legalizes slavery in March 1852.[165] • After magazine publication, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe is published in book form. The powerful novel depicts slave owner "Simon Legree" as deeply evil, and the slave "Uncle Tom" as the Christ-like hero.[166] It sells between 500,000 and 1,000,000 copies in U.S. and even more in Great Britain. Millions of people see the stage adaptation. By June 1852, Southerners move to suppress the book's publication in the South and numerous "refutations" appear in print.[167][168] • April 30: A convention called by the legislature in South Carolina adopts "An Ordinance to Declare the Right of this State to Secede from the Federal Union".[169] • The Whig party and its candidate for president, Army general Winfield Scott, are decisively defeated in the election and the party quickly fades away.[170] Pro-South ("doughface") Democrat Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire is elected president.[171]
1853	• Democrats control state governments in all the states which will form the Confederate States of America.[172] • The United States adds a 29,670-square-mile (76,800 km^2) region of present-day southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico to the United States through the Gadsden Purchase of territory from Mexico. The purposes of the Gadsden Purchase are the construction of a transcontinental railroad along a deep southern route and the reconciliation of outstanding border issues following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican–American War. Many early settlers in the region are pro-slavery.[164][173] • Filibusterer William Walker and a few dozen men briefly take over Baja California in an effort to expand slave territory. When they are forced to retreat to California and put on trial for violating neutrality laws, they are acquitted by a jury that deliberated for only eight minutes.[174]
1854	• Democratic U.S. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois proposes the Kansas–Nebraska Bill to open good Midwestern farmland to settlement and to encourage building of a transcontinental railroad with a terminus at Chicago. Whether slavery would be permitted in a territory would be determined by a vote of the people at the time a territory is organized.[175][176][177][178]

	• Congress enacts the Kansas–Nebraska Act, providing that popular sovereignty, a vote of the people when a territory is organized, will decide "all questions pertaining to slavery" in the Kansas–Nebraska territories. This abrogates the Missouri Compromise prohibition of slavery north of the 36°30' line of latitude and increases Northerners' fears of a Slave Power encroaching on the North.[178] Both Northerners and Southerners rush to the Kansas and Nebraska territories to sway the vote. Violence known as Bleeding Kansas erupts in the ensuing months, between the pro- and anti-slavery settlers, that leaves hundreds dead.[177] • Opponents of slavery and the Kansas–Nebraska Act meet in Ripon, Wisconsin on March 20, and subsequently meet in other Northern states, to form the Republican Party.[177] The party includes many former members of the Whig and Free Soil parties and some northern Democrats. Republicans win most of the Northern state seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in the fall 1854 elections as 66 of 91 Northern state Democrats are defeated. Abraham Lincoln emerges as a Republican leader in the West (Illinois).[164][176] • Eli Thayer forms the New England Emigrant Aid Society to encourage settlement of Kansas by persons opposed to slavery.[164] • Bitter fighting breaks out in Kansas Territory as pro-slavery men win a majority of seats in the legislature, expel anti-slavery legislators and adopt the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution for the proposed state of Kansas.[177][178] • The Ostend Manifesto, a dispatch sent from France by the U.S. ministers to Britain, France and Spain after a meeting in Ostend, Belgium, describes the rationale for the United States to purchase Cuba (a territory which had slavery) from Spain and implies the U.S. should declare war if Spain refuses to sell the island. Four months after the dispatch is drafted, it is published in full at the request of the U.S. House of Representatives. Northern states view the document as a Southern attempt to extend slavery. European nations consider it as a threat to Spain and to imperial power. The U.S. government never acts upon the recommendations in the Ostend Manifesto.[151] • Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave from Virginia, is arrested by federal agents in Boston. Radical abolitionists attack the courthouse and kill a deputy marshal in an unsuccessful attempt to free Burns.[164][179] • Abolitionist editor Sherman Booth was arrested for violating the Fugitive Slave Act when he helped incite a mob to rescue an escaped slave, Joshua Glover, in Wisconsin from U.S. Marshal Stephen V. R. Ableman.[180]

	• The Knights of the Golden Circle, a fraternal organization that wants to expand slavery to Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean Islands, including Cuba, and northern South America, is founded in Louisville, Kentucky.[151] • Former Mississippi Governor John A. Quitman begins to raise money and volunteers to invade Cuba, but is slow to act and cancels the invasion plan in spring 1855 when President Pierce says he would enforce the neutrality laws.[181] • The Know-Nothing Party or American Party, which includes many nativist former Whigs, sweeps state and local elections in parts of some Northern states. The party demands ethnic purification, opposes Catholics (because of the presumed power of the Pope over them), and opposes corruption in local politics. The party soon fades away.[164][176] • George Fitzhugh's pro-slavery *Sociology for the South* is published.[182]
1855	• Over 95 percent of the pro-slavery votes in the election of a Kansas territorial legislature in 1855 are later determined to be fraudulent.[183] • Anti-slavery Kansans draft the Topeka Constitution and elect a new legislature that actually represents the majority of legal voters. Kansas now has two constitutions, one pro- and one anti-slavery, and two different governments in two different cities, each claiming to be the legitimate government of Kansas.[184] • July 18: Jane Johnson, a slave belonging to US Minister to Nicaragua John Hill Wheeler, is rescued by abolitionists William Still and Passmore Williamson. Wheeler later brings an unsuccessful prosecution against Still for assault and kidnapping. • Congress convenes in December with the anti-slavery Opposition Party as the largest party in the House of Representatives. Bitterly divided along sectional lines over slavery, the House requires eight weeks (133 ballots) to choose a speaker.[185]
1856	• May 21: Missouri Ruffians and local pro-slavery men sack and burn the town of Lawrence, Kansas, an anti-slavery stronghold.[186] • John Brown, an abolitionist born in Connecticut, and his sons kill five pro-slavery men from Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas retaliation for the sacking of Lawrence.[187] • May 22: Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina beats with a cane and incapacitates Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the floor of the U.S. Senate. In a speech in the Senate chamber, *The Crime Against Kansas*, Sumner ridicules slaveowners—especially Brooks's cousin, U.S. Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina—as in love with a

	prostitute (slavery) and raping the virgin Kansas. Brooks is a hero in the South, Sumner a martyr in the North.[188] • In the 1856 U.S. presidential election, Republican John C. Frémont crusades against slavery. The Republican slogan is "Free speech, free press, free soil, free men, Frémont and victory!" Democrats counter that Fremont's election could lead to civil war. The Democratic Party candidate, James Buchanan, who carries five northern and western states and all the southern states except Maryland, wins.[189] • Thomas Prentice Kettell, a New York Democrat, writes *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits*, a lengthy statistical pamphlet about the economies of the Northern and Southern regions of the country. The book receives wide acclaim among secessionists in the South and much derision from anti-slavery politicians in the North, even though some historians think Kettell intended it as an argument that the two regions are economically dependent upon each other.[190] • Filibuster William Walker, in alliance with local rebels, overthrows the government of Nicaragua and proclaims himself president. He decrees the reintroduction of slavery. Many of Walker's men succumb to cholera and he and his remaining men are rescued by the U.S. Navy in May 1857.[191]
1857	• George Fitzhugh publishes *Cannibals All! Or Slaves Without Masters*, which defends chattel slavery and ridicules free labor as wage slavery.[192] • Commercial conventions in the South call for the reopening of the African slave trade, thinking that a ready access to inexpensive slaves would spread slavery to the territories.[193] • Hinton Rowan Helper, a North Carolinian, publishes *The Impending Crisis of the South*, which argues that slavery was the main cause of the South's economic stagnation. This charge angers many Southerners.[194][195] • March 6: The U.S. Supreme Court reaches the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision, a 7 to 2 ruling that Congress lacks the power to exclude slavery from the territories, that slaves are property and have no rights as citizens and that slaves are not made free by living in free territory. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney concludes that the Missouri Compromise is unconstitutional. If a court majority clearly agreed (which it did not in this decision), this conclusion wand would allow all territories to be open to slavery. Scott and his family were purchased and freed by a supporter's children. Northerners vowed to oppose the decision as in violation of a "higher law". Antagonism between the sections of the country increases. The ruling is seen by many historians as the worst Supreme Court decision of the era.[196]

	• Anti-slavery supporters in Kansas ignore a June election to a constitutional convention because less populous pro-slavery counties were given a majority of delegates. The convention adopts the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. Meanwhile, anti-slavery representatives win control of the state legislature.[197][198] • August: The Panic of 1857 arises, mainly in large northern cities, as a result of speculation in, and inflated values of, railroad stocks and real estate. Southerners tout the small effect in their section as support for their economic and labor system.[198][199] • Buchanan endorses the Lecompton constitution and breaks with Douglas, who regards the document as a mockery of popular sovereignty because its referendum provision does not offer a true free state option. A bitter feud begins inside the Democratic party. Douglas's opposition to the Lecompton constitution erodes his support from pro-slavery factions.[200] • The Tariff of 1857, authored primarily by R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, uses the Walker Tariff as a base and lowers rates.[201]
1858	• May 11: Minnesota is admitted to the Union as a free state.[199] • February: A fistfight among thirty Congressmen divided along sectional lines takes place on the floor of Congress during an all-night debate on the Lecompton constitution.[202] • The U.S. House of Representatives rejects the pro-slavery Lecompton constitution for Kansas on April 1.[202] • Congress passes the English Bill, proposed by Representative William Hayden English of Indiana, which sends the Lecompton constitution back to the voters of Kansas.[184][203] • May 19: Pro-slavery Missourians capture 11 free-staters in Kansas, then attempt to execute them in the Marais des Cygnes Massacre. Five are killed and five wounded.[204] • June 16: Lincoln gives his "House Divided" speech, stating "a house divided against itself cannot stand."[205] • August 2: Kansas voters reject the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution.[199][202] • The New School Presbyterians split as the New Schoolers in the South who support slavery split and form the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In 1861, the Old School church splits along North–South lines.[206] • The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858 focus on issues and arguments that will dominate the Presidential election campaign of 1860. Pro-Douglas candidates win a small majority in the Illinois legislature in the general election and choose Douglas as U.S. Senator from Illinois for another term. However, Lincoln emerges as a nationally known moderate spokesman for Republicans and a moderate opponent of slavery.[207]

	• In a debate with Lincoln at Freeport, Illinois, Douglas expresses an opinion which becomes known as the "Freeport Doctrine". Lincoln asks whether the people of a territory could lawfully exclude slavery before the territory became a state. In effect, this question asks Douglas to reconcile popular sovereignty with the *Dred Scott* decision. Douglas says they could do so by refusing to pass the type of police regulations needed to sustain slavery. This answer further alienates pro-slavery advocates from Douglas.[208] • Senator James Henry Hammond of South Carolina proclaims: "No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King; until lately the Bank of England was king; but she tried to put her screws, as usual...on the cotton crop, and was utterly vanquished", which argues that even Europe is dependent on the cotton economy of the Southern states and would have to intervene in any U.S. conflict, even an internal threat, to protect its vital source of raw material, King Cotton.[209] • William Lowndes Yancey and Edmund Ruffin found the League of United Southerners. They advocate reopening the African slave trade and the formation of a Southern confederacy.[210] • U.S. Senator William H. Seward says there is an "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom.[211] • Although solid evidence of their guilt is presented, the crew of the illegal slave ship *The Wanderer* is acquitted of engaging in the African slave trade by a Savannah, Georgia jury. Similarly, a Charleston, South Carolina jury acquits the crew of *The Echo*, another illegal slave ship which is caught with 320 Africans on board.[199]
1859	• Southerners block an increase in the low tariff rates of 1857.[212] • February: U.S. Senator Albert G. Brown of Mississippi says that if a territory requires a slave code in line with Douglas' Freeport Doctrine, the federal government must pass a slave code to protect slavery in the territories. If it does not, Brown says he will urge Mississippi to secede from the Union.[200] • February 14: Oregon is admitted to the Union as a free state, but prohibits the residency of any person of African origin, slave or free.[213] • In *Ableman v. Booth*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law is constitutional and that state courts cannot overrule federal court decisions.[214] • President Buchanan and Southern members of Congress, including Senator John Slidell of Louisiana, make another attempt to buy Cuba from Spain. Douglas supports the proposed annexation of Cuba. Republicans block funding.[215]

	• Southern senators block a homestead act that would have given settlers in the West each 160 acres of land.[215] • The Southern Commercial Convention endorses reopening the African slave trade to reduce the price of slaves and widen slaveholding. Many members think this would lessen feelings that the slave trade was immoral and provide an incentive or tool for Southern nationalism.[216] • September 13: Pro-slavery David S. Terry fatally shoots abolitionist David C. Broderick in a duel over Terry's offensive remarks relating to Broderick's opposition to the Lecompton Constitution. Broderick is seen as a martyr to the cause of abolitionism. • October 4: Kansas voters adopt the anti-slavery Wyandotte Constitution by a 2-to-1 margin.[216] • October 16: Kansas abolitionist John Brown attempts to spark a slave rebellion in Virginia through seizure of weapons from the federal armory at Harpers Ferry.[216][217] Brown holds the arsenal for 36 hours. No slaves join him and no rebellion ensues but 17 persons, including 10 of Brown's men, are killed. Brown and his remaining men are captured by U.S. Marines led by Army Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee.[217] Brown is tried for treason to the state of Virginia, murder, and inciting a slave insurrection. He was found guilty of all charges. • November 2: John Brown is sentenced and delivers his famous "last speech". • The New Mexico Territory adopts a slave code, but no slaves are in the territory according to the 1860 census.[160] • December 2: John Brown is hanged, in Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia).[217][218] Across the North it is treated as a national calamity; church bells are rung, rallies held, speeches and sermons given. Brown is seen as a martyr to the cause of ending slavery. Brown is seen in the South as a fanatical Yankee abolitionist trying to start a bloody race war,[216] as well as stealing their property (the enslaved). The reaction in the North to his execution reinforces the Southern fear that more such raids would soon be coming. Secession, for which support had grown steadily since the Nullification Crisis of 1832–33, is believed by Southern leaders to be their only option.[195][219][220][221] • Members of the Congress that convenes in December insult, level charges at, threaten, and denounce each other. Members come to the sessions armed. The House of Representatives requires eight weeks (44 ballots) to choose a speaker. This delays consideration of vitally important business.[222][223]
1860	• The U.S. slave population according to the 1860 United States census is 3,954,174.[39][40][41] The census also concludes that the

total U.S. population has increased from 23,191,875 to 31,443,321 since the 1850 Census, an increase of 35.4 percent;[40] 26 percent of all Northerners but only 10 percent of Southerners live in towns or cities;[40] and that 80 percent of the Southern workforce but only 40 percent of the Northern workforce is employed in agriculture.[224]

- Southern opposition kills the Pacific Railway Bill of 1860. President James Buchanan vetoes a homestead act.[212]
- February: U.S. Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi presents a resolution stating the Southern position on slavery, including adoption of a Federal slave code for the territories.[195][225]
- February 27: Abraham Lincoln gives his Cooper Union speech against the spread of slavery.[226]
- The Knights of the Golden Circle reach maximum popularity and plan to invade Mexico to expand slave territory.[151]
- April 23 – May 3: The Democratic Party convention begins in Charleston, South Carolina. Southern radicals, or "fire-eaters", oppose front-runner Stephen A. Douglas' bid for the party's presidential nomination. The Democrats begin splitting North and South as many Southern delegates walk out.[225] Douglas cannot secure the two-thirds of the vote needed for the nomination. After 57 ballots, the convention adjourns to meet in Baltimore six weeks later.[195][225][227]
- May 9: Former Whigs from the border states form the Constitutional Union Party and nominate former U.S. Senator John C. Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice President on a one-issue platform of national unity.[195][228]
- May 16: William H. Seward of New York, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania are leading contenders for the Republican presidential nomination, along with the more moderate Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, when the Republican convention convenes in Chicago. Lincoln supporters from Illinois skillfully gain commitments for Lincoln. On May 18, Abraham Lincoln wins the Republican Party nomination for president, with Hannibal Hamlin of Maine as his running mate.[225] The Republicans adopt a concrete, precise, and moderately worded platform which includes the exclusion of slavery from the territories but the affirmation of the right of states to order and control their own "domestic institutions".[195][225][229]
- June 18: The main group of Democrats meeting in Baltimore, bolstered by some new Douglas Democrats from Southern states who are seated to the exclusion of the Southern delegates from the previous session of the convention, nominate Douglas for President.[226][225]

	• June 28: Southern Democrats nominate Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President. Their platform endorses a national slave code.[226][230] • Honduran militia stop another filibuster effort by William Walker. They capture and execute him before a firing squad on September 12, 1860.[231]

Election of 1860 to the Battle of Fort Sumter

1860	• November 6: Abraham Lincoln wins the 1860 presidential election on a platform that includes the prohibition of slavery in new states and territories.[232] Lincoln wins all of the electoral votes in all of the free states except New Jersey, where he wins 4 votes and Stephen A. Douglas wins 3.[195][233][234][235] The official count of electoral votes occurs February 13, 1861.
	• November 7: Charleston, South Carolina authorities arrest a Federal officer who had attempted to move supplies to Fort Moultrie from Charleston Arsenal. Two days later, the Palmetto Flag of South Carolina is raised over the Charleston harbor batteries.[236][237]
	• November 9: A false report that U.S. Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia has resigned reaches Columbia, South Carolina.[238]
	• November 10: The South Carolina legislature calls for an election on December 6 for delegates to a convention for December 17 to consider whether the State should secede from the Union. U.S. Senators James Chesnut Jr. and James Henry Hammond of South Carolina resign from the U.S. Senate.[233][239][240][241]
	• November 14:
	  • Congressman Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, later Vice President of the Confederate States of America, speaks to the Georgia legislature in opposition to secession.[242]
	  • The Governor of Alabama says he will call for an election on December 6 or December 24 for delegates to a convention to meet on January 7 to consider whether the State should secede from the Union.[243]
	  • The Governor of Mississippi calls for an extraordinary session of the legislature on November 26. On November 29, the legislature votes for an election on December 29 for delegates to a convention to meet on January 7 to consider whether the State should secede from the Union.[243]
	• November 15:
	  • Major Robert Anderson of the First United States Artillery, a 55-year-old career army officer from Kentucky, was ordered to take command of Fort

Moultrie and the defenses in Charleston Harbor, including Fort Sumter.[242]
    - United States Navy Lieutenant Tunis Craven informs authorities in Washington, D.C. that he is proceeding to take moves to protect Fort Taylor at Key West, Florida and Fort Jefferson on the Dry Tortugas, Florida. Craven rightly suspects Southern States will try to seize federal property and military supplies.[244][245]
- November 18:
    - The Georgia legislature voted on November 18 for an election on January 2 for delegates to a convention to meet on January 16 to consider whether the State should secede from the Union.[243]
    - The Florida legislature voted to call a convention.[243]
- November 20: Lincoln says that his administration will permit states to control their own internal affairs.[246]
- November 22: The Governor of Louisiana calls a special session of the legislature for December 10.[243]
- November 23: Major Anderson requests reinforcements for his small force at Charleston.[247]
- December 4: President Buchanan condemns Northern interference with slave policies of Southern states but also says states have no right to secede from the Union.[248] The U.S. House of Representatives appoints a Committee of Thirty-Three to consider "the present perilous condition of the country".[249]
- December 8, 1860 – January 8, 1861: Buchanan administration cabinet members from the South resign.[250] Secretary of the Treasury Howell Cobb of Georgia resigns on December 8. On December 23, President Buchanan asks for the resignation of Secretary of War John B. Floyd, a former governor of Virginia, whose actions appear to favor the Southern secessionists. He arranged to shift weapons from Pittsburgh and other locations to the South. Floyd resigns on December 29. The War Department stops the transfer of weapons from Pittsburgh on January 3.[251] United States Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson of Mississippi resigns on January 8, 1861.[252]
- December 10: South Carolina delegates meet with Buchanan and believe he agrees not to change the military situation at Charleston.[253]
- December 11: Major Don Carlos Buell delivers a message to Major Anderson from Secretary of War Floyd. Anderson is authorized to put his command in any of the forts at Charleston to resist their seizure. Later in the month Floyd says Anderson violated the President's pledge to keep the status quo pending

further discussions and the garrison should be removed from Charleston. Floyd soon will join the Confederacy.[254]

- December 12: Secretary of State Lewis Cass of Michigan resigns. He believes President Buchanan should reinforce the Charleston forts and is unhappy about Buchanan's lack of action.[246]
- December 17, 20, 24: The South Carolina Secession Convention begins on December 17.[250][255] On December 20, secession begins when the convention declares "that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved".[233][240][250] The convention published a *Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union* in explanation and support of their position. The document cites "encroachments on the reserved rights of the states" and "an increasing hostility of the non-slaveholding states to the institution of slavery" and "the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery" as among the causes.[195][256][257] On December 24, South Carolina Governor Francis Wilkinson Pickens declares the act of secession in effect.[258][259]
- December 18, 1860 – January 15, 1861: Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky proposes the "Crittenden Compromise". Its main features are a constitutional amendment that would reinstate the Missouri Compromise line between free and slave territory and retention of the fugitive slave law and slavery where it existed, including in the District of Columbia.[250][260] On January 16, 1861, the Crittenden Compromise is effectively defeated in the United States Senate.[261][262][263]
- December 20: Vice President John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, unsuccessful candidate of the Southern Democrats for President and later Confederate general and Confederate Secretary of War, appoints a Committee of Thirteen U.S. Senators of differing views, including Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, William Seward, and Stephen A. Douglas, to consider the state of the nation and to propose solutions to the crisis.[264] On December 31, the Committee reports they are unable to agree on a compromise proposal.[265]
- December 21, 24: The four United States Congressmen from South Carolina withdraw from the U.S. House of Representatives, but on December 24 the House refuses their resignations.[266]
- December 26–27, 30: Under cover of darkness, Major Anderson moves the Federal garrison at Charleston, South Carolina from Fort Moultrie, which is indefensible from the landward side, to the unfinished Fort Sumter, which is located on an island in Charleston harbor. He spikes the guns of Fort

	Moultrie.[268] Secessionists react angrily and feel betrayed because they thought President Buchanan would maintain the status quo. The next day South Carolina troops occupy the abandoned Fort Moultrie and another fortification, Castle Pinckney, which had been occupied only by an ordnance sergeant.[268][271][272] On December 30, South Carolina troops seize the Charleston Arsenal.[268][273] • December 28: Buchanan meets with South Carolina commissioners as "private gentlemen".[274] They demand removal of federal troops from Charleston. Buchanan states he needs more time to consider the situation.[275] On December 31, Buchanan says Congress must define the relations between the Federal government and South Carolina and that he will not withdraw the troops from Charleston.[250][273] • December 30, 1860 – March 28, 1861: Brevet Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, general-in-chief of the U.S. Army, asks permission from President Buchanan to reinforce and resupply Fort Sumter but receives no reply.[273] On March 3, 1861, Scott will tell Secretary of State–designate William Seward that Fort Sumter can not be relieved.[276] On March 5, he will tell President Lincoln that he agrees with Major Anderson's assessment that the situation at Charleston could only be saved for the Union with 20,000 reinforcements.[277][278] On March 6, Scott says the U.S. Army can do no more to relieve Fort Sumter and only the U.S. Navy could aid the fort's garrison.[277] On March 11, he again advises President Lincoln that it would take many months for the army to be able to reinforce Fort Sumter.[192] On March 28, Scott recommends to the President that Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Florida be evacuated.[279] • December 31: The South Carolina convention votes for election of commissioners to other Southern states which called conventions to meet to form a provisional government.[280]

1861	• January 2:
	  • South Carolina troops take control of dormant Fort Jackson in Charleston harbor.[250][268][281]
	  • Colonel Charles Stone begins to organize the District of Columbia militia.[250]
	• January 3:
	  • South Carolina commissioners propose a meeting to form a provisional government for February 4 in Montgomery, Alabama.[282]
	  • Delaware legislators reject secession proposals.[281][283]
	• January 3, 24, 26: Georgia state troops take Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah River on January 3,[251][269][283] the United States Arsenal at Augusta, Georgia on January

24,[284] and Oglethorpe Barracks and Fort Jackson at Savannah, Georgia on January 26.[284][285]

- January 4–5, 30: Alabama seizes the Mount Vernon, Alabama United States Arsenal on January 4, Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines at the entrance to Mobile Bay on January 5,[286] and the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Lewis Cass* at Mobile, Alabama on January 30.[269][287]
- January 5:
  - The unarmed merchant vessel *Star of the West*, which is under contract to the War Department, heads for Fort Sumter from New York with 250 reinforcements and supplies.[286][288]
  - U.S. Senators from seven deep South states meet and advise their states to secede.[286]
- January 6–12: Florida troops seize Apalachicola, Florida Arsenal on January 6[269][286] and Fort Marion at Saint Augustine on January 7.[268][286] On January 8, Federal troops at Fort Barrancas or Barrancas Barracks at Pensacola, Florida fire on about 20 men who approach the fort at night. The men flee. After the Federal troops move from Fort Barrancas to Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island, Florida in Pensacola Harbor on January 10,[286][289] Florida forces seize Barrancas Barracks, Fort McRee, and the Pensacola Navy Yard on January 12.[240][263][290]
- January 8: Irregularly arranged voting for a Texas convention begins after Governor Sam Houston refused to call a session of the legislature.[291]
- January 9:
  - Mississippi secedes from the Union.[240][257][283][286][292]
  - South Carolina state troops at Charleston fire upon the merchant ship *Star of the West* and prevent it from landing reinforcements and relief supplies for Fort Sumter. After being struck twice, the ship heads back to New York.[268][269][270][283][286][293]
- January 10: Florida secedes from the Union.[240][257][283][286][289][294]
- January–February: Louisiana state troops seize the United States Arsenal and Barracks at Baton Rouge and Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip near the mouth of the Mississippi River on January 10,[295] the United States Marine Hospital south of New Orleans on January 11,[263] Fort Pike, near New Orleans, on January 14,[263] Fort Macomb, near New Orleans, on January 28,[284] the U. S. Revenue Cutter *Robert McClelland* at New Orleans on January 29, the United States Branch Mint and Customs House at New Orleans and the U.S. Revenue Schooner *Washington* on January 31,[284] and the U.S. Paymaster's office at New Orleans on February 19.[296][297]

- January 11: Alabama secedes.[298]
- January 12: Mississippi representatives to the U.S. Congress resign.[263][299]
- January 14, 18: Federal troops occupy Fort Taylor at Key West, Florida. This became an important base of supply, including coal, for blockaders and other vessels on January 14. A U.S. force also garrisons Fort Jefferson on the Dry Tortugas, Florida on January 18.[263][261]
- January 19: Georgia secedes from the Union.[300]
- January 20: Mississippi troops seize Fort Massachusetts and other installations on Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico.[263][301]
- January 21: U.S. Senators Clement C. Clay Jr. and Benjamin Fitzpatrick from Alabama, David L. Yulee and Stephen R. Mallory from Florida, and Jefferson Davis from Mississippi withdraw from the U.S. Senate.[263][283][301]
- January 26: Louisiana secedes from the Union.[302]
- January 29: Kansas is admitted to the Union. The 34th state is a free state under the Wyandotte Constitution.[240][284][289][303]
- February 1: The Texas convention approves secession but provides for a popular vote on February 23.[240][283][284][289][304] On February 11, the Texas convention approves formation of a Southern Confederacy. Seven Texas delegates to the Montgomery convention are elected.[305] On February 23, Texans vote for secession by a 3 to 1 margin.[297]
- February 4:
    - Virginians vote for convention delegates, only 32 of 152 are immediate secessionists; the voters require any action by the convention to be submitted to the voters.[306]
    - U.S. Senators Judah Benjamin and John Slidell of Louisiana leave the U.S. Senate.[284][307]
- February 4, 8–10: Secessionists meet in convention in Montgomery, Alabama to provide a government for the seceded States beginning on February 4. They act as the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America.[283][284][289][308] On February 8, the convention drafts a Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States.[283][289][309][310] The Confederate States of America (the "Confederacy") is not recognized by the United States government or any foreign government. Border states initially refuse to join Confederacy. On February 9, the convention chooses Jefferson Davis as Provisional President and Alexander Stephens as Provisional Vice President of the Confederate States.[309][311][312] On February 10, Davis is surprised to learn of his election as Provisional President of the Confederacy but he accepts the position.[309][313][314]

- February 4–27: Peace conference or peace convention called by Virginia meets in Washington. None of the seceded states are represented. Five Northern states also do not attend. On February 27, after much bickering, the convention sends recommendations for six constitutional amendments along the lines of the Crittenden Compromise to Congress and adjourns. The U.S. Senate rejects the Peace Convention proposals on March 2.[315]
- February 5: President Buchanan tells South Carolina commissioners that Fort Sumter will not be surrendered.[307][316][317]
- February 7: The Choctaw Nation aligns with the Southern States.[307]
- February 8, 12: Arkansas troops seize the United States Arsenal at Little Rock and force the Federal garrison to withdraw on February 8. They seize the United States ordnance stores at Napoleon, Arkansas on February 12.[309][318]
- February 9
    - Tennessee voters vote against calling a secession convention.[309][313]
    - USS *Brooklyn* arrives with reinforcements for Fort Pickens but does not land because of a local agreement of both sides not to alter the military situation.[309][313]
- February 12: The Provisional Confederate Congress chosen by the Montgomery convention approves a Peace Commission to the United States. The group assumes authority to deal with the issue of disputed forts.[305]
- February 13: A Virginia convention meets at Richmond to consider whether Virginia should approve secession.[319]
- February 16: Texas forces seize the United States Arsenal and Barracks at San Antonio.[320]
- February 18:
    - U.S. Brigadier General and Brevet Major General David E. Twiggs surrenders U. S. military posts in the Department of Texas to the State of Texas and effectively surrenders the one-fourth of the United States Army which is stationed in Texas. Twiggs tells authorities in Washington he acted under threat of force but they consider his actions to be treason.[321] On March 1, U. S. Secretary of War Joseph Holt orders Brigadier General Twiggs dismissed from the U. S. Army "for his treachery to the flag of his country" in his surrender of military posts and Federal property in Texas to state

authorities.[322] Twiggs soon joins the Confederate States Army.
    - Arkansas voters elect a majority of Unionists to their convention.[323]
    - Missouri voters elect all conditional or unconditional Unionists to their convention.[323]
    - Jefferson Davis is inaugurated as President of the Confederacy.[283][297][320][324]
- February 19 – April 13: Colonel Carlos A. Waite at Camp Verde, Texas took over nominal command of U.S. posts in the state but the camps and forts would soon fall to state forces following General Twiggs's surrender on the previous day. Texas forces seize United States property at Brazos Santiago on February 19 and the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Henry Dodge* at Galveston, Texas on March 2. Federal garrisons abandon Camp Cooper, Texas on February 21, Camp Colorado, Texas on February 26, Ringgold Barracks and Camp Verde, Texas on March 7, Fort McIntosh, Texas on March 12, Camp Wood, Texas on March 15, Camp Hudson, Texas on March 17, Fort Clark, Fort Inge, and Fort Lancaster, Texas on March 19, Fort Brown and Fort Duncan, Texas on March 20, Fort Chadbourne, Texas on March 23, Fort Bliss, Texas on March 31,[325] Fort Quitman, Texas on April 5, and Fort Davis, Texas on April 13.[326]
- February 27: President Davis appoints three commissioners to attempt negotiations between the Confederacy and the Federal government.[278][327]
- February, March–October: A Missouri State Convention meets in Jefferson City to consider secession. Unionists led by Francis Preston Blair Jr. prevent secession.[257][278][327][328] The Missouri legislature condemns secession on March 7.[257][329] On March 9, a Missouri state convention is held in St. Louis and Unionists again thwart secessionists.[257][329] On March 22, a Missouri convention again rejects secession contrary to the position of pro-Confederate Governor Claiborne Jackson.[279][330] This will not end the dispute over secession in Missouri. Eventually, on October 31, 1861, under the protection of Confederate troops, secessionist members of the Missouri legislature meeting at Neosho, Missouri adopt a resolution of secession. The Confederate Congress seats Missouri representatives but Missouri remains in the Union and at least twice as many Missouri men fight for the Union as fight for the Confederacy.[257][331][332]
- February 28: North Carolina voters reject a call for a state convention to consider secession by 651 votes out of over 93,000.[278][322][333]
- February 28: Colorado Territory is organized.[240][327]

- March 1:
  - The Confederate States take over the military at Charleston, South Carolina. Confederate President Davis appoints P. G. T. Beauregard as brigadier general and assigns him to command Confederate forces in the area.[322] Beauregard assumes command of Confederate troops at Charleston on March 3.[334]
  - Major Anderson warns Washington authorities that little time remains to make a decision whether to evacuate or reinforce Fort Sumter. Local authorities had been allowing the fort to receive some provisions but Confederates were training and constructing works around Charleston harbor.[322]
- March 2:
  - The Provisional Confederate Congress admits Texas to the Confederacy.[334]
  - Congress approved by joint resolution a proposed constitutional amendment that would prohibit a further constitutional amendment to permit Congress to abolish or interfere with a domestic institution of a state, including slavery. It is too late to be of practical importance.[334]
  - Nevada Territory and Dakota Territory are organized.[240]
- March 4: Abraham Lincoln is inaugurated as 16th President of the United States. He states his intentions not to interfere with slavery where it exists and to preserve the Union.[335]
- March 6: Jefferson Davis calls for 100,000 volunteers to military service to serve for twelve months.[336]
- March 8, 13: The Confederate commissioners present their terms to avoid war and try to reach Secretary of State Seward through pro-Confederate U.S. Supreme Court Justice John A. Campbell. President Lincoln will not meet with the Confederate commissioners because it would appear to recognize the seceded states were out of the union.[337]
- March 11, 13, 16, 21, 23, 29, April 3, 22: The Confederate Congress adopts a permanent Constitution of the Confederate States on March 11.[289][311][330] The then seceded states ratify this constitution on March 13 (Alabama), March 16 (Georgia), March 21 (Louisiana), March 23 (Texas), March 29 (Mississippi), April 3 (South Carolina), and April 22 (Florida).[338]
- March 15: Lincoln asks his Cabinet members for their written advice on how to handle Fort Sumter situation. For various reasons, over the next two weeks, members advise the President not to attempt to relieve Fort Sumter. Seward gives lengthy advice on how to run the government and handle the

crisis.[339][340] On April 1, President Lincoln tactfully apprises Secretary Seward that he, not Seward, is president and rejects Seward's proposal that Lincoln grant him broad powers in foreign affairs and dealing with the Confederacy.[325] Seward becomes a loyal supporter of Lincoln.[341][342]

- March 16:
  - President Davis names three commissioners to Britain; they will not be officially received by the British government.[192][339]
  - Pro-Confederates declare Arizona part of the CSA.[192][343]
- March 18:
  - Governor Sam Houston of Texas refuses to take oath of allegiance to Confederacy and is deposed by the Texas secession convention.[343] Houston said: "You may, after the sacrifice of countless millions of treasures and hundreds of thousands of precious lives, as a bare possibility, win Southern independence...but I doubt it."[344]
  - Confederate Brigadier General Braxton Bragg forbids the garrison at Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Florida to receive more supplies.[343][345]
- March 18: An Arkansas convention rejects secession by four votes but provides for a popular vote on the issue in August.[192][343]
- March 20: Confederate forces at Mobile, Alabama seize the USS *Isabella*, which is carrying supplies for Fort Pickens.[279]
- March 21:
  - President Lincoln's representative, former naval commander Gustavus Vasa Fox, visits Charleston and Fort Sumter and talks both to Major Anderson and the Confederates. Fox thinks that ships still can relieve the fort.[279]
  - Speaking at Savannah, Georgia, Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens acknowledges that black slavery is the "cornerstone" of the Confederate government.[346]
- March 25: Federal Colonel Ward Hill Lamon and Stephen A. Hurlbut confer with Confederate Brigadier General Beauregard and South Carolina Governor Pickens.[279][345]
- March 29: President Lincoln orders relief expeditions for Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens to be prepared to depart for the forts by April 6.[192][347] On March 31, he orders the relief expedition to Fort Pickens to proceed.[192][279][347]
- April 3:

- President Lincoln sends Allan B. Magruder to Richmond to attempt to arrange talks with Virginia unionists.[348]
- A Confederate battery on Morris Island in Charleston harbor shoots at the American vessel *Rhoda H. Shannon*.[325][348]

- April 4:
  - A Virginia State Convention rejects a motion to pass an ordinance of session.[348]
  - President Lincoln advises Gustavus V. Fox that Fort Sumter will be relieved. He drafts a letter for Secretary of War Cameron to send to Major Anderson.[348]
- April 5: Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles orders four ships to supply Fort Sumter, but one, USS *Powhatan*, had already left for Fort Pickens under President Lincoln's previous order.[325][349]
- April 6:
  - President Lincoln informs South Carolina that an attempt will be made to resupply Fort Sumter but only with provisions.[325][349]
  - Since an earlier order was not carried out, orders were sent from Washington to reinforce Fort Pickens with Regular Army troops.[349]
- April 7:
  - Confederate States Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker tells Brigadier General Braxton Bragg to resist Union reinforcement of Fort Pickens.[349]
  - Confederate Brigadier General Beauregard tells Major Anderson that no further commerce or communication between Fort Sumter and the City of Charleston will be permitted.[349][350]
- April 8:
  - United States State Department clerk Robert S. Chew and United States War Department Captain Talbot give President Lincoln's message to Governor Pickens.[325][351]
  - The U. S. Revenue Cutter *Harriet Lane* leaves New York with supplies for Fort Sumter.[350][351]
  - Confederate Secretary of State Robert Toombs opposes using force against Fort Sumter but President Jefferson Davis says that the Confederate States had created a nation and he had a duty as its executive to use force if necessary.[351][352]
- April 9: The steamer *Baltic* with Gustavus V. Fox as Lincoln's agent aboard sails from New York for relief of the Charleston garrison.[350][351]
- April 10: USS *Pawnee* leaves Norfolk for Fort Sumter.[351]

	• April 11: Confederates demand surrender of Fort Sumter.[350] After discussing the matter with his officers, Anderson refuses but mentions the garrison will be starved out in a few days without relief.[350][353][354] • April 12–13: Federal troops land on Santa Rosa Island, Florida and reinforce Fort Pickens.[240][350] Because of the fort's location, Confederates are unable to prevent the landings.[355] On April 13, U.S. Navy Lieutenant John L. Worden, who had carried the orders to land the reinforcements at Fort Pickens to the U. S. Navy at Pensacola, is arrested by Confederate authorities near Montgomery, Alabama.[356] • April 12–14: Major Anderson tells Confederate representatives that he must evacuate the fort if not reinforced and resupplied by April 15. The Confederates know relief is coming and has almost arrived so they open fire on the fort at 4:30 a.m. on April 12.[347][350][357][358] Confederates bombard Fort Sumter all day. Federal forces return fire starting at 7:30 a.m. but the garrison is too small to man all guns, which are not all in working order in any event.[330][357] After a 34-hour bombardment, on April 13, Major Anderson surrenders Fort Sumter to the Confederates since his supplies and ammunition are nearly exhausted and the fort is disintegrating under the Confederate cannon fire.[359][360] Relief ships arrive but can not complete their mission due to the bombardment.[360] Four thousand shells had been fired at the fort but only a few minor injuries were sustained by the garrison.[330][359] On April 14, Fort Sumter is formally surrendered to the Confederates.[359] One Federal soldier, Private Daniel Hough, is killed; another, Private Edward Galloway, is mortally wounded and four are hurt by an exploding cannon or exploding ammunition or gunpowder from a spark. The cannon was being fired during a salute to the U.S. flag at the surrender ceremony.[360] The garrison is evacuated by the U.S. Navy vessels. • April 15: President Lincoln calls on the states to provide seventy-five thousand militiamen to recapture Federal property and to suppress the rebellion.

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The historiography of U.S. slavery spans foundational primary accounts and award-winning modern scholarship. Essential readings highlight personal narratives, economic analyses, institutional complicity, and legal frameworks foundational to the American historical experience. [Explore the foundational literature on U.S. slavery across these key categories:

Primary Accounts & Slave Narratives

- ***Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*** by Frederick Douglass (1845): A crucial, searing autobiography detailing the realities of enslavement and the quest for literacy. [1, 2, 3, 4]
- ***Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*** by Harriet Jacobs (1861): A harrowing account of the unique sexual and familial brutalities faced by enslaved women in the South. [1, 2]
- ***American Slavery as It Is*** by Theodore Dwight Weld (1839): An abolitionist compilation of firsthand testimonies and newspaper clippings that deeply influenced Harriet Beecher Stowe. [1, 2, 3]

Foundational Histories

- ***Many Thousand Gone*** by Ira Berlin (1998): A definitive account of the first two centuries of slavery in North America, detailing the transition from a "society with slaves" to a "slave society". [1]
- ***The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*** by David Brion Davis (1966): An intellectual history exploring the philosophical and ideological shifts that ultimately led to abolition. [1, 2, 3]
- ***Roll, Jordan, Roll*** by Eugene D. Genovese (1974): A groundbreaking, complex look at the paternalistic power dynamics and daily lives of both enslaved people and masters.

Economy, Law & Gender

- ***Soul by Soul*** by Walter Johnson (1999): An in-depth, harrowing look at the mechanics of the antebellum slave market in New Orleans. [1, 2]
- ***In the Matter of Color*** by A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. (1978): Explores the colonial American legal process and how it built a legal foundation for racial discrimination. [1]
- ***They Were Her Property*** by Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers (2019): Examines the active roles white women played as enslavers and the economic power they held in the slave system. [1]

Modern Reckonings

- ***How the Word Is Passed*** by Clint Smith (2021): A National Book Critics Circle Award-winning narrative exploring how different historical sites across the U.S. and the world remember—and misremember—slavery.
- ***Ebony and Ivy*** by Craig Steven Wilder (2013): Explores how early American colleges and universities fundamentally relied upon and financially profited from the institution of slavery. [1]

For a more expansive reading list regarding specific eras, the domestic slave trade, or legal codes, you can consult the Wikipedia Bibliography of Slavery or the Slavery, Law, and Power Bibliography. [1, 2]

If you would like to narrow this down, please tell me:

- Are you looking for works focused on **a specific region** (e.g., the Northeast, the Deep South)?
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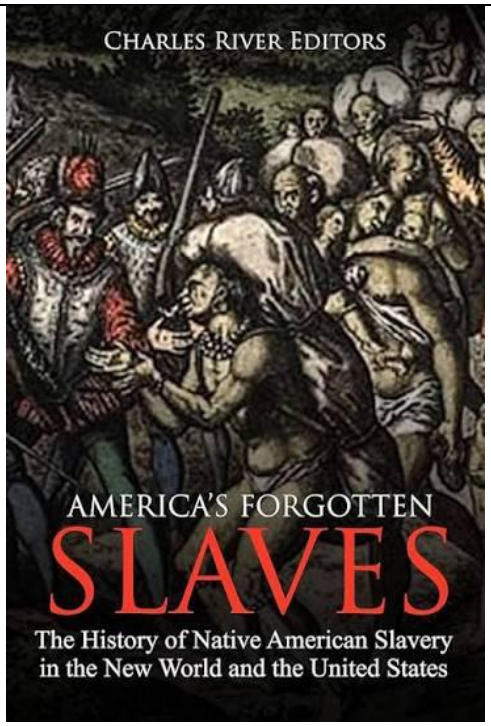
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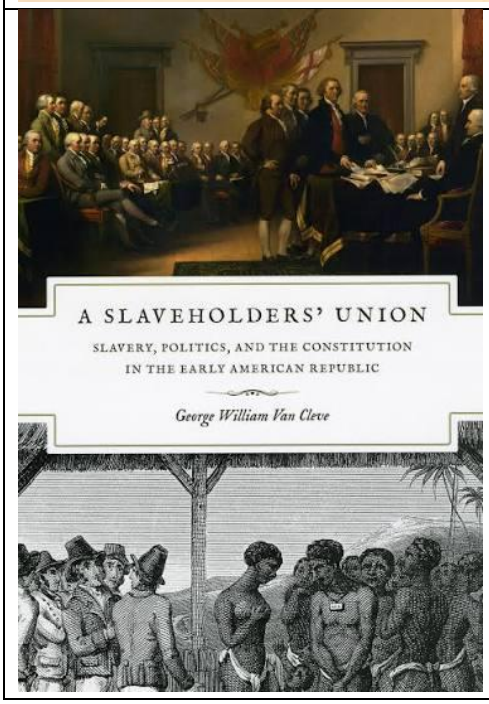
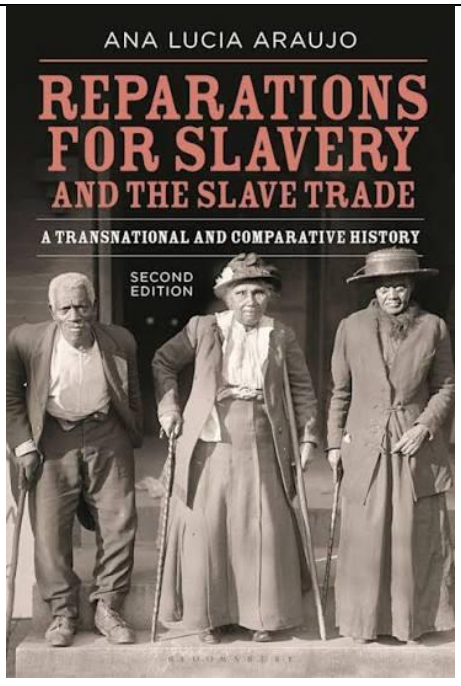




African American Founding Fathers of the United States

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_American_founding_fathers_of_the_United_States

The **African American founding fathers of the United States** are the African Americans who worked to include the equality of all races as a fundamental principle of the United States. Beginning in the abolition movement of the 19th century, they worked for the abolition of slavery, and also for the abolition of second class status for free blacks. Their goals were temporarily realized in the late 1860s, with the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution. However, after Reconstruction ended in 1877, the gains were partly lost and an era of Jim Crow gave blacks reduced social, economic and political status. The recovery was achieved in the Civil Rights Movement, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, under the leadership of blacks, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and James Bevel, as well as whites that included Supreme Court justices and Presidents. In the 21st century scholars have studied the African American founding fathers in depth.[1][2][3]

Reconstruction

Politics of Reconstruction

As the Civil War was ending, the major issues facing President Abraham Lincoln were the status of the ex-slaves (called "Freedmen"), the loyalty and civil rights of ex-rebels, the status of the 11 ex-Confederate states, the powers of the federal government needed to prevent a future civil war, and the question of whether Congress or the President would make the major decisions.[4]

The severe threats of starvation and displacement of the unemployed, unhoused freedmen were met by the first major federal relief agency, the Freedmen's Bureau, operated by the Army.[5]

Three "Reconstruction Amendments" were passed to expand civil rights for black Americans: the Thirteenth Amendment outlawed slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equal rights for all and citizenship for blacks; the Fifteenth Amendment prevented race from being used to disfranchise men.

Of more immediate usefulness than the constitutional amendments, were laws passed by Congress to allow the federal government, through the new Justice Department and through the federal courts to enforce the new civil rights Even if the state governments ignored the problem. These included the Enforcement Acts of 1870–71 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.[6][7]

Ex-Confederates remained in control of most Southern states for more than two years, but that changed when the Radical Republicans gained control of Congress in the 1866 elections. President Andrew Johnson, who sought easy terms for reunions with ex-rebels, was virtually powerless; he escaped by one vote removal through impeachment. Congress enfranchised black men and temporarily suspended many ex-Confederate leaders of the right to hold office. New Republican governments came to power based on a coalition of Freedmen together with Carpetbaggers (new arrivals from the North), and Scalawags (native white Southerners). They were backed by the US Army. Opponents said they were corrupt and violated the rights of whites. The Republicans were in control of Southern state governments but they were deeply factionalized. The white Republicans split between the more radical "carpetbaggers" (new arrivals from the North), and the more moderate "scalawags" (native whites who had opposed the Confederacy). Meanwhile, the black Republicans were split between the more radical ex-slaves, and the more moderate ex-free blacks. State by state the multiple Republican factions battled verbally and sometimes physically, in the face of the better organized white coalition of "conservatives" (ex-Whigs) and Democrats.[8]

In the 1870s state by state Republicans lost power to the conservative-Democratic coalition, which gained control by violence of the entire South by 1877. In response to Radical Reconstruction, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) emerged in 1867 as a white-supremacist organization opposed to black civil rights and Republican rule. President Ulysses Grant's vigorous enforcement of the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1870 shut down the

Klan, and it disbanded. But from 1868 onward in much of the South violence suppressed black voting and threatened black leaders. Rifle clubs had thousands of members. Although the KKK was suppressed, by 1874, paramilitary groups, such as the White League and Red Shirts disrupt the Republicans. Rable described them as the "military arm of the Democratic Party."[9]

Reconstruction ended after the disputed 1876 election between Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes and Democratic candidate Samuel J. Tilden. With a compromise Hayes won the White House, the federal government withdrew its troops from the South, abandoning the freedmen to white conservative Democrats, who regained power in state governments.[10]

Reconstruction as Second Founding of the United States

According to political scientists Jeffrey K. Tulis and Nicole Mellow:[11]

The Founding, Reconstruction (often called "the second founding"), and the New Deal are typically heralded as the most significant turning points in the country's history, with many observers seeing each of these as political triumphs through which the United States has come to more closely realize its liberal ideals of liberty and equality.

Scholars such as Eric Foner have recently expanded the theme into full-length books.[12][13][14] Black abolitionists played a key role by stressing that freed blacks needed equal rights after slavery was abolished.[15] Constitutional provision for racial equality for free blacks was enacted by a Congress led by Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and Lyman Trumbull.[16] The "second founding" comprised the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. All citizens now had federal rights that could be enforced in federal court.

In a deep reaction called the Nadir of American race relations, after 1876 freedmen lost many of these rights and had second class citizenship in the era of lynching and Jim Crow laws.[17] Finally in the 1950s the U.S. Supreme Court started to restore those rights. Under the public leadership of Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, and the strategies of SCLC's Director of Direct Action, James Bevel, the nonviolent Civil Rights movement made the nation

aware of the crisis, and under President Lyndon Johnson major civil rights legislation was passed in 1964, 1965, and 1968.[18]

Organizations

Many black organizations promoted the goal of equality after 1865.[19]

The Liberator

The Liberator (1831–1865) was the hard-hitting highly influential abolitionist newspaper run by William Lloyd Garrison, a white man based in Boston. Of the 4,000 weekly subscribers, about 3,000 were blacks. Garrison denounced the United States Constitution as hopelessly pro slavery, and discouraged political activism as a result. Frederick Douglass at first followed Garrison, but broke with him in 1851, and promoted political action among free blacks in the North.[20]

American Anti-Slavery Society

The interracial American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) was formed in 1833, and grew rapidly to at least 100,000 members by 1840.

NERL

The all-black National Equal Rights League was founded in upstate New York in 1864 and had chapters across the North.[21][22][23]

Union League

The Union League was originally a network of elite local clubs in the North, founded in 1862 to support the Union war effort. After 1867 it included biracial local organizations across the South to promote racial equality and support the Republican Party. During Reconstruction the great majority of Southern blacks joined a local unit.[24]

LDF, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

A totally separate organization from the NAACP, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) was set up by Thurgood Marshall in 1940; it became fully independent of the NAACP in 1957. While NAACP is a membership organization with

chapters across the country, LDF is a law firm in New York City that focuses on civil rights lawsuits. It has handled many major cases, with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 the most famous. In *Brown* the Supreme Court ruled segregated schools violated the 14th Amendment.[25][26] Jack Greenberg (1924–2016) succeeded Thurgood Marshall as the Director-Counsel of the LDF from 1961 to 1984.[27]

Activists

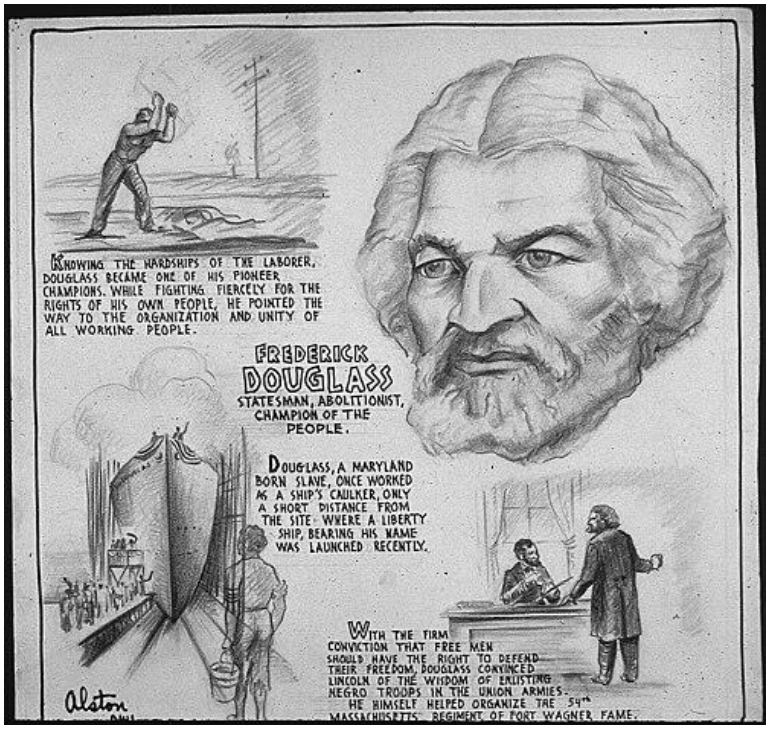
Historians in recent years have compiled directories of black leaders in the 19th century.[28][29]

Richard Allen

Bishop Richard Allen (1760–1831) was the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest of the nation's all-black organizations. Elected the first bishop of the AME Church in 1816, Allen focused on organizing a denomination in which free Black people could worship without racial oppression and enslaved people could find a measure of dignity. He worked to upgrade the social status of the Black community, organizing Sabbath schools to teach literacy and promoting national organizations to develop political strategies.[30]

James Forten

James Forten (1766–1842) was an African-American abolitionist and wealthy businessman in Philadelphia. He used his wealth and social standing to work for civil rights for African Americans in both the city and nationwide. Beginning in 1817, he opposed the colonization movements, particularly that of the American Colonization Society. He affirmed African Americans' claim to a stake in the United States of America. He persuaded William Lloyd Garrison to adopt an anti-colonization position and helped fund his newspaper *The Liberator* (1831–1865), frequently publishing letters on public issues. He became vice-president of the biracial American Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1833, and worked for national abolition of slavery. His large family was also devoted to these causes, and two daughters married the Purvis brothers, who used their wealth as leaders for abolition.[31]


KNOWING THE HARDSHIPS OF THE LABORER, DOUGLASS BECAME ONE OF HIS PIONEER CHAMPIONS. WHILE FIGHTING FIERCELY FOR THE RIGHTS OF HIS OWN PEOPLE, HE POINTED THE WAY TO THE ORGANIZATION AND UNITY OF ALL WORKING PEOPLE.
FREDERICK DOUGLASS
STATESMAN, ABOLITIONIST, CHAMPION OF THE PEOPLE.
DOUGLASS, A MARYLAND BORN SLAVE, ONCE WORKED AS A SHIP'S CAULKER, ONLY A SHORT DISTANCE FROM THE SITE WHERE A LIBERTY SHIP, BEARING HIS NAME WAS LAUNCHED RECENTLY.
WITH THE FIRM CONVICTION THAT FREE MEN SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOM, DOUGLASS CONVINCED LINCOLN OF THE WISDOM OF ENLISTING NEGRO TROOPS IN THE UNION ARMIES. HE HIMSELF HELPED ORGANIZE THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT OF FORT WAGNER FAME.
Alston

An American World War II poster from the Office of War Information, Domestic Operations Branch, News Bureau, 1943

Frederick Douglass

According to biographer David Blight, Douglass, (1817–1895), "played a pivotal role in America's Second Founding out of the apocalypse of the Civil War, and he very much wished to see himself as a founder and a defender of the Second American Republic."[32] By 1851 Douglass broke bitterly with Garrison and now worked for abolition and equality through the U.S. Constitution and political system.[33]

Henry McNeal Turner

In 1863 during the American Civil War, Turner (1834–1915) was appointed by the US Army as the first African-American chaplain in the United States Colored Troops. After the war, he was appointed to the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia. He settled in Macon and was elected to the state legislature in 1868 during the Reconstruction era. An A.M.E. missionary, he also planted many AME churches in Georgia after the war. In 1880 he was elected as the first Southern bishop of the AME Church, after a fierce battle within the denomination because of its Northern roots.

Angered by the Democrats' regaining power and instituting Jim Crow laws in the late nineteenth century South, Turner began to support black nationalism and emigration of blacks to the African continent.

Ida B. Wells, crusader against lynching

Ida B. Wells

Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) was an investigative journalist, educator, and leader in the civil rights movement. She was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Wells dedicated her lifetime to combating prejudice and violence, the fight for African-American equality, especially that of women, and became the most famous Black woman in the United States of her time. In the 1890s, Wells documented lynching in the United States in articles and through her pamphlets called *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases*, and *The Red Record*, investigating frequent claims of whites that lynchings were reserved for Black criminals only. Wells exposed lynching as a barbaric practice of whites in the South used to intimidate and oppress African Americans who created economic and political competition—and a subsequent threat of loss of power—for whites. Well's pamphlet set out to tell the truth behind the rising violence in the South against African Americans. At this time, the white press continued to paint the African Americans involved in the incident as villains and whites as innocent victims.[34]

W.E.B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) was an academic sociologist and activist. He rose to national prominence as a leader of the Niagara Movement, a group of African-American activists who wanted equal rights for blacks. Du Bois and his supporters opposed the Atlanta Compromise, an agreement crafted by Booker T. Washington which provided that Southern blacks would work and submit to white political rule, while Southern whites guaranteed that blacks would receive basic educational and economic opportunities. Instead, Du Bois insisted on full civil rights and increased political representation, which he believed would be brought about by the African-American intellectual elite. He referred to this group as the Talented Tenth, a concept under the umbrella of racial uplift, and believed that African Americans needed the chances for advanced education to develop its leadership. He helped organize the NAACP as a counterweight to Washington's powerful grass roots organizations. Racism was the main target of Du Bois's polemics, and he strongly protested against lynching, Jim Crow laws, and discrimination in education and employment. His cause included people of color everywhere, particularly Africans and Asians in colonies. He was a proponent of Pan-Africanism and helped organize several Pan-African Congresses to fight for the independence of African colonies from European powers.[35]

Evaluating the original Constitution

Thurgood Marshall was the first African American justice of the Supreme Court. At the 200th anniversary of the Constitution in 1987, he argued:[36]

I do not believe that the meaning of the Constitution was forever "fixed" at the Philadelphia Convention. Nor do I find the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice exhibited by the framers particularly profound. To the contrary, the government they devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformations to attain the system of constitutional government, and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights, we hold as fundamental today. When contemporary Americans cite "The Constitution," they invoke a concept that is vastly different from what the framers began to construct two centuries ago. ...

While the Union survived the civil war, the Constitution did not. In its place arose a new, more promising basis for justice and equality, the 14th Amendment, ensuring protection of the life, liberty, and property of all persons against deprivations without due process, and guaranteeing equal protection of the laws.

Additional images

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Afro-American Historical Family Record (1899)

-

EPILOGUE

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,
I'll sit at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.

Besides,
They'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed,—

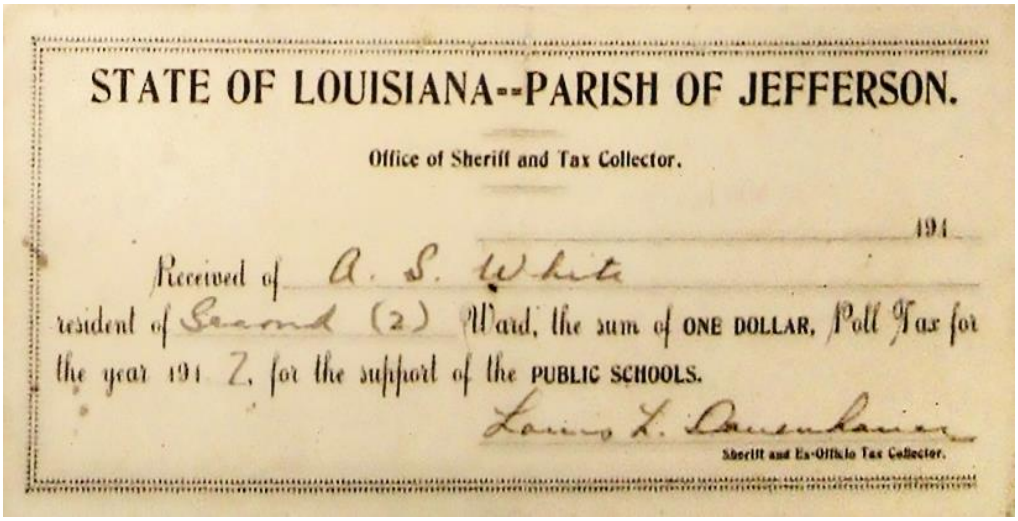
I, too, am America.

[109]

I 85 140AA2 2013 I BN 6430

"I, Too": The last page[37] of Langston Hughes' 1926 poetry collection *Weary Blues*; lines from this poem—noted for its intertextuality with Whitman's "Song

of Myself"—are engraved on the wall of the National Museum of African American History and Culture[38]

- 
STATE OF LOUISIANA--PARISH OF JEFFERSON.

Office of Sheriff and Tax Collector.

191

Received of A. S. White

resident of Second (2) Ward, the sum of ONE DOLLAR, Poll Tax for the year 191 7, for the support of the PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Louis L. Dauenhauer

Sheriff and Ex-Officio Tax Collector.

A poll tax is an optional local tax. A person had to pay it to be allowed to vote. The poll tax was designed to discourage certain people from voting, such as married women without separate bank accounts.[39] As late as 1940, eight Southern states made payment of poll taxes a requirement for voting.[40] This form of disenfranchisement was legal, in part because for decades after Reconstruction, the U.S. Supreme Court "closed its eyes to the use of the white primary, literacy tests, the poll tax, and other devices to deny black citizens the vote."[41] Poll taxes were prohibited in 1964 by the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

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Reconstruction Era

https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/essays/reconstruction

by Edward L. Ayers

In the twelve years after the Civil War—the era of Reconstruction—there were massive changes in American culture, economy, and politics. These were the years of the "Old West," of cowboys, Indians, and buffalo hunts, of cattle drives, railroads, and ranches. It was also the beginning of the "Gilded Age" in the North, the age of big fortunes, enormous businesses, struggle over labor unions, and the burgeoning of cities filled with immigrants, all of it given an air of desperation by the largest economic depression in United States history beginning in 1873. The events in the West and the North interwove with those in the South, where the central struggles of Reconstruction unfolded.

The political Reconstruction of the South progressed in two distinct eras. The first was Presidential Reconstruction, from 1865 through early spring 1867, when

Andrew Johnson shaped the pace and depth of the reintegration of the South into the United States following the Confederacy's surrender. The United States government, including President Lincoln, had defined no explicit and coherent plan for the postwar South and Lincoln's assassination and Johnson's rise to the presidency threw things into even greater uncertainty. Johnson, who had defended the Union as a United States senator and wartime governor of Tennessee and who was elected vice president under Lincoln in 1864, proved surprisingly lenient with white Southerners and unsympathetic to the people who had been held in slavery. Johnson hoped to create a national party devoted to the Union and sought the support of the former leaders of the South. He sacrificed black Southerners' interests in the process.

Under Johnson, white Southerners held on to all they could of the old order. They passed "Black Codes" that narrowly defined the possibilities of life for freedpeople, preventing them from renting land or owning firearms and placing their children in coercive "apprenticeships" to their former owners. Former Confederates violently attacked black people in New Orleans, in Memphis, and in the countryside across the region. The Ku Klux Klan terrorized those who challenged white supremacy in any way. White Southerners resisted the Freedmen's Bureau, which aided impoverished whites and blacks with surplus United States Army material, used special courts to adjudicate conflicts between freedpeople and their former masters, and tried to prevent violence against African Americans.

In this period of tumult immediately after the war, former slaves and former slaveholders had to define new ways of living. White landowners wanted black workers to labor in gangs under close supervision; African Americans wanted to work on their own. Within a few years, a system evolved in which landowners and

landless workers shared some of the profits from the crops they produced. This bargain, born of necessity, became a system known as sharecropping and would dominate the Southern economy for generations to come.

Sharecropping often led the families doing the work in the fields deeper into debt over the course of the year, for they had no cash until the crop came in. Without collateral, sharecroppers had to pay whatever interest the landowner or the storeowner (often the same person) charged. When the crop—almost always cotton—was harvested and they received their share, the laboring families often owed more than they had earned for all their work. This system induced both landowners and sharecroppers to grow more and more cotton, driving down the price as a result and locking the South in a desperate cycle.

Relations between black women and black men changed with emancipation as well. Enslaved people had sustained families despite the lack of legal recognition of marriage and despite the reality that children could be sold off at a slaveholder's whim. Relationships in slavery did not foster the kind of relationships held up as the ideal among white Americans, with an independent man as the breadwinner and a wife working in the home. Enslaved women were often on their own, raising children without a husband or father present. People who loved one another were often separated against their will, with little hope of reunion; others found themselves forced to live with or have children with partners not of their choosing.

When slavery ended, African American women joined men, with varying degrees of eagerness, in separate households. The Freedmen's Bureau and churches encouraged marriage, but relationships between formerly enslaved people were not always easily resolved. Couples that had been formed by necessity or force broke or drifted apart. Both men and women were happy for women to devote less

time to the white men's fields and to be less subject to sexual assault and coercion, but many black women were not eager to submit themselves to the will of husbands either. The individual household as well as the regional economy, in other words, had to be reconstructed. The reconstitution of African American families and communities proved a major accomplishment of succeeding generations.

Even as long-term changes in labor and in family life evolved in the South after the Civil War, political conflict and change roiled the nation. A second era of Reconstruction began in March 1867, when a new Republican majority in Congress pressed for a much more aggressive recasting of the South than Johnson had overseen. The blatant and violent resistance of white Southerners to even the mild reforms of Presidential Reconstruction had persuaded the Northern electorate that deeper reforms were required before the Southern states could rejoin the Union. A wing of the Republican Party, called "Radicals" by their critics, instituted a sweeping set of changes in the South.

The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the South into five military districts under national control. The Acts required that each state write a new constitution giving voting rights to all men, regardless of race or prior enslaved status, and ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which declared that all people other than American Indians born in the United States were citizens, with rights to due process of law. African American men mobilized to vote and elected many of their number to the constitutional conventions and political positions across the South.

The Republican conventions and legislatures formed in Reconstruction sought to use the power of the state to help public education, to spread tax responsibility, to stop public whipping, and to foster economic development. White Southerners

ridiculed, derided, and undermined every action of those bodies. Although most Republican officeholders, especially at the higher levels, were white men, every instance of failure was held up as an example of the unfitness of African Americans to hold positions of public trust.

Any white man who joined with black voters and allies in the Republican Party was castigated as a traitor to his race, as either a "scalawag" (a native white Southern Republican) or a "carpetbagger" (a white Northern Republican). The scalawags were portrayed by the Democrats as shameless men of poor character, willing to sell their heritage as white men for a chance at a political office. The carpetbaggers, who received positions as governors, congressmen, or senators from their Republican allies, were portrayed as rootless adventurers so shiftless they could carry all they owned in a cheap bag made of carpet, exploiting the ignorance of black voters for their own greed. In reality, these Northern-born white Republicans tended to be well-educated men of property, often US veterans, who had come to the South months or years before any prospect of office holding appeared.

Reconstruction in the South in the years after 1867 proved to be a kaleidoscope of conflicting motivations, coalitions, and expectations. Some former abolitionists, white and black, came to the South to help complete the work of emancipation; other newcomers sought mainly personal economic advantage. Some white Southern Republicans worked in good faith alongside black allies while others spoke of their supposed comrades with open distaste. Some Southern Republicans advocated laws that aided business while others sought to protect the landless. Whatever their goals or backgrounds, Republicans found themselves under relentless attack from white Democrats, who sought to remove their opponents from power quickly and permanently. The Democrats favored as little

government as possible, especially when it was under the control of a biracial coalition.

Republican power lasted varying amounts of time in different Southern states. The course of Reconstruction in each state depended on how quickly new constitutions were written and approved, on how much black men and their white Republican allies could remain mobilized in the face of white violence and blacklisting, and how effective Republican political leaders were in holding on to power. In some Southern states Reconstruction ended quietly, in backroom deals among conservative men eager to bring the conflict to a close. Elsewhere Reconstruction ended in open warfare, as armed white men terrorized black and white Republicans in their homes, at work and at church, and at the polls. In Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Reconstruction came to an end only after contested election returns in the presidential race of 1876 led to a compromise that gave the electoral votes to the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, who, in return, removed the troops from those last states.

Such a complex and charged history has been open to widely differing interpretations, at the time and ever since. The nation's first generation of professional scholars told their readers early in the twentieth century that black people simply were not prepared for freedom much less citizenship, that the leaders of Reconstruction in the South were rootless, incompetent, and morally bankrupt Yankees who came to the South only to pillage it. After World War II, with the occupations of Japan and Germany fresh in Americans' minds, and with the civil rights struggle emerging, historians argued that Reconstruction had failed because it had not gone nearly far enough in removing former Confederates from power or in providing the freed people the land and justice they deserved.

Such a view became dominant in the 1960s and has remained central to historians' understanding.

The magisterial 1988 history by Eric Foner, *Reconstruction*, sympathetic to African Americans, their accomplishments, and their allies, deemed Reconstruction "America's unfinished revolution." Historians today generally accept that verdict, seeing the era of Reconstruction as a period of remarkable effort defeated by white Southerners and undermined by a faltering white Northern electorate. The goals of legal and political equity would be delayed for another century.

From the largest perspective, the challenges of Reconstruction are all too clear. The effort to recast the postwar South was up against long odds from the outset. Reconstruction sought to complete one of the great revolutions of modern history and to do so without the benefit of overwhelming military force, modern tools of surveillance, or a contrite opponent. Slavery in the United States had been strong and growing stronger when it suddenly ended in a vast war waged over much of the continent. Southern slave-holders had held the largest slave population in the hemisphere, in an empire that had grown in population through a massive domestic slave trade and in territory through a war with Mexico that determined the future of much of North America. Southerners had dominated the presidency and the Supreme Court throughout the first three generations of United States history and had not hesitated to use that power to suppress abolition, to force northern complicity in returning fugitive slaves, and to lay legal claim to at least half of the nation's territory. Changing all those power relations at one time was a massive undertaking.

Moreover, the three major groups in Reconstruction were divided internally. The white North wanted irreconcilable goals: vengeance and reconciliation, transformation and stability, justice and the status quo. In the white South, many called for peace and acceptance of the new order while others demanded relentless resistance to alien invaders. The black South saw conflicts between former slaves and former free blacks, between people from town and people from the country, between women and men, between secular leaders and religious leaders. Reconstruction was shaped by struggles within as well as among those groups.

Black Southerners, despite their divisions, showed a remarkable eagerness to practice democratic politics to advance their own ends. They mobilized quickly and effectively, posing a powerful threat in numbers and leadership. "This is a democracy—a government of the people," argued a convention of African Americans in Nashville in January 1865, as they petitioned white Unionists for a voice in the future that stretched before them. "It should aim to make every man, without regard to the color of his skin, the amount of his wealth, or the character of his religious faith, feel personally interested in its welfare. Every man who lives under the Government should feel that it is his property, his treasure, the bulwark and defense of himself and his family, his pearl of great price, which he must preserve, protect, and defend faithfully at all times, on all occasions, in every possible manner."

These ideals and these aspirations refused to fade over the next century. Black Southerners sustained their political power wherever they could, joining with white allies when practical over the twenty years following the end of Reconstruction, even electing African American congressmen into the early twentieth century. Faced with this determined quest for democratic

representation, white Southerners revised the state constitutions of the Reconstruction era around the turn of the century, negating the power of the Fifteenth Amendment and stripping African American men of the vote through poll taxes and other supposedly race-blind provisions. Despite these obstacles, over the first half of the twentieth century black Southern men and women asserted their humanity and their rights in businesses, churches, and schools. In the Civil Rights struggles of the post-World War II era, they turned to the hard-won gains of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as the leverage they needed to secure their full rights as Americans. Only then would the possibilities of Reconstruction begin to be realized.

Edward L. Ayers *is president of the University of Richmond. He has authored or edited ten books, several focused on the history of the American South and the legacy of the Civil War, including* The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction *(1992);* In the Presence of Mine Enemies: Civil War in the Heart of America, 1859–1863 *(2003), which received the 2004 Bancroft Prize for Distinguished Book in American History; and* America's War: Talking about the Civil War and Emancipation on their 150th Anniversaries *(2011).*

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Timeline

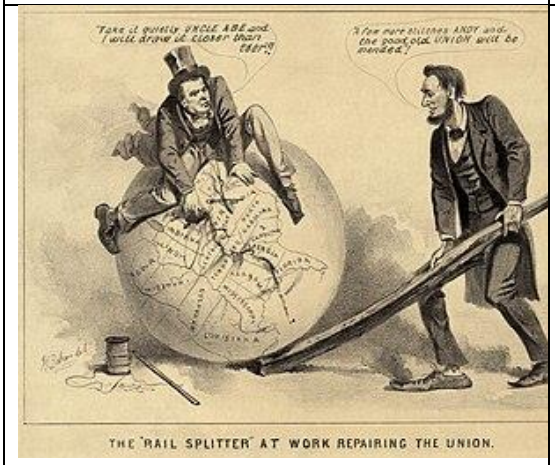
- August 6, 1861: The Confiscation Act of 1861 becomes law.
- March 3, 1862: Lincoln appoints Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as the first military governor of a Southern state.
- July 17, 1862: The Confiscation Act of 1862 becomes law, providing the legal basis for the Emancipation Proclamation.
- January 1, 1863: Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all persons held in slavery in Confederate territory.

- December 8, 1863: Lincoln announces his "ten percent plan" for the recognizing unionist governments in Union-controlled Confederate territory.
- January 16, 1865: General William Tecumseh Sherman issues Special Field Orders No. 15.[36]
- February 3, 1865: Lincoln meets to discuss reconciliation with Southern representatives at the Hampton Roads Conference.
- March 3, 1865: The Freedmen's Bureau Act becomes law.
- April 9, 1865: General Robert E. Lee surrenders the Army of Northern Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant, effectively ending hostilities on land.
- April 14, 1865: Lincoln is assassinated by John Wilkes Booth. Andrew Johnson becomes President.
- December 6, 1865: The Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is ratified.
- March 27, 1866: Johnson vetoes the Civil Rights Act of 1866.
- May 1 to 3, 1866: Riots in Memphis, Tennessee kill 48, primarily freed African Americans, and injure 75.
- July 24, 1866: Tennessee is the first state reestablished or readmitted to the Union.
- July 30, 1866: At least 38 people are killed and 146 wounded in New Orleans at a racially integrated constitutional convention.
- August 27 through September 15, 1866: President Johnson launches a national speaking tour to rally support for his policies.
- October 9 through November 6, 1866: Congressional elections return large majorities for the radicals, ending presidential reconstruction under Johnson.

- March 4, 1867: Congress passes the first Reconstruction Act, establishing requirements for the readmission of additional states, over Johnson's veto.
- July 19, 1867: Congress passes the third Reconstruction Act, creating a system of military government throughout the South.
- August 12, 1867: Johnson suspends Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from office over his military reconstruction policies.
- March 2 and 3, 1868: Congress impeaches President Johnson on eleven articles of impeachment for violating the Tenure of Office Act.
- May 26, 1868: The Senate narrowly votes against convicting Johnson.
- July 9, 1868: The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is ratified.
- February 3, 1870: The Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is ratified.
- May 31, 1870: The Enforcement Act of 1870 becomes law.
- February 24, 1871: Representatives from Georgia, the final Confederate state to be readmitted, are seated in Congress.
- February 28, 1871: The Second Enforcement Act becomes law.
- April 20, 1871: The Ku Klux Klan Act becomes law.
- May 22, 1872: The Amnesty Act becomes law.
- March 1, 1875: The Civil Rights Act of 1875 becomes law.
- November 6, 1876: The presidential election between Hayes and Tilden results in an electoral dispute over Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana. Rutherford's highly disputed victory in 1877 coincides with the removal of federal troops from the South.

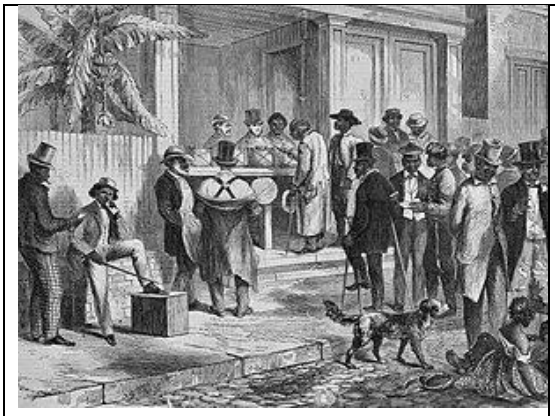
The distribution of wealth per capita in 1872, illustrating the disparity between North and South in that period

The Southern economy had been ruined by the war. Charleston, South Carolina: Broad Street, 1865



A political cartoon of Andrew Johnson and Abraham Lincoln, 1865, entitled "The Rail Splitter at Work Repairing the Union". The caption reads (Johnson): "Take it quietly Uncle Abe and I will draw it closer than ever." (Lincoln): "A few more stitches Andy and the good old Union will be mended."

Monument in honor of the Grand Army of the Republic, organized after the war

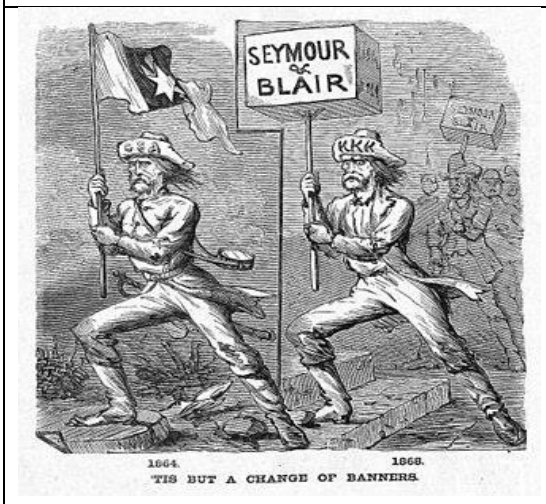


Freedmen voting in New Orleans, 1867

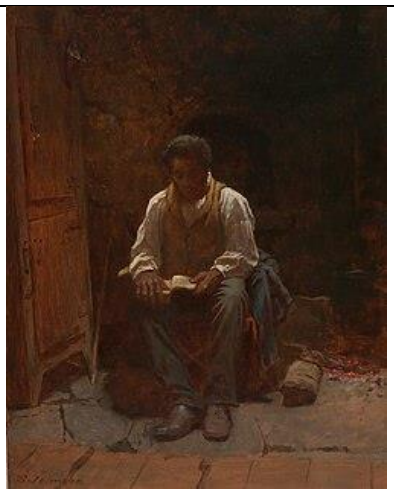
Celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation in Massachusetts, 1862

Northern teachers traveled into the South to provide education and training for the newly freed population.

A photograph of the 24 members of the petit jury impaneled in May 1867 by the United States Circuit Court for Virginia in Richmond for the treason trial of former Confederate president Jefferson Davis. Ultimately, the trial did not take place.



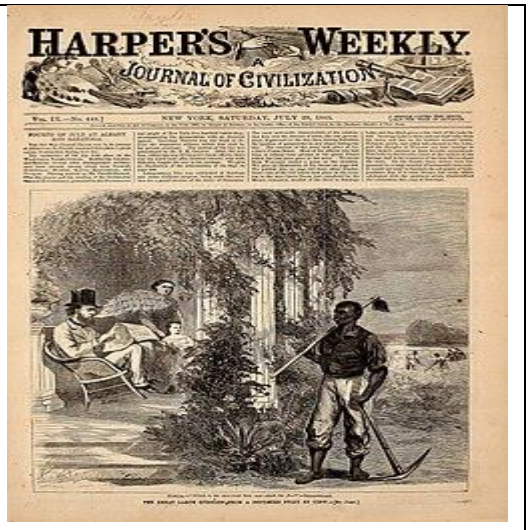
1868 Republican cartoon identifies Democratic candidates Seymour and Blair (right) with KKK violence and with Confederate soldiers (left).



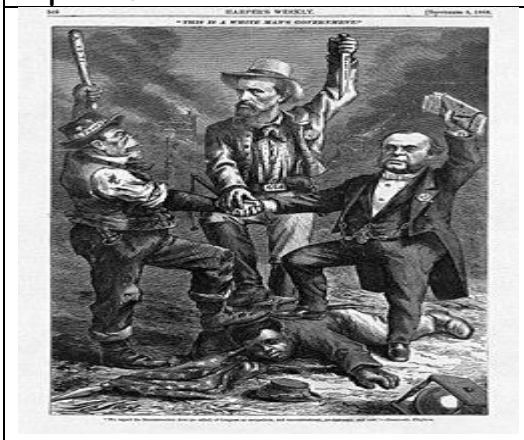
Eastman Johnson's 1863 painting *The Lord is My Shepherd*, of a man reading the Bible

THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU!
AN AGENCY TO KEEP THE NEGRO IN IDLENESS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WHITE MAN.
TWICE VETOED BY THE PRESIDENT, AND MADE A LAW BY CONGRESS.
SUPPORT CONGRESS & YOU SUPPORT THE NEGRO. SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT & YOU PROTECT THE WHITE MAN
$300
$100
$6,944,500
TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.
GEARY.
CLYMER.

The debate over Reconstruction and the Freedmen's Bureau was nationwide. This 1866 Pennsylvania election poster alleged that the bureau kept the Negro in idleness at the expense of the hardworking white taxpayer. A racist caricature of an African American is depicted.[121]

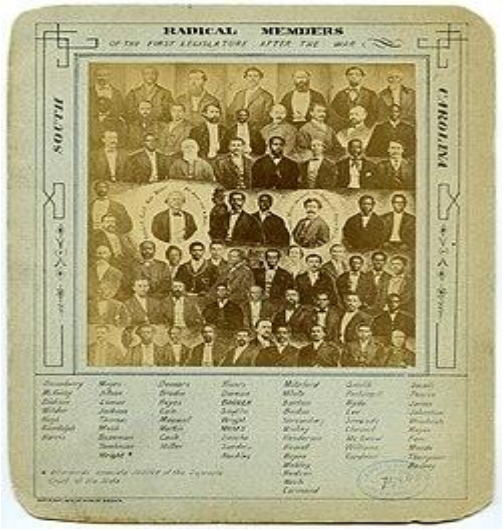
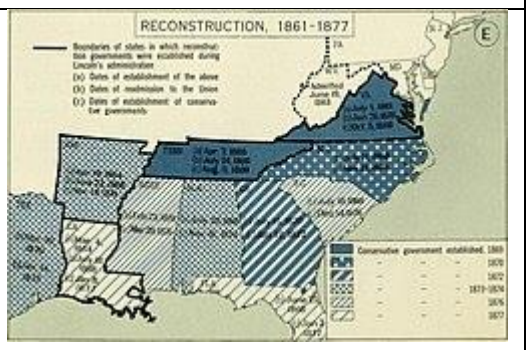


Harper's Weekly cover of July 29, 1865; the text in the planter's speech balloon reads "My boy, we've toiled and taken care of you long enough. Now you've got to work!"



"This is a white man's government", Thomas Nast's caricature of the forces arraigned against Grant and Reconstruction in the 1868 election. Atop a black Union veteran reaching for a ballot box: the New York City Irish; Confederate and Klansman Nathan Bedford Forrest; and big-money Democratic Party chairman August Belmont, a burning freedmen's school in the

Thomas Nast illustration entitled "Halt", published October 17, 1874

background. *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868	
 "Radical members of the first legislature after the war, South Carolina"	Atlanta's rail yard and roundhouse in ruins shortly after the end of the Civil War
$20 banknote with portrait of Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch	 Map of Reconstruction in the United States 1861 to 1877

Also visit:

01] https://eji.org/report/reconstruction-in-america/

02] https://guides.loc.gov/reconstruction

03] https://www.history.com/articles/reconstruction

04] https://www.vedantu.com/history/reconstruction-united-states

05] Reconstruction: America after the Civil War - Part 1 | Full Documentary [Video] (50:45)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mz_PkGV8W6E

Glorious Revolution

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glorious_Revolution

Glorious Revolution	
Part of the Nine Years' War	
The Prince of Orange landing at Torbay as depicted in an illustration by Johan Herman Isings	
Date	1688–1689
Location	• British Isles
Outcome	James II is deposed by King William III/II and his wife, Mary II

The **Glorious Revolution**[a] was the deposition of King James II in November 1688. He was replaced by his daughter Mary II and her Dutch husband, James's nephew William III of Orange. The two ruled as joint monarchs of England, Scotland, and Ireland until Mary's death in 1694, when William became ruler in his own right. Jacobitism, the political movement that aimed to restore the exiled James or his descendants of the House of Stuart to the throne, persisted into the late 18th century. Some historians consider it the last successful invasion of England.[1]

Despite being a Catholic, James became king in February 1685 with widespread backing from the Protestant majorities in England and Scotland, as well as largely Catholic Ireland, but his policies quickly eroded support. The prospect of a Catholic dynasty following the birth of his son James Francis Edward Stuart on 10 June 1688 led some of his domestic opponents to issue the Invitation to William, seeking Dutch support to remove him.

The Dutch States General and William were concerned that James might support France in the Nine Years' War. Exploiting unrest in England and claiming to be responding to the invitation, William landed in Devon on 5 November 1688. As William advanced on London, James's army disintegrated and he went into exile in France on 23 December. In April 1689, Parliament made William and Mary joint monarchs of England and Ireland. A separate but similar Scottish settlement was made in June. During the early years of his reign, William was occupied abroad with the Nine Years' War (1688–1697), leaving Mary to govern the three kingdoms alone.

Domestically, the Revolution confirmed the primacy of Parliament over the Crown in both England and Scotland. In terms of external policy, until his death in 1702, William combined the roles of Dutch stadtholder and British monarch. Both states thus became allies in resisting French expansion, an alliance which persisted for much of the 18th century, despite differing objectives.

Background

James became king in 1685 with widespread backing in all three of his kingdoms, despite his conversion to Roman Catholicism while in exile during the English Civil War.[2] June 1685 even saw James successfully crush Protestant uprisings in both Scotland and England.[3] However, James failed to appreciate the extent to which his power relied on support from the landed gentry, whose alienation fatally damaged his regime. The vast majority of the gentry in England and Scotland were Protestant, while even in largely Catholic Ireland a disproportionate number were members of the Protestant Church of Ireland. His supporters accepted James's personal religious beliefs, so long as he maintained the

primacy of the Protestant Church of England and Church of Scotland. When his policies appeared to undermine them, it destabilised all three kingdoms.[4]

James II and VII, King of England, Scotland and Ireland.
Portrait of James II **by Godfrey Kneller, National Portrait Gallery, 1684**

Stuart political ideology derived from James VI and I, whose political ideology was based on the principle of divine right, and Parliament's function was to obey.[5] Disputes over the relationship between king and Parliament led to the War of the Three Kingdoms and continued after the 1660 Stuart Restoration. Charles II came to rely on the Royal Prerogative since measures passed in this way could be withdrawn when he decided, rather than Parliament. It could not though be used for major legislation or taxation.[6]

Concern that Charles II intended to create an absolute monarchy led to the 1679 to 1681 Exclusion Crisis, dividing the English political class into those who wanted to 'exclude' James from the throne, mostly Whigs, and their opponents, mostly Tories. However, in 1685 many Whigs feared the consequences of bypassing the 'natural heir', while Tories were often strongly anti-Catholic, and their support assumed the continued primacy of the Church of England. Most importantly, it was seen as a short-term issue; James was 52, his marriage to Mary of Modena remained childless after 11 years, and the heirs were his Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne.[7]

There was much greater sympathy in Scotland for a 'Stuart heir', and the 1681 Succession Act confirmed the duty of all to support him, 'regardless of religion.'[8] Over 95 percent of Scots belonged to the national church or kirk;[*citation needed*] even other Protestant sects were banned, and by 1680, Catholics were a tiny minority confined to parts of the aristocracy and the remote Highlands.[9] Episcopalians had regained control of the kirk in 1660, leading to a series of Presbyterian uprisings, but memories of the bitter religious conflicts of the Civil War period meant the majority preferred stability.[10]

In England and Scotland, most of those who backed James in 1685 wanted to retain existing political and religious arrangements, but this was not the case in Ireland. While he was guaranteed support from the Catholic majority, James was also popular among Irish Protestants, since the Church of Ireland depended on Royal support for its survival, while Ulster was dominated by Presbyterians who supported his tolerance policies. However, religion was only one factor; of equal concern for Catholics were laws barring them from serving in the military or holding public office, and land reform. In 1600, 90% of Irish land was owned by Catholics but following a series of confiscations during the 17th century, this had dropped to 22% in 1685.[11] Catholic and Protestant merchants in Dublin and elsewhere objected to commercial restrictions placing them at a disadvantage to their English competitors.[12]

The political background in England

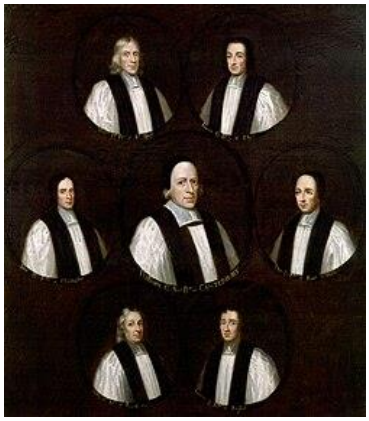
James's attempts to allow tolerance for English Catholics coincided with the October 1685 Edict of Fontainebleau revoking it for Huguenots.

While James's supporters viewed hereditary succession as more important than his personal Catholicism, they opposed his policies of 'Tolerance' under which Catholics would be allowed to hold public office and engage in public life. Opposition was led by devout Anglicans[13] who argued that the measures he proposed were incompatible with the oath he had sworn as king to uphold the supremacy of the Church of England. According to opponents, in demanding that Parliament approve his measures James was not only breaking his own word but requiring others to do the same. Parliament refused to comply, despite being "the most Loyal Parliament a Stuart ever had".[14]

Although historians generally accept James wished to promote Catholicism, not establish an absolute monarchy, his stubborn and inflexible reaction to opposition had the same result. When the English and Scottish Parliaments refused to repeal the 1678 and 1681 Test Acts, he suspended them in November 1685 and ruled by decree. Attempts to form a 'King's party' of Catholics, English Dissenters and dissident Scottish Presbyterians was politically short-sighted, since it rewarded those who joined the 1685 rebellions and undermined his supporters.[15]

Demanding tolerance for Catholics was also badly timed. In October 1685 Louis XIV issued the Edict of Fontainebleau revoking the 1598 Edict of Nantes which had given French Protestants the right to practise their religion; over the next four years, an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 went into exile, 40,000 of whom settled in London.[16] Combined with Louis's expansionist policies and the killing of 2,000 Vaudois Protestants in 1686, it led to fears Protestant Europe was threatened by a Catholic counter-reformation.[17] These concerns were reinforced by events in Ireland; the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Tyrconnell, wanted to create a Catholic establishment able to survive James's death, which meant replacing Protestant officials at a pace that was inherently destabilising.[18]

Timeline of events: 1686 to 1688



The Seven Bishops prosecuted for seditious libel in 1688

The majority of those who backed James in 1685 did so because they wanted stability and the rule of law, qualities frequently undermined by his actions. After suspending Parliament in November 1685, he sought to rule by decree; although the principle was not disputed, the widening of its scope caused considerable concern, particularly when judges who disagreed with its application were dismissed.[19] He then alienated many by perceived attacks on the established church; Henry Compton, Bishop of London, was suspended for refusing to ban John Sharp from preaching after he gave an anti-Catholic sermon.[20]

He often made things worse by political clumsiness; to general fury, the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1686 established to discipline the Church of England included suspected Catholics like the Earl of Huntingdon.[21] This was combined with an inability to accept opposition; in April 1687, he ordered Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect a Catholic sympathiser named Anthony Farmer as president, but as he was ineligible under the college statutes, the fellows elected John Hough instead. Both Farmer and Hough withdrew in favour of another candidate selected by James, who then demanded the fellows personally apologise on their knees for 'defying' him; when they refused, they were replaced by Catholics.[22]

Attempts to create an alternative 'Kings Party' were never likely to succeed, as English Catholics made up only 1.1% of the population and Nonconformists 4.4%.[23] Both groups were divided; since private worship was generally tolerated, Catholic moderates feared greater visibility would provoke a backlash. Among Nonconformists, while Quakers and Congregationalists supported repeal of the Test Acts, the majority

wanted to amend the 1662 Act of Uniformity and be allowed back into the Church of England.[24] When James ensured the election of the Presbyterian John Shorter as Lord Mayor of London in 1687, Shorter insisted on complying with the Test Act, reportedly because of a "distrust of the King's favour...thus encouraging that which His Majesties whole Endeavours were intended to disannull."[25]

James Francis Edward Stuart, c. 1703, whose birth in June 1688 created the possibility of a Catholic dynasty

To ensure a compliant Parliament, James required potential MPs to be approved by their local Lord Lieutenant; eligibility for both offices required positive answers in writing to the 'Three Questions', one being a commitment to repeal of the Test Act.[26] In addition, local government and town corporations were purged to create an obedient electoral machine, further alienating the county gentry who had formed the majority of those who backed James in 1685.[27] On 24 August 1688, writs were issued for a general election.[28]

The expansion of the military caused great concern, particularly in England and Scotland, where memories of the Civil War left huge resistance to armies.[29] In Ireland, Talbot replaced Protestant officers with Catholics; James did the same in England, while basing the troops at Hounslow appeared a deliberate attempt to overawe Parliament.[30] In April 1688, he ordered his Declaration of Indulgence read in every church; when the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops refused, they were charged with seditious libel and confined in the Tower of London. Two events turned dissent into a crisis; the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart on 10

June created the prospect of a Catholic dynasty, while the acquittal of the Seven Bishops on 30 June destroyed James's political authority.[31]

Dutch intervention

Prelude: 1685 to June 1688

Huguenot refugees, whose expulsion from France in 1685 helped create a sense that Protestant Europe was under threat

In 1677, James's elder daughter and heir Mary married her Protestant cousin William III of Orange, stadtholder of the main provinces of the Dutch Republic. The two initially shared common objectives in wanting Mary to succeed her father, while French ambitions in the Spanish Netherlands threatened both English and Dutch trade.[32] Although William sent James troops to help suppress the 1685 Monmouth Rebellion, their relationship deteriorated thereafter.[33]

The Franco-Dutch War, continued French expansion, and expulsion of the Huguenots meant William assumed another war was inevitable, and although the States General of the Netherlands preferred peace, the majority accepted he was correct. This view was widely shared throughout Protestant Europe; in October 1685, Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg renounced his French alliance for one with the Dutch. In July 1686, other Protestant states formed the anti-French League of Augsburg, with Dutch support. Securing or neutralising English resources, especially the Royal Navy, now became key to both sides.[34]

Following a skirmish between French and Dutch naval vessels in July 1686, William concluded English neutrality was not enough and he needed their active support in the event of war.[35] His relationship with James was affected by the fact both men relied on advisors with relatively limited views; in William's case, mainly English and

Scots Presbyterian exiles, the latter with close links to the Protestant minority in Ireland, who saw Tyrconnell's policies as a threat to their existence. Having largely alienated his Tory support base, James depended on a small circle of Catholic converts like Sunderland, Melfort and Perth.[36]

William III of England, stadtholder of Guelders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht and Overijssel

Suspicions increased when James sought William's backing for repealing the Test Acts; he predictably refused, further damaging their relationship.[37] Having previously assumed he was guaranteed English support in a war with France, William now worried he might face an Anglo-French alliance like during the *Rampjaar*, despite assurances by James he had no intention of doing so. Historians argue whether these assurances were genuine, but James did not fully appreciate the distrust caused by his domestic policies.[38] In August 1687, William's cousin de Zuylestein travelled to England with condolences on the death of Mary of Modena's mother, allowing him to make contact with the political opposition. Throughout 1688, his English supporters provided William detailed information on public opinion and developments, very little of which was intercepted.[39]

In October 1687, after fourteen years of marriage and multiple miscarriages, it was announced the Queen was pregnant, Melfort immediately declaring it was a boy. When James then wrote to Mary urging her to convert to Catholicism, it convinced many he was seeking a Catholic heir, one way or the other and may have been a deciding factor in whether to invade.[40] Early in 1688, a pamphlet circulated in England written by

Dutch Grand Pensionary Gaspar Fagel; this guaranteed William's support for freedom of worship for Dissenters *and* retaining the Test Acts, unlike James who offered tolerance in return for repeal.[41][42]

In April 1688, Louis XIV announced tariffs on Dutch herring imports, along with plans to support the Royal Navy in the English Channel. James immediately denied making any such request, but fearing it was the prelude to a formal alliance, the Dutch began preparing a military intervention.[43] On the pretext of needing additional resources to deal with French privateers, in July the States General authorised an additional 9,000 sailors and 21 new warships.[44]

Invitation to William

Henry Sydney, who drafted the Invitation to William

The success of William's invasion would partly depend on domestic support, and at the end of April William met with Edward Russell, unofficial envoy for the Whig opposition. In a conversation recorded by Gilbert Burnet, he requested a formal invitation asking him to "rescue the nation and the religion", with a projected date of end September.[45] William subsequently claimed he was 'forced' to take control of the conspiracy when Russell warned him the English would rise against James even without his help, and he feared this would lead to a republic, depriving his wife of her inheritance.[46]

Although this version is strongly disputed, Zuylestein returned to England in June, ostensibly to congratulate James on his new son, in reality to co-ordinate with William's supporters.[47] Spurred by the prospect of a Catholic successor, the

"Invitation to William" was quickly drafted by Henry Sydney, later described by Whig historians as "the great wheel on which the Revolution rolled".[39][b] The signatories provided no considerable political power, but they were selected to make it seem like they represented a broad spectrum, and provided William with an essential propaganda tool.[49][50]

The signatories were:

- Henry Sydney (who wrote the letter)
- Edward Russell
- Charles Talbot, 12th Earl of Shrewsbury
- William Cavendish, 4th Earl of Devonshire
- Thomas Osborne, 1st Earl of Danby
- Richard Lumley, 2nd Viscount Lumley
- Henry Compton, Bishop of London

Danby, a Tory, and Devonshire, a Whig; Henry Compton, Bishop of London, for the church; Shrewsbury and Lumley for the army, and finally Russell and Sydney for the navy.[51] They promised to support a Dutch landing, but stressed the importance of acting quickly.[52]

The Invitation was carried to The Hague on 30 June by Rear Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor. Meanwhile, William's ally Bentinck launched a propaganda campaign in England, which presented him as a "true Stuart", but one without the faults of either James or Charles II. Much of the "spontaneous" support for William on his landing was organised by Bentinck and his agents.[53]

Dutch preparations: July to September 1688

The Dutch were concerned by their vulnerable eastern border. In 1672, an alliance with the Electorate of Cologne allowed France to nearly over-run the Republic.

William's key strategic purpose was creating a defensive coalition that would block further French expansion in Europe, an objective not shared by the majority of his English supporters. In 1672, an alliance with the Electorate of Cologne had enabled France to bypass Dutch forward defences and nearly over-run the Republic, so ensuring an anti-French ruler was vital to prevent a repetition. As an ecclesiastical principality of the Holy Roman Empire, Cologne's ruler was nominated by Pope Innocent XI, in conjunction with Emperor Leopold I.[54] Both Louis and James were in dispute with Innocent over the right to appoint Catholic bishops and clergy; when the old Elector died in June 1688, Innocent and Leopold ignored the French candidate in favour of Joseph Clemens of Bavaria.[55]

After 1678, France continued its expansion into the Rhineland, including the 1683 to 1684 War of the Reunions, additional territorial demands in the Palatinate, and construction of forts at Landau and Traben-Trarbach.[56] This presented an existential threat to Habsburg dominance, guaranteeing Leopold's support for the Dutch, and negating French attempts to build German alliances.[57] William's envoy Johann von Görtz assured Leopold English Catholics would not be persecuted and intervention was to elect a free Parliament, not depose James, a convenient fiction that allowed him to remain neutral.[58]

Although his English supporters considered a token force sufficient, William assembled 260 transport ships and 15,000 men, nearly half the 30,000 strong Dutch States Army.

With France on the verge of war, their absence was of great concern to the States General and Bentinck hired 13,616 German mercenaries to man Dutch border fortresses, freeing elite units like the Scots Brigade for use in England.[59] The increase could be presented as a limited precaution against French aggression, as the Dutch would typically double or triple their army strength in wartime;[c] William instructed his experienced deputy Schomberg to prepare for a campaign in Germany.[61]

Decision to invade

A Dutch herring fleet. French tariffs on this lucrative trade helped William build domestic support for military intervention.

Fllowing their approval, the Amsterdam financial market raised a loan of four million guilders in only three days, with further financing coming from various sources, including two million guilders from the banker Francisco Lopes Suasso.[67][d] The biggest concern for Holland was the potential impact on the Dutch economy and politics of William becoming ruler of England; the claim he had no intention of "removing the King from the throne" was not believed. These fears were arguably justified; William's access to English resources permanently diminished Amsterdam's power within the Republic and its status as the world's leading commercial and financial centre.[69]

English defensive strategy

Admiral Dartmouth, commander of the English fleet

Neither James nor Sunderland trusted Louis, correctly suspecting that his support would continue only so long as it coincided with French interests, while Mary of Modena claimed his warnings were simply an attempt to drag England into an unwanted alliance.[70] As a former naval commander, James appreciated the difficulties of a successful invasion, even in good weather, and as autumn approached, the likelihood seemed to diminish. With the Dutch on the verge of war with France, he did not believe the States General would allow William to make the attempt; if they did, his army and navy were strong enough to defeat it.[71]

Reasonable in theory, his reliance on the loyalty and efficiency of the military proved deeply flawed. Both the army and the navy remained overwhelmingly Protestant and anti-Catholic; in July, only personal intervention by James prevented a naval mutiny when a Catholic captain held Mass on his ship. The transfer of 2,500 Catholics from the Royal Irish Army to England in September led to clashes with Protestant troops, some of his most reliable units refused to obey orders, and many of their officers resigned.[72]

When James demanded the repatriation of all six regiments of the Scots Brigade in January 1688,[73] William refused but used the opportunity to purge those considered unreliable, a total of 104 officers and 44 soldiers.[74] Some may have been Williamite agents, such as Colonel Belasyse, a Protestant with over 15 years of service who returned to his family estates in Yorkshire and made contact with Danby. The promotion of Catholic former Brigade officers like Thomas Buchan and Alexander Cannon to command positions led to the formation of the Association of Protestant Officers, which included senior veterans like Charles Trelawny, John Churchill, and Percy Kirke.[75]

On 14 August, Churchill offered his support to William, helping convince him it was safe to risk an invasion; although James was aware of the conspiracy, he took no action.[76] One reason may have been fears over the impact on the army; with a notional strength of 34,000, it looked impressive on paper but morale was brittle while many were untrained or lacked weapons. It also had to fill policing roles previously delegated to the militia, which had been deliberately allowed to decay; most of the

4,000 regular troops brought from Scotland in October had to be stationed in London to keep order. In October, attempts were made to restore the militia but many members were reportedly so angry at the changes made to local corporations, James was advised it was better not to raise them.[77]

Lord Danby, one of the Immortal Seven and William's agent in Northern England

Widespread discontent and growing hostility to the Stuart regime were particularly apparent in North-East and South-West England, the two landing places identified by William. A Tory whose brother Jonathan was one of the Seven Bishops, Trelawny's commitment confirmed support from a powerful and well-connected West Country bloc, allowing access to the ports of Plymouth and Torbay. In the north, a force organised by Belasyse and Danby prepared to seize York, its most important city, and Hull, its largest port.[78]

Herbert had been replaced by Dartmouth as commander of the fleet when he defected in June but many captains owed him their appointments and were of doubtful loyalty. Dartmouth suspected Berkeley and Grafton of plotting to overthrow him; to monitor them, he placed their ships next to his and minimised contact between the other vessels to prevent conspiracy.[79] A lack of funds meant that excluding fireships and light scouting vessels, only 16 warships were available in early October, all third rates or fourth rates that were short of both men and supplies.[80]

While the Downs was the best place to intercept a cross-Channel attack, it was also vulnerable to a surprise assault, even for ships fully crewed and adequately provisioned. Instead, James placed his ships in a strong defensive position near Chatham Dockyard, believing the Dutch would seek to establish naval superiority before committing to a landing.[81] While this had been the original plan, winter storms meant conditions deteriorated rapidly for those on the transports; William therefore decided to sail in convoy and avoid battle.[82] The easterly winds that allowed the Dutch to cross prevented the Royal Navy leaving the Thames estuary and intervening.[81]

The English fleet was outnumbered 2:1, undercrewed, short of supplies, and in the wrong place. Key landing locations in the south-west and Yorkshire had been secured by sympathisers, while both army and navy were led by officers whose loyalty was questionable. Even early in 1686, foreign observers doubted the military would fight for James against a Protestant heir, and William claimed only to be securing the inheritance of his wife Mary. While still a dangerous undertaking, the invasion was less risky than it seemed.[83]

Invasion

Embarkation of the army and the Declaration of The Hague

William III by Jan Wyck, commemorating the landing at Brixham, Torbay, 5 November 1688

The Dutch preparations, though carried out with great speed, could not remain secret. The English envoy Ignatius White, the Marquess d'Albeville, warned his country: "an absolute conquest is intended under the specious and ordinary pretences of religion, liberty, property and a free Parliament". Louis threatened an immediate declaration of war if William proceeded and sent James 300,000 livres.[84]

Embarkations, begun on 22 September (Gregorian calendar), had been completed on 8 October, and the expedition was that day openly approved by the States of Holland; the same day James issued a proclamation to the English nation that it should prepare for a Dutch invasion to ward off conquest. On 30 September/10 October (Julian/Gregorian calendars) William issued the *Declaration of The Hague* (actually written by Fagel), of which 60,000 copies of the English translation by Gilbert Burnet were distributed after the landing in England,[85] in which he assured that his only aim was to maintain the Protestant religion, install a free parliament and investigate the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. He would respect the position of James.[e]

William went on to condemn James's advisers for overturning the religion, laws, and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland by the use of the suspending and dispensing power; the establishment of the "manifestly illegal" commission for ecclesiastical causes and its use to suspend the Bishop of London and to remove the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. William also condemned James's attempt to repeal the Test Acts and the penal laws through pressuring individuals and waging an assault on parliamentary boroughs, as well as his purging of the judiciary. James's attempt to pack Parliament was in danger of removing "the last and great remedy for all those evils".[87]

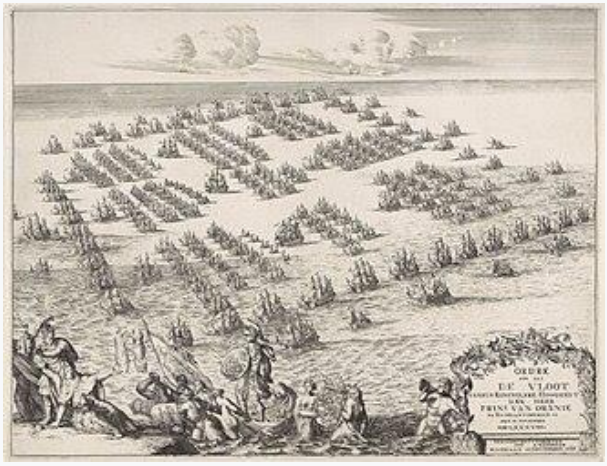
William boarding *Den Briel*

"Therefore", William continued, "we have thought fit to go over to England, and to carry over with us a force sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of those evil Counsellors ... this our Expedition is intended for no other design, but to have, a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as is possible".[87] On 4/14 October, William responded to the allegations by James in a

second declaration, denying any intention to become king or to conquer England, a claim which remains controversial.[88]

The swiftness of the embarkations surprised all foreign observers. Louis had in fact delayed his threats against the Dutch until early September because he assumed it then would be too late in the season to set the expedition in motion anyway, if their reaction proved negative; typically, such an enterprise would take at least some months.[89] Being ready after the last week of September / first week of October would normally have meant that the Dutch could have profited from the last spell of good weather, as the autumn storms tend to begin in the third week of that month. However, this year they came early. For three weeks, the invasion fleet was prevented by adverse south-westerly gales from departing from the naval port of Hellevoetsluis and Catholics all over the Netherlands and the British kingdoms held prayer sessions that this "popish wind" might endure. However, on 14/24 October, it became the famous "Protestant Wind" by turning to the east.[90]

Crossing and landing

1688 Invasion of England	
	
The sailing order of the Dutch fleet	
Date	November – December 1688
Location	North Sea, English Channel and England
Belligerents	

Dutch Republic Williamites	England
Commanders and leaders	
William III Schomberg Torrington Evertsen Almonde	James II Feversham Churchill (defected) Dartmouth
Strength	
Army strength 16,000-21,000 men[91][92] **Naval strength** 49 Man-of-war >400 smaller vessels	**Army strength** 30,000 men[93] **Naval strength** 31 Man-of-war several smaller vessels[94]
Casualties and losses	
low	low

Although most of the warships were provided by the Admiralty of Amsterdam, officially the States General treated the operation as a private affair, allowing William use of the Dutch States Navy and army.[57] The nominal commander was Arthur Herbert, but operational control remained with Lieutenant-Admiral Cornelis Evertsen the Youngest and Vice-Admiral Philips van Almonde.[95] Accompanied by Willem Bastiaensz Schepers, the Rotterdam shipping magnate who provided financing, William boarded the frigate *Den Briel* on 16/26 October.[96][97]

With over 400 ships of various types carrying 40,000 men, the expeditionary force was the largest fleet assembled in European waters up to that date.[98][f] After departing on 19/29 October, the fleet was scattered by a gale, forcing the *Briel* back to Hellevoetsluis on 21/31 October. William refused to go ashore, and the fleet reassembled, having lost only one ship but nearly a thousand horses; press reports

deliberately exaggerated the damage and claimed the expedition might be postponed until next spring.[100]

Dartmouth and his senior commanders considered taking advantage of this by blockading Hellevoetsluis, then decided against it, partly because the stormy weather made it dangerous but also because they could not rely on their men.[101] William replaced his losses and departed when the wind changed on 1/11 November, this time heading for Harwich where Bentinck had prepared a landing site. It has been suggested this was a feint to divert some of Dartmouth's ships north, which proved to be the case and when the wind shifted again, the Dutch armada sailed south into the Strait of Dover.[100] In doing so, they twice passed the English fleet, which was unable to intercept because of the adverse winds and tides.[102]

With the French fleet absent in the Mediterranean,[89] on 3/13 November, the fleet entered the English Channel in a formation 25 ships deep. Intended to awe observers with its size and power, the troops were lined up on deck, firing musket volleys, colours flying and military bands playing. The same wind blowing the Dutch down the Channel trapped Dartmouth in the Thames estuary, leaving him unable to prevent William reaching Torbay on 5 November.[103]

The Dutch fleet at Torbay

Bad weather obliged Dartmouth to anchor in Portsmouth for two days, allowing William to complete his disembarkation undisturbed.[104] Most estimates suggest his force consisted of around 15,000 regular troops,[g] plus up to 5,000 volunteers, mostly British exiles and French Huguenots.[107][h] He also brought weapons to equip another 20,000 men, although the subsequent collapse of James's army meant most local volunteers were quickly sent home.[108]

The collapse of James's rule

James had considered himself safe from invasion, due to the French threat to the Spanish Netherlands, his navy and because it was late in the year for launching an expedition.[109] He now panicked and met with the bishops on 28 September, offering them concessions. They responded five days later with demands that he restore the religious position to that prevailing in February 1685, and hold free elections for a new Parliament. Although they hoped this would allow James to remain king, in reality there was little chance of this. At a minimum, he would have to disinherit his son, enforce the Test Acts, and accept the supremacy of Parliament, all of which were unacceptable. In addition, by now his Whig opponents did not trust him to keep his promises, while Tories like Danby were too committed to William to escape punishment.[110]

Although his veterans were superior to the largely untested recruits of the Royal Army, William and his English supporters preferred to avoid bloodshed. Torbay was sufficiently far from London to provide time for the regime to collapse on its own, while to avoid alienating the local population, his troops were well supplied and paid three months in advance. On 9 November, he entered Exeter and issued a proclamation claiming he sought only to secure the rights of his wife and a free Parliament. Despite this, there was little enthusiasm for either party, and the general mood was one of confusion and distrust.[111] In Northern England, much of the gentry confirmed their backing for the invasion after Danby had the *Declaration* read out in York on 12 November.[112]

On 19 November, James joined his main force of 19,000 at Salisbury,[78] but morale was low and the loyalty of some commanders doubtful, with a number of officers defecting to William between 10 and 20 November.[113][114][115] Although the numbers were relatively small, the defections badly impacted morale,[113][116] while the Royal Army was short of both food and ammunition. On 20 November, Royal dragoons clashed with Williamite scouts at Wincanton, but along with a minor skirmish at Reading on 9 December, these were the only substantial military actions of the campaign. After securing his rear by taking Plymouth on 18 November, William began his advance on 21 November, while Danby and Belasyse captured York and Hull several days later.[78]

John Churchill, c. 1685, whose defection to William was a serious blow

His commander Feversham and other senior officers advised James to retreat. Lacking information on William's movements, suspicious of his own soldiers, worn out by lack of sleep and debilitating nose-bleeds, on 23 November James agreed.[117] Because of its strategic implications, the withdrawal was a practical admission of defeat.[118] On 24 November, Churchill, Grafton and Princess Anne's husband George deserted to William, followed by Anne herself on 26 November. The next day, James met with those peers still in London, and with the exception of Melfort, Perth and other Catholics, they urged him to announce free Parliamentary elections and negotiate with William.[119]

On 8 December, Halifax, Nottingham and Godolphin met with William at Hungerford to hear his demands, which included the dismissal of Catholics from public office and funding for his army. Many viewed these as a reasonable basis for a settlement, but James decided to flee the country, convinced his life was threatened. This suggestion is generally dismissed by historians, since William made it clear he would not allow his uncle to be harmed. Some Tories hoped James could retain his throne but name a Protestant successor, while the Whigs preferred to drive him out of the country by imposing conditions he would refuse.[110]

The Queen and Prince of Wales left for France on 9 December, James following separately on 10 December.[120] Accompanied only by Edward Hales and Ralph Sheldon, he made his way to Faversham in Kent seeking passage to France, first dropping the Great Seal in the River Thames in a last-ditch attempt to prevent Parliament being summoned.[121] In London, his flight and rumours of a "Papist"

invasion led to riots and destruction of Catholic property, which quickly spread throughout the country. To fill the power vacuum, the Earl of Rochester set up a temporary government including members of the Privy Council and City of London authorities, but it took them two days to restore order.[122]

The entrance of William in London, 16 December 1688

When news arrived, James had been captured in Faversham on 11 December by local fishermen, Lord Ailesbury, one of his personal attendants, was sent to escort him back to London. On entering the city on 16 December, he was welcomed by cheering crowds. By making it seem that James remained in control, Tory loyalists hoped for a settlement which would leave them in government. To create an appearance of normality, he heard Mass and presided over a meeting of the Privy Council.[123][i] James made it clear to the French ambassador Paul Barillon that he still intended to escape to France. His few remaining supporters viewed his flight as cowardice, and a failure to ensure law and order criminally negligent.[124]

Happy to help him into exile, William recommended he relocate to Ham, largely because it was easy to escape from. James suggested Rochester instead, allegedly because his personal guard was there, in reality conveniently positioned for a ship to France. On 18 December, he left London with a Dutch escort as William entered, cheered by the same crowds who greeted his predecessor two days before.[125] William occupied London and now effectively controlled the English government and the country's army, navy, and finances.[126][127] On 22 December, Berwick arrived in Rochester with blank passports allowing them to leave England,

while his guards were instructed not to impede his escape.[128] Although Ailesbury and others begged him to stay, James left for France on 23 December.[121]

The revolutionary settlement

The coronation of William and Mary, by Charles Rochussen. William III and Mary II reigned jointly until her death in 1694, when William became sole monarch.

James' departure enabled William to take control of the provisional government on 28 December.[129] Elections were held in early January for a Convention Parliament, which assembled on 22 January. While the Whigs had a slight majority in the Commons, the Lords was dominated by the Tories, but both were led by moderates. Even Stuart loyalists like Archbishop Sancroft recognised keeping James on the throne was no longer possible. Instead, they argued his daughter Mary should be appointed either regent, or sole monarch.[129]

The issue was debated for next two weeks, much to the annoyance of William, who needed a swift resolution. The situation in Ireland was rapidly deteriorating, while the French had over-run large parts of the Rhineland and were preparing to attack the Dutch.[130] At a meeting with Danby and Halifax on 3 February, he declared he would return home if the Convention did not appoint him joint monarch, while Mary stated she would only rule jointly with her husband. Faced with this ultimatum, on 6 February Parliament declared that in choosing exile, James had abdicated and thus vacated the Crown, which was therefore offered jointly to William and Mary.[131]

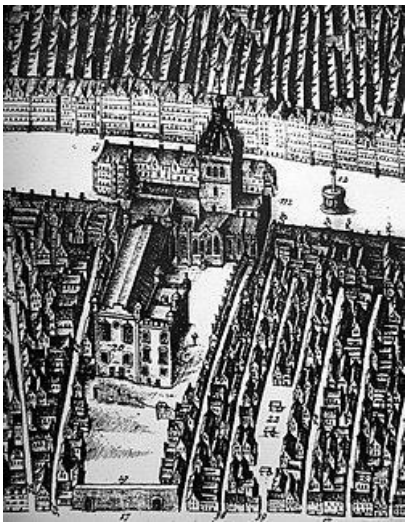
Historian Tim Harris argues the most radical act of the 1688 Revolution was the idea of a "contract" between ruler and people, rebutting the Stuart ideology of divine right.[132] While this was a victory for the Whigs, other pieces of legislation were proposed by the Tories, often with moderate Whig support, designed to protect the

Anglican establishment from being undermined by future monarchs, including the Calvinist William. The Declaration of Right was a tactical compromise, setting out where James had failed, and establishing the rights of English citizens, without agreeing their cause or offering solutions. In December 1689, this was incorporated into the Bill of Rights.[133]

However, there were two areas that arguably broke new constitutional ground, both responses to what were viewed as specific abuses by James. First, the Declaration of Right made keeping a standing army without parliamentary consent illegal, overturning the 1661 and 1662 Militia Acts and vesting control of the military in Parliament, not the Crown.[134] The second was the Coronation Oath Act 1688; the result of James's perceived failure to comply with that taken in 1685, it established obligations owed by the monarchy to the people.[135]

At their coronation on 11 April, William and Mary swore to "govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same". They were also to maintain the Protestant Reformed faith and "preserve inviolable the settlement of the Church of England, and its doctrine, worship, discipline and government as by law established".[135]

Scotland



Parliament House, Edinburgh, where the Convention of Estates met in March 1689

While Scotland was not involved in the landing, by November 1688 only a tiny minority supported James. Many of those who accompanied William were Scots exiles,

including the Earl of Melville, the Duke of Argyll, his personal chaplain William Carstares and Gilbert Burnet.[136] News of James's flight led to celebrations and anti-Catholic riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Most members of the Scottish Privy Council went to London. On 7 January 1689, they asked William to take over government. Elections were held in March for a Scottish Convention, which was also a contest between Presbyterians and Episcopalians for control of the Kirk. While only 50 of the 125 delegates were classed as Episcopalian, they were hopeful of victory since William supported the retention of bishops.[137]

On 16 March a Letter from James was read out to the convention, demanding obedience and threatening punishment for non-compliance. Public anger at its tone meant some Episcopalians stopped attending the convention, claiming to fear for their safety and others changed sides.[138] The 1689–1691 Jacobite Rising forced William to make concessions to the Presbyterians, ended Episcopacy in Scotland and excluded a significant portion of the political class. Many later returned to the Kirk but Non-Juring Episcopalianism was the key determinant of Jacobite support in 1715 and 1745.[139]

The English Parliament held that James 'abandoned' his throne. The Convention argued that he 'forfeited' it by his actions, as listed in the Articles of Grievances.[140] On 11 April, the Convention ended James's reign and adopted the Articles of Grievances and the Claim of Right Act, making Parliament the primary legislative power in Scotland.[141] On 11 May, William and Mary accepted the Crown of Scotland; after their acceptance, the *Claim* and the *Articles* were read aloud, leading to an immediate debate over whether or not an endorsement of these documents was implicit in that acceptance.[*citation needed*][142][*page needed*]

Ireland

A Lost Cause **by Andrew Carrick Gow, 1888. James II departing for France from Kinsale following the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.**

After his flight from England in December 1688, James II had been given refuge by Louis XIV, who provided him financial and diplomatic assistance. Accompanied by 6,000 French troops, on 12 March 1689 he landed in Ireland, where he was backed by the majority Catholic population.[143] His supporters were known as "Jacobites", and the war in Ireland was accompanied by a rising in Scotland; for James, the main objective was to retake England and thus he viewed both Scotland and Ireland as strategic dead ends.[144] On the other hand, Louis saw them as an opportunity to divert British resources from the Low Countries, a difference in aims that was never adequately resolved.[145]

James' Catholic deputy, the Earl of Tyrconnell, had raised an Army of around 36,000, although many were poorly equipped and it was almost impossible to feed, pay and supply so many.[146] Although they quickly occupied much of Ireland, including largely Protestant Ulster, they were unable to capture the key northern port of Derry and were forced to retreat at the end of July. In August, Williamite general Schomberg landed in Belfast Lough with 15,000 reinforcements, but logistics failures meant his army stalled at Dundalk and suffered heavily from sickness and desertion.[147]

The Scottish Jacobites suffered heavy losses in securing victory at Killiecrankie in July 1689, including their leader Viscount Dundee. By May 1690 the rising had been largely suppressed, although pockets of resistance continued in the Highlands until early 1692. At the same time, William III assumed command of government troops in Ireland and gained an important success at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690, before their naval victory at Beachy Head gave the French temporary control of

the English Channel. James returned to France to urge an immediate invasion of England, but the Anglo-Dutch fleet soon regained maritime supremacy, and no invasion was launched.[148]

By the end of 1690, French and Jacobite troops were confined to the south and west of Ireland. Although repulsed with heavy losses at Limerick in September, William transferred command to Godert de Ginkel and returned to Flanders. Despite receiving reinforcements and a new general in the Marquis de St Ruth, the Franco-Irish army was defeated at Aughrim on 12 July 1691; the war in Ireland ended with the Treaty of Limerick in October, allowing the bulk of the Williamite forces to be shipped to the Low Countries.[149]

Anglo-Dutch alliance

William III at the Battle of Landen in 1693, by Ernest Crofts

Though he had carefully avoided making it public, William's main motive in organising the expedition had been the opportunity to bring England into an alliance against France.[150] On 9 December 1688 he had already asked the States General to send a delegation of three to negotiate the conditions. On 18 February (Julian calendar) he asked the convention to support the Republic in its war against France. It refused, only consenting to pay £600,000 for the continued presence of the 17,000 Dutch troops in England.[151] On 9 March (Gregorian calendar) the States General responded to Louis's earlier declaration of war by declaring war on France in return.

Before British forces could effectively take part in the war, the English army had to be reorganised. James' commander-in-chief Louis de Duras, Earl of Feversham, had disbanded the English army in December 1688 so it had to be effectively rebuilt from scratch. Many officers were unwilling to continue under William, while William was reluctant to trust those who had not already served under him. In addition, according

to historian Jonathan Scott: "The state and discipline of the rank and file was 'deplorable'. There was a dire lack of experience and competence at every level."[152] For the purpose of reforming the English army on the Dutch model William appointed Dutch officers to key positions.[153]

The English elite also failed to secure the most important governmental posts, while English Secretaries of State primarily served as executors rather than architects of foreign policy. The development of foreign policy was largely directed by William III and Anthonie Heinsius, who assumed the role of Grand Pensionary of Holland following Fagel's death in late 1688. This situation caused considerable resentment in England.[154]

On 19 April (Julian calendar) the Dutch delegation signed a naval treaty with England. It stipulated that the combined Anglo-Dutch fleet would always be commanded by an Englishman, even when of lower rank.[155] The Dutch agreed to this to make their dominance over the English army more acceptable for the British.[153] The treaty also specified that the two parties would contribute in the ratio of five English vessels against three Dutch vessels, meaning in practice that the Dutch navy in the future would be smaller than the English, something that caused considerable unease in the Dutch Republic.[155] The Navigation Acts were not repealed.[155] On 18 May, the new Parliament allowed William to declare war on France. On 9 September 1689, (Gregorian calendar), William as King of England joined the League of Augsburg against France.[156]

The decline of the Dutch Republic

Dutch and English ships at the Battle of Vigo Bay, 1702

Having England as an ally meant that the military situation of the Republic was strongly improved, which allowed William to be uncompromising in his position towards France. The Dutch successfully secured and expanded their positions in the Spanish Netherlands, while halting French territorial expansion,[157] but these military campaigns were very expensive. In 1712, at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Republic was financially exhausted and was forced to let its fleet deteriorate, which played a role in Britain becoming the preeminent global maritime power.[158]

The Dutch economy, already burdened by the high national debt and concomitant high taxation, suffered from the other European states' protectionist policies, which its weakened fleet was no longer able to resist. To make matters worse, the main Dutch trading and banking houses moved much of their activity from Amsterdam to London after 1688. Between 1688 and 1720, world trade dominance shifted from the Republic to Great Britain.[158]

Assessment and historiography

The Prince of Orange Landing at Torbay **by J. M. W. Turner, 1832**

While the 1688 revolution was labeled "Glorious" by Protestant preachers two decades later,[159] its historiography is complex, and its assessment disputed. Thomas Macaulay's account of the Revolution in *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* exemplifies the "Whig history" narrative of the Revolution as a largely consensual and bloodless triumph of English common sense, confirming and strengthening its institutions of tempered popular liberty and limited monarchy.[160] Edmund Burke set the tone for that interpretation when he proclaimed: "The Revolution was made to preserve our ancient indisputable laws and liberties, and

that ancient constitution of government which is our only security for law and liberty."[161]

An alternative narrative emphasizes William's successful foreign invasion from the Netherlands, and the size of the corresponding military operation. Several researchers have emphasized that aspect, particularly after the third centenary of the event in 1988.[162] The historian J. R. Jones suggested that the invasion "should be seen ... as the first and arguably the only decisive phase of the Nine Years' War."[163] John Childs added that "there was no natural political turmoil in England in 1688", or "at least not of sufficient consequence to produce the overthrow of a king."[50] Jonathan Israel also stresses the importance of the Dutch aspect by arguing that, due to the Dutch occupation of London, parliament was hardly free when they decided to accept William as their king.[164]

It has been argued that the invasion aspect had been downplayed as a result of British pride and effective Dutch propaganda, trying to depict the course of events as a largely internal English affair.[165] As the invitation was initiated by figures who had little influence, the legacy of the Glorious Revolution has been described as a successful propaganda act by William to cover up and justify his invasion.[166][*page needed*] The claim that William was fighting for the Protestant cause in England was used to great effect to disguise the military, cultural and political impact that the Dutch regime had on England.

Expeditionary Banner used by William of Orange as Commander-in-Chief[167]

A third version, proposed by Steven Pincus, underplays the invasion aspect but unlike the Whig narrative views the Revolution as a divisive and violent event that involved all classes of the English population, not just the main aristocratic

protagonists.[168][*page needed*] Pincus argues that his interpretation echoes the widely held view of the Revolution in its aftermath, starting with its revolutionary labelling. Pincus argues that it was momentous especially when looking at the alternative that James was trying to enact – a powerful centralised autocratic state, using French-style "state-building". England's role in Europe and the country's political economy in the 17th century rebuts the view of many late-20th-century historians that nothing revolutionary occurred during the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89. Pincus says it was not a placid turn of events.[169]

In diplomacy and economics William III transformed the English state's ideology and policies. This occurred not because William III was an outsider who inflicted foreign notions on England but because foreign affairs and political economy were at the core of the English revolutionaries' agenda. The revolution of 1688–89 cannot be fathomed in isolation. It would have been inconceivable without the changes resulting from the events of the 1640s and 1650s. The ideas accompanying the Glorious Revolution were rooted in the mid-century upheavals. The 17th century was a century of revolution in England, deserving of the same scholarly attention that 'modern' revolutions attract.[169][*page needed*]

James II tried building a powerful militarised state on the mercantilist assumption that the world's wealth was necessarily finite, and empires were created by taking land from other states. The East India Company was thus an ideal tool to create a vast new English imperial dominion by warring with the Dutch and the Mughal Empire in India. After 1689 came an alternative understanding of economics, which saw Britain as a commercial rather than an agrarian society. It led to the foundation of the Bank of England, the creation of Europe's first widely circulating credit currency and the commencement of the "Age of Projectors".[170] This subsequently gave weight to the view, advocated most famously by Adam Smith in 1776, that wealth was created by human endeavour and was thus potentially infinite.[171]

Karl Marx viewed the revolution as essentially conservative in nature, writing that it was shaped by an alliance between English commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and increasingly commercialized large land owners.[172][173]

Impact

As a coup, albeit largely bloodless, its legitimacy rests in the will expressed separately by the Scottish and English Parliaments according to their respective legal processes.[174] On this point, the Earl of Shaftesbury declared in 1689, "The Parliament of England is that supreme and absolute power, which gives life and motion to the English government".[175] The Revolution established the primacy of parliamentary sovereignty, a principle still relevant in consultation with the 15 Commonwealth realms regarding succession issues.[*clarification needed*] The Bill of Rights 1689 formally established a system of constitutional monarchy and ended moves towards absolute monarchy by restricting the power of the monarch, who could no longer suspend laws, levy taxes, make royal appointments or maintain a standing army during peacetime without Parliament's consent. The British Army remains the military arm of Parliament, not the monarch, although the Crown is the source of all military executive authority.[176][*page needed*]

Unlike the 1639 to 1653 Wars of the Three Kingdoms, most ordinary people in England and Scotland were relatively untouched by the "Glorious Revolution", the majority of the bloodshed taking place in Ireland. As a consequence, some historians suggest that in England at least it more closely resembles a coup d'état, rather than a social upheaval such as the French Revolution.[177][j] This view is consistent with the original meaning of "revolution" as a circular process under which an old system of values is restored to its original position, with England's supposed "ancient constitution" being reasserted, rather than formed anew.[179] Contemporary English political thought, as expressed in John Locke's then popular social contract theory,[180] linked to George Buchanan's view of the contractual agreement between the monarch and their subjects,[181] an argument used by the Scottish Parliament as justification for the Claim of Right.

Under the Coronation Oath Act 1688, William had sworn to maintain the primacy of the Church of England, which both his native Dutch Reformed Church and the Church of Scotland viewed as ideologically suspect in both doctrine and use of bishops. This required a certain degree of religious flexibility on his part, especially as he needed to placate his Catholic allies, Spain and Emperor Leopold.[182] Despite promising legal

toleration for Catholics in his *Declaration* of October 1688, William failed due to domestic opposition.[183] The Act of Toleration 1689 granted relief to Nonconformists but Catholic emancipation would be delayed until 1829.[184]

News of the Glorious Revolution reached the English colonies in North America in 1689, leading to a revolt in Boston and the dissolution of the Dominion of New England.[185] Notably, the Glorious Revolution's principles influenced later human rights frameworks, including the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights.[186]

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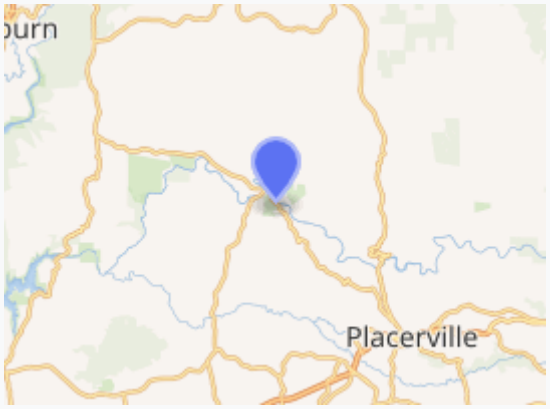
California Gold Rush

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/California_gold_rush

California gold rush

Prospectors working California gold placer deposits in 1850



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Date	January 24, 1848–1855
Location	• Sierra Nevada and Northern California goldfields • 38°48′01″N 120°53′32″W
Participants	300,000 prospectors

Outcome	California becomes a US state Actions of settlers draw allegations of genocide

The **California gold rush** (1848–1855) was a gold rush in California, which began on January 24, 1848, when gold was found by James W. Marshall at Sutter's Mill in Coloma, California.[1] The news of gold brought approximately 300,000 people from the rest of the United States and abroad to California, which had recently been conquered from Mexico. The sudden influx of gold into the money supply reinvigorated the American economy; the sudden population increase allowed California to grow rapidly into statehood in the Compromise of 1850. The gold rush had severe effects on Native Californians and accelerated the Native American population's decline from factors including disease, starvation, and according to certain sources, acts of unprovoked aggression.

The effects of the gold rush were substantial. The arrival of large numbers of "forty-niners" (referring to 1849, the peak year for gold rush immigration) led to significant conflict between the newcomers and indigenous people, eventually resulting in whole tribes being displaced in some cases. Outside of California, the first to arrive were from Oregon, Hawaii, and Latin America in late 1848. Of the approximately 300,000 people who came to California during the gold rush, about half arrived by sea and half came overland on the California Trail and the California Road; forty-niners often faced substantial hardships on the trip. While most of the newly arrived were Americans, the gold rush attracted thousands from Latin America, Europe, Australia, and China. Agriculture and ranching expanded throughout the state to meet the needs of the settlers. San Francisco grew from a small settlement of about 200 residents in 1846 to a boomtown of about 36,000 by 1852. Roads, churches, schools and other towns were built throughout California. In 1849, a state constitution was written. The new constitution was adopted by referendum vote; the future state's interim first governor and legislature were chosen. In September 1850, California achieved statehood.

At the beginning of the gold rush, there was no law regarding property rights in the goldfields and a system of "staking claims" was developed. Prospectors retrieved the

gold from streams and riverbeds using simple techniques, such as panning. Although mining caused environmental harm, more sophisticated methods of gold recovery were developed and later adopted around the world. New methods of transportation developed as steamships came into regular service. By 1869, railroads were built from California to the eastern United States. At its peak, technological advances reached a point where significant financing was required, increasing the proportion of gold companies to individual miners. Gold worth tens of billions of today's US dollars was recovered, which led to great wealth for a few, though many who participated in the California gold rush earned little more than they had started with.

History

Earlier discoveries

Gold was discovered in California as early as March 9, 1842, at Rancho San Francisco, in the mountains north of present-day Los Angeles. Californian native Francisco Lopez was searching for stray horses and stopped on the bank of a small creek (in today's Placerita Canyon), about 3 miles (4.8 km) east of present-day Newhall, and about 35 miles (56 km) northwest of Los Angeles. While the horses grazed, Lopez dug up some wild onions and found a small gold nugget in the roots among the bulbs. He looked further and found more gold.[2] Lopez took the gold to authorities who confirmed its worth. Lopez and others began to search for other streambeds with gold deposits in the area. They found several in the northeastern section of the forest, within present-day Ventura County.[2] In November, some of the gold was sent to the U.S. Mint, but otherwise attracted little notice.[3][4] In 1843, Lopez found gold in San Feliciano Canyon near his first discovery. Mexican miners from Sonora worked the placer deposits until 1846.[2] Minor finds of gold in California were also made by Mission Indians prior to 1848. The friars instructed them to keep its location secret to avoid a gold rush.[5]

Marshall's discovery

1855 illustration of James W. Marshall, discoverer of gold at Sutter's Mill

In January 1847, nine months into the Mexican–American War, the Treaty of Cahuenga was signed, leading to the resolution of the military conflict in Alta California (Upper California).[6] On January 24, 1848, James W. Marshall[a] found shiny metal in the tailrace of a lumber mill he was building for Sacramento pioneer John Sutter—known as Sutter's Mill, near Coloma on the American River.[8][9][10] Marshall brought what he found to Sutter, and the two privately tested the metal. After the tests showed that it was gold, Sutter expressed dismay, wanting to keep the news quiet because he feared what would happen to his plans for an agricultural empire if there were a gold rush in the region.[11] The Mexican–American War ended on May 30 with the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which formally transferred California to the United States.[12]

Having sworn all concerned at the mill to secrecy, in February 1848, Sutter sent Charles Bennett to Monterey to meet with Colonel Mason, the chief U.S. official in California, to secure the mineral rights of the land where the mill stood. Bennett was not to tell anyone of the discovery of gold, but when he stopped at Benicia, he heard talk about the discovery of coal near Mount Diablo, and he blurted out the discovery of gold. He continued to San Francisco, where again, he could not keep the secret. At Monterey, Mason declined to make any judgement of title to lands and mineral rights, and Bennett for the third time revealed the gold discovery.[13]

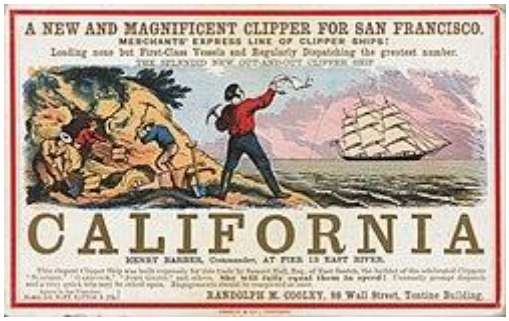
By March 1848, rumors of the discovery were confirmed by San Francisco newspaper publisher and merchant Samuel Brannan. Brannan hurriedly set up a store to sell gold

prospecting supplies,[14] and he walked through the streets of San Francisco, holding aloft a vial of gold, shouting "Gold! Gold! Gold from the American River!"[15]

On August 19, 1848, the *New York Herald* was the first major newspaper on the East Coast to report the discovery of gold. On December 5, 1848, US president James K. Polk confirmed the discovery of gold in an address to Congress.[16] As a result, individuals seeking to benefit from the gold rush—later called the "forty-niners"—began moving to the Gold Country of California or "Mother Lode" from other countries and from other parts of the United States. As Sutter had feared, his business plans were ruined after his workers left in search of gold, and squatters took over his land and stole his crops and cattle.[17]

San Francisco had been a tiny settlement before the rush began. When residents learned about the discovery, it at first became a ghost town of abandoned ships and businesses,[18] but then boomed as merchants and new people arrived. The population of San Francisco increased quickly from about 1,000[19] in 1848 to 25,000 full-time residents by 1850.[20] Miners lived in tents, wood shanties, or deck cabins removed from abandoned ships.[21] There were no churches or religious services in the rapidly growing city, which prompted missionaries like William Taylor to meet the need, where he held services in the street, using a barrel head as his pulpit. Crowds would gather to listen to his sermons, and before long he received enough generous donations from successful gold miners and built San Francisco's first church.[22]

Transportation and supplies



Advertisement about sailing to California, c. 1850

In what has been referred to as the "first world-class gold rush,"[23] there was no easy way to travel to California; forty-niners faced hardship and often death on the way. At first, most Argonauts, as they were also known, traveled by sea. From the East Coast,

a sailing voyage around the tip of South America would take four to five months,[24] and cover approximately 18,000 nautical miles (21,000 mi; 33,000 km). An alternative was to sail to the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama, take canoes and mules for a week through the jungle, and then on the Pacific side, wait for a ship sailing for San Francisco.[25] There was also a route across Mexico starting at Veracruz. The companies providing such transportation generated vast amounts of wealth among their owners, including the U.S. Mail Steamship Company, the federally subsidized Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and the Accessory Transit Company. Many gold-seekers took the overland route across the continental United States, particularly along the California Trail.[26] Each of these routes had its own deadly hazards, from shipwreck to typhoid fever and cholera.[27] In the early years of the rush, much of the population growth in the San Francisco area was due to steamship travel from New York City through overland portages in Nicaragua and Panama and then back up by steamship to San Francisco.[28]

While traveling, many steamships from the eastern seaboard required the passengers to bring kits, which were typically full of personal belongings such as clothes, guidebooks, tools, etc. In addition to personal belongings, Argonauts were required to bring barrels full of beef, biscuits, butter, pork, rice, and salt. While on the steamships, travelers could talk to each other, smoke, fish, and engage in other activities depending on the ship they traveled. Still, the dominant activity held throughout the steamships was gambling, which was ironic, since segregation between wealth gaps was prominent throughout the ships. Everything was segregated between the rich and the poor.[29] There were different levels of travel one could pay for to get to California. The cheaper steamships tended to have longer routes. In contrast, the more expensive ones would get passengers to California quicker. There were clear social and economic distinctions between those who traveled together, being that those who spent more money would receive accommodations that others were not allowed. They would do this with the clear intent to distinguish their higher class power over those that could not afford those accommodations.[30]

Merchant ships fill San Francisco Bay, 1850–51.

Supply ships arrived in San Francisco with goods to supply the needs of the growing population. When hundreds of ships were abandoned after their crews deserted to go into the goldfields, many ships were converted to warehouses, stores, taverns, hotels, and one into a jail.[31] As the city expanded and new places were needed on which to build, many ships were destroyed and used as landfills.[31]

Other developments

Within a few years, there was an important but lesser-known surge of prospectors into far Northern California, specifically into present-day Siskiyou, Shasta and Trinity Counties.[32] Discovery of gold nuggets at the site of present-day Yreka in 1851 brought thousands of gold-seekers up the Siskiyou Trail[33] and throughout California's northern counties.[34]

Settlements of the gold rush era, such as Portuguese Flat on the Sacramento River, sprang into existence and then faded. The gold rush town of Weaverville on the Trinity River today retains the oldest continuously used Taoist temple in California, a legacy of Chinese miners who came. While there are not many Gold Rush era ghost towns still in existence, the remains of the once-bustling town of Shasta have been preserved in a California State Historic Park in Northern California.[35]

By 1850, most of the easily accessible gold had been collected, and attention turned to extracting gold from more difficult locations. Faced with gold increasingly difficult to retrieve, Americans began to drive out foreigners to get at the most accessible gold that remained. The new California State Legislature passed a foreign miners tax of twenty dollars per month ($770 per month as of 2025), and

American prospectors began organized attacks on foreign miners, particularly Latin Americans and Chinese.[36]

In addition, the huge numbers of newcomers were driving Native Americans out of their traditional hunting, fishing, and food-gathering areas. To protect their homes and livelihood, some Native Americans responded by attacking the miners. This provoked counter-attacks on native villages. The Native Americans, out-gunned, were often slaughtered.[37] Those who escaped massacres were many times unable to survive without access to their food-gathering areas, and they starved to death. Novelist and poet Joaquin Miller vividly captured one such attack in his semi-autobiographical work, *Life Amongst the Modocs*.[38]

Forty-niners

The first people to rush to the goldfields, beginning in the spring of 1848, were the residents of California themselves—primarily agriculturally oriented Americans and Europeans living in Northern California, along with Native Californians and some *Californios* (Spanish-speaking Californians; at the time, commonly referred to in English as simply 'Californians').[39] These first miners were sometimes entire families, of all ethnicities, in which everyone helped in the effort. Women and children were sometimes found panning next to the men. Some enterprising families set up boarding houses to accommodate the influx of men; in such cases, the women could bring in steady income while their husbands searched for gold.[40]

Word of the gold rush spread slowly at first. The earliest gold-seekers were people who lived near California or people who heard the news from ships on the fastest sailing routes from California. The first large group of Americans to arrive were several thousand Oregonians who came down the Siskiyou Trail.[41] Next came people from the Sandwich Islands, and several thousand Latin Americans, including people from Mexico, from Peru and from as far away as Chile,[42] both by ship and overland.[41] By the end of 1848, some 6,000 Argonauts had come to California.[41]

Only a small number (probably fewer than 500) traveled overland from the United States that year.[41] Some of these "forty-eighters",[43] as the earliest gold-seekers

were sometimes called, were able to collect large amounts of easily accessible gold—in some cases, thousands of dollars' worth each day.[44][45] Even ordinary prospectors averaged daily gold finds worth 10 to 15 times the daily wage of a laborer on the East Coast. A person could work for six months in the goldfields and find the equivalent of six years' wages back home.[46] Some hoped to get rich quick and return home, and others wished to settle in California.

***Independent Gold Hunter on His Way to California*, c. 1850**[b]

By the beginning of 1849, word of the gold rush had spread around the world, and an overwhelming number of gold-seekers and merchants began to arrive from virtually every continent. The largest group of forty-niners in 1849 were Americans from the East Coast, arriving by the tens of thousands overland across the continent and along various sailing routes[48] (the term "forty-niner" was derived from the year 1849). Many from the East Coast negotiated a crossing of the Appalachian Mountains, taking to riverboats in Pennsylvania, poling the keelboats to Missouri River wagon train assembly ports, and then traveling in a wagon train along the California Trail. Many others came by way of the Isthmus of Panama and the steamships of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Australians[49] and New Zealanders picked up the news from

ships carrying Hawaiian newspapers, and thousands, infected with "gold fever", boarded ships for California.[50]

Forty-niners came from Latin America, particularly from the Mexican mining districts near Sonora and Chile.[50][51] Gold-seekers and merchants from Asia, primarily from China,[52] began arriving in 1849, at first in modest numbers to *Gum San* ("Gold Mountain"), the name given to California in Chinese.[53] The first immigrants from Europe, reeling from the effects of the Revolutions of 1848 and with a longer distance to travel, began arriving in late 1849, mostly from France,[54] with some Germans, Italians, and Britons.[48]

It is estimated that approximately 90,000 people arrived in California in 1849—about half by land and half by sea.[55] Of these, perhaps 50,000 to 60,000 were Americans, and the rest were from other countries.[48] By 1855, it is estimated at least 300,000 gold-seekers, merchants, and other immigrants had arrived in California from around the world.[56] The largest group continued to be Americans, but there were tens of thousands each of Mexicans, Chinese, Britons, Australians,[57] French, and Latin Americans,[58] together with many smaller groups of miners, such as African Americans, Filipinos, Basques[59] and people from the Ottoman Empire.[60][61]

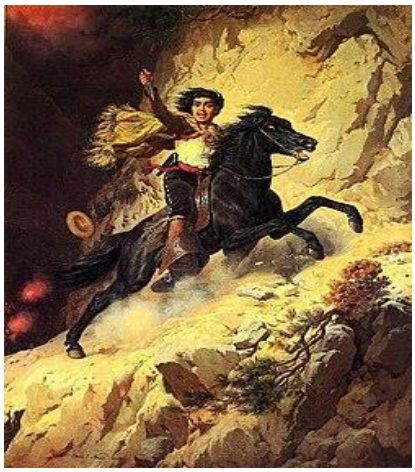
People from small villages in the hills near Genoa, Italy, were among the first to settle permanently in the Sierra Nevada foothills; they brought with them traditional agricultural skills, developed to survive cold winters.[62] A modest number of miners were of African ancestry (probably fewer than 4,000)[63] had come from the Southern States,[64] the Caribbean and Brazil.[65]

A number of immigrants were from China. Several hundred Chinese arrived in California in 1849 and 1850, and in 1852 more than 20,000 landed in San Francisco.[66] Their distinctive dress and appearance was highly recognizable in the goldfields. Chinese miners suffered enormously, enduring violent racism from white miners who aimed their frustrations at foreigners. Further animosity toward the Chinese led to legislation such as the Chinese Exclusion Act and Foreign Miners Tax.[67][66]

There were also women in the gold rush. However, their numbers were small. Of the 40,000 people who arrived by ship to the San Francisco Bay in 1849, only 700 were women (including those who were poor, wealthy, entrepreneurs, prostitutes, single, and married).[68] They were of various ethnicities including Anglo-American, African-American,[69] Hispanic, Native, European, Chinese, and Jewish. The reasons they came varied: some came with their husbands, refusing to be left behind to fend for themselves, some came because their husbands sent for them, and others came (singles and widows) for the adventure and economic opportunities.[70] On the trail many people died from accidents, cholera, fever, and myriad other causes, and many women became widows before even setting eyes on California. While in California, women became widows quite frequently due to mining accidents, disease, or mining disputes of their husbands. Life in the goldfields offered opportunities for women to break from their traditional work.[71][72]

Because of many thousands of people flooding into California at Sacramento and San Francisco and surrounding areas, the Methodist church deemed it necessary to send missionaries there to preach the gospel, as churches in that part of the state were not to be found. The first missionary to arrive was William Taylor who arrived in San Francisco in September 1849. For many months he preached in the streets to hundreds of people without salary, and ultimately after saving often generous donations from successful miners, he built and established the first Methodist church in California, and California's first professional hospital.[73][74]

Legal rights



Joaquín Murrieta, called the "Robin Hood of California", was a notorious outlaw during the gold rush.

When the Gold Rush began, the California goldfields were peculiarly lawless places.[75] When gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, California was still technically part of Mexico, under American military occupation as the result of the Mexican–American War. With the signing of the treaty ending the war on February 2, 1848, California became a possession of the United States, but it was not a formal "territory" and did not become a state until September 9, 1850. California existed in the unusual condition of a region under military control. There was no civil legislature, executive or judicial body for the entire region.[76] Local residents operated under a confusing and changing mixture of Mexican rules, American principles, and personal dictates. Lax enforcement of federal laws, such as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, encouraged the arrival of free blacks and escaped slaves.[61]

While the treaty ending the Mexican–American War obliged the United States to honor Mexican land grants,[77] almost all the goldfields were outside those grants. Instead, the goldfields were primarily on "public land", meaning land formally owned by the United States government.[78] However, there were no legal rules yet in place,[75] and no practical enforcement mechanisms.[79]

The benefit to the forty-niners was that the gold was simply "free for the taking" at first. In the goldfields at the beginning, there was no private property, no licensing fees, and no taxes.[80][81] The miners informally adapted Mexican mining law that had existed in California.[82] For example, the rules attempted to balance the rights of early arrivers at a site with later arrivers; a "claim" could be "staked" by a prospector, but that claim was valid only as long as it was being actively worked.[75][83][84]

Miners worked at a claim only long enough to determine its potential. If a claim was deemed as low-value—as most were—miners would abandon the site in search of a better one. In the case where a claim was abandoned or not worked upon, other miners would "claim-jump" the land. "Claim-jumping" meant that a miner began work on a previously claimed site.[83][84] Disputes were often handled personally and violently, and were sometimes addressed by groups of prospectors acting as arbitrators.[78][83][84] This often led to heightened ethnic tensions.[85] In some areas

the influx of many prospectors could lead to a reduction of the existing claim size by simple pressure.[86]

Development of gold-recovery techniques

Approximately four hundred million years ago, California lay at the bottom of a large sea; underwater volcanoes deposited lava and minerals (including gold) onto the sea floor. By tectonic forces these minerals and rocks came to the surface of the Sierra Nevada,[87] and eroded. Water carried the exposed gold downstream and deposited it in quiet gravel beds along the sides of old rivers and streams.[88][89] The forty-niners first focused their efforts on these deposits of gold.[90]

Because the gold in the California gravel beds was so richly concentrated, early forty-niners were able to retrieve loose gold flakes and nuggets with their hands, or simply "pan" for gold in rivers and streams.[91][92] Panning cannot take place on a large scale, and industrious miners and groups of miners graduated to placer mining, using "cradles" and "rockers" or "long-toms"[93] to process larger volumes of gravel.[94] Miners would also engage in "coyoteing",[95] a method that involved digging a shaft 6 to 13 meters (20 to 43 ft) deep into placer deposits along a stream. Tunnels were then dug in all directions to reach the richest veins of pay dirt.

In the most complex placer mining, groups of prospectors would divert the water from an entire river into a sluice alongside the river and then dig for gold in the newly exposed river bottom.[96] Mixed groups of Chileans and Mexicans were the first to apply this technique which required collaborative work which was something that was more common among Chileans when compared to Anglo Americans.[97][98]

Modern estimates are that as much as 12 million ounces[99] (370 t) of gold were removed in the first five years of the Gold Rush.[100]

Replica of a horse-powered Chilean mill which Chileans introduced to California during the gold rush[97]

Chilean miners, coming from an area with a long mining tradition, were influential in California. Many Euroamerican miners learned from them and from Sonorans.[101][102][98] Chileans are credited to have introduced the *batea* gold pan (dish made of wood) and the *trapiche* to California.[102][97] The *trapiche* became known as the Chilean mill and compared favourable to similar technology introduced by Mexicans.[102][97]

Hydraulic mining and dredging

In the next stage, by 1853, hydraulic mining was used on ancient gold-bearing gravel beds on hillsides and bluffs in the goldfields.[103] In a modern style of hydraulic mining first developed in California, and later used around the world, a high-pressure hose directed a powerful stream or jet of water at gold-bearing gravel beds.[104] The loosened gravel and gold would then pass over sluices, with the gold settling to the bottom where it was collected. By the mid-1880s, it is estimated that 11 million troy ounces (340 t) of gold (worth approximately US$15 billion at December 2010 prices) had been recovered by hydraulic mining.[100]

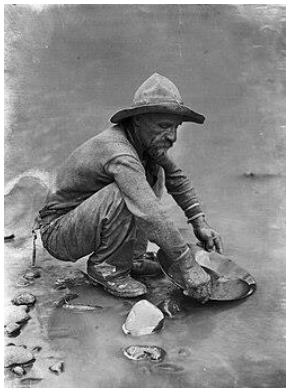
A byproduct of these extraction methods was that large amounts of gravel, silt, heavy metals, and other pollutants went into streams and rivers.[105][106] Court rulings (1882 Gold Run and 1884 "Sawyer Act") and 1893 federal legislation limited hydraulic mining in California. As of 1999 many areas still bear the scars of hydraulic mining, since the resulting exposed earth and downstream gravel deposits do not support plant life.[107]

After the gold rush had concluded, gold recovery operations continued. The final stage to recover loose gold was to prospect for gold that had slowly washed down into the flat river bottoms and sandbars of California's Central Valley and other gold-bearing areas of California (such as Scott Valley in Siskiyou County). By the late 1890s, dredging technology (also invented in California) had become economical,[108] and it is estimated that more than 20 million troy ounces (620 t) were recovered by dredging.[100]

Hard-rock mining

Both during the gold rush and in the decades that followed, gold-seekers also engaged in hard-rock mining, extracting the gold directly from the rock that contained it (typically quartz), usually by digging and blasting to follow and remove veins of the gold-bearing quartz.[109] Chilean miners in particular had experience in this type of mining.[101][97] Once the gold-bearing rocks were brought to the surface, the rocks were crushed and the gold separated, either using separation in water, using its density difference from quartz sand, or by washing the sand over copper plates coated with mercury (with which gold forms an amalgam). Loss of mercury in the amalgamation process was a source of environmental contamination.[110] Eventually, hard-rock mining became the single largest source of gold produced in the Gold Country.[100][111] The total production of gold in California from then until now is estimated at 118 million troy ounces (3,700 t).[112]

Image gallery

- 

Forty-niner panning for gold

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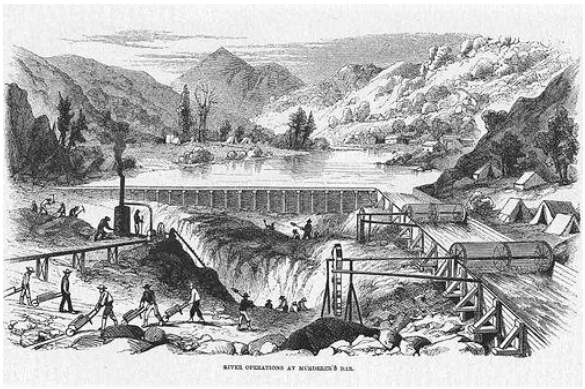
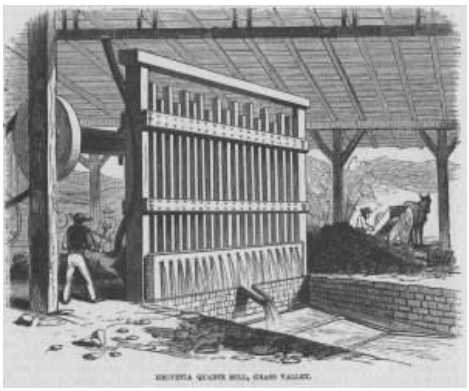
Sluice for separation of gold from dirt using water

- 

Excavating a riverbed after the water has been diverted

- 

Crushing quartz ore prior to washing out gold

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California gold miners with long tom, c. 1850–1852

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Mining on the American River near Sacramento, c. 1852

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Californio miner processing ore, c. 1862

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Excavating a gravel bed with jets, c. 1863

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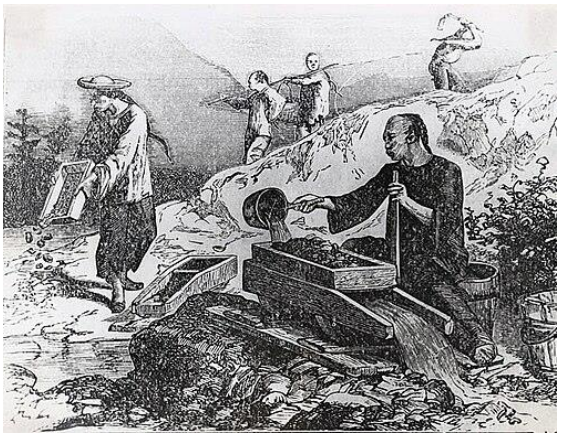
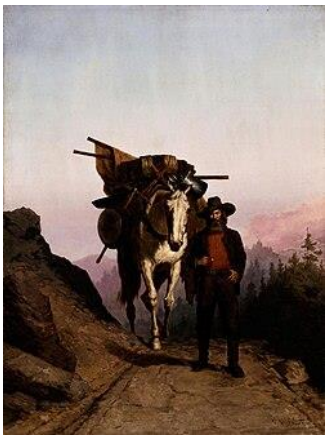
Panning on the Mokelumne River (1860 illustration)

- 

Chinese gold miners in California (illustration)

- 

Henry Raschen, *California Miner with Pack Horse*, 1887, oil on canvas

Profits

Recent scholarship confirms that merchants made far more money than miners during the gold rush.[113][114] The wealthiest man in California during the early years of the

rush was Samuel Brannan, a tireless self-promoter, shopkeeper and newspaper publisher.[115] Brannan opened the first supply stores in Sacramento, Coloma, and other spots in the goldfields. Just as the rush began, he purchased all the prospecting supplies available in San Francisco and resold them at a substantial profit.[115]

Some gold-seekers made a significant amount of money.[116] On average, half the gold-seekers made a modest profit, after taking all expenses into account; economic historians have suggested that white miners were more successful than black, Indian, or Chinese miners.[117] However, taxes such as the California foreign miners tax passed in 1851, targeted mainly Latino miners[118] and kept them from making as much money as whites, who did not have any taxes imposed on them. In California most late arrivals made little or wound up losing money.[113] Similarly, many unlucky merchants set up in settlements that disappeared, or which succumbed to one of the calamitous fires that swept the towns that sprang up. By contrast, a businessman who went on to great success was Levi Strauss, who first began selling denim overalls in San Francisco in 1853.[119]

Other businessmen reaped great rewards in retail, shipping, entertainment, lodging,[120] or transportation.[121] Boardinghouses, food preparation, sewing, and laundry were highly profitable businesses often run by women (married, single, or widowed) who realized men would pay well for a service done by a woman. Brothels also brought in large profits, especially when combined with saloons and gaming houses.[122]

By 1855, the economic climate had changed dramatically. Gold could be retrieved profitably from the goldfields only by medium to large groups of workers, either in partnerships or as employees. By the mid-1850s, it was the owners of these gold-mining companies who made the money. Also, the population and economy of California had become large and diverse enough that money could be made in a wide variety of conventional businesses.[123]

Path of the gold

Portsmouth Square, San Francisco, during the gold rush, 1851

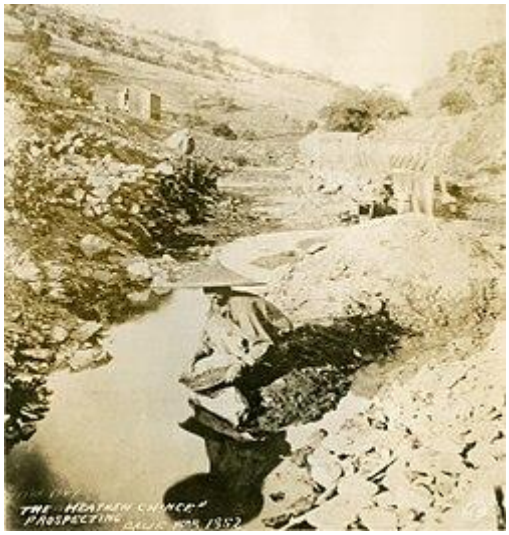
Once extracted, the gold itself took many paths. First, much of the gold was used locally to purchase food, supplies and lodging for the miners. It also went towards entertainment, which consisted of anything from a traveling theater to alcohol, gambling, and prostitutes. These transactions often took place using the recently recovered gold, carefully weighed out.[124][125] These merchants and vendors, in turn, used the gold to purchase supplies from ship captains or packers bringing goods to California.[126]

The gold then left California aboard ships or mules to go to the makers of the goods from around the world. A second path was the Argonauts themselves who, having personally acquired a sufficient amount, sent the gold home, or returned home taking with them their hard-earned "diggings". For example, one estimate is that some US$80 million worth of California gold (equivalent to US$2.8 billion today) was sent to France by French prospectors and merchants.[127]

A majority of the gold went back to New York City brokerage houses.[28]

As the gold rush progressed, local banks and gold dealers issued "banknotes" or "drafts"—locally accepted paper currency—in exchange for gold,[128] and private mints created private gold coins.[129] With the building of the San Francisco Mint in 1854, gold bullion was turned into official United States gold coins for circulation.[130] The gold was also later sent by California banks to U.S. national banks in exchange for national paper currency to be used in the booming California economy.[131]

Effects



1852 photograph, captioned "The Heathen Chinee Prospecting", indicating prejudice against Chinese gold miners

The arrival of hundreds of thousands of new people in California within a few years, compared to a population of some 15,000 Europeans and *Californios* beforehand,[132] had many dramatic effects.[133]

A 2017 study attributes the record-long economic expansion of the United States in the recession-free period of 1841–1856 primarily to "a boom in transportation-goods investment following the discovery of gold in California."[134]

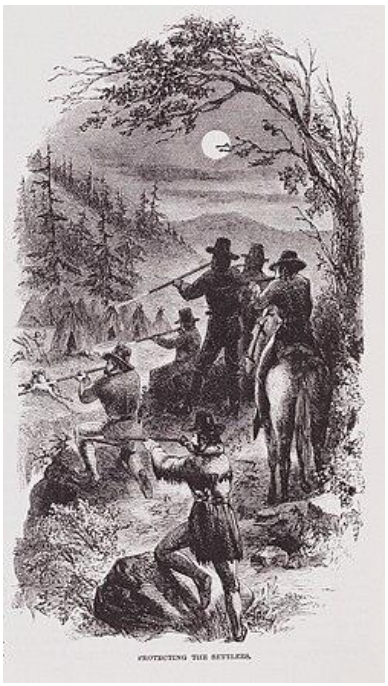
Government and commerce

The gold rush propelled California from a sleepy, little-known backwater to a center of the global imagination and the destination of hundreds of thousands of people. The new immigrants often showed remarkable inventiveness and civic mindedness. For example, in the midst of the gold rush, towns and cities were chartered, a state constitutional convention was convened, a state constitution written, elections held, and representatives sent to Washington, D.C., to negotiate the admission of California as a state.[135]

Large-scale agriculture (California's second "Gold Rush"[136]) began during this time.[137] Roads, schools, churches,[138] and civic organizations quickly came into existence.[135] The vast majority of the immigrants were Americans.[139] Pressure grew for better communications and political connections to the rest of the United States, leading to statehood for California on September 9, 1850, in the Compromise of 1850 as the 31st state of the United States.

Between 1847 and 1870, the population of San Francisco increased from 500 to 150,000.[140] The Gold Rush wealth and population increase led to significantly improved transportation between California and the East Coast. The Panama Railway, spanning the Isthmus of Panama, was finished in 1855.[141] Steamships, including those owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, began regular service from San Francisco to Panama, where passengers, goods and mail would take the train across the Isthmus and board steamships headed to the East Coast. One ill-fated journey, that of the S.S. *Central America*,[142] ended in disaster as the ship sank in a hurricane off the coast of the Carolinas in 1857, with approximately three tons of California gold aboard.[143][144]

Native Americans



***Protecting the Settlers*, an illustration by J. R. Browne for his work *The Indians of California* (1864)**

Urban Indians had lived in California since Spanish times. The millrace where gold was first discovered had been dug by a crew of Indians hired by John Sutter.[145]

The human and environmental costs of the Gold Rush were substantial. Native Americans, dependent on traditional hunting, gathering and agriculture, became the victims of starvation and disease, as gravel, silt and toxic chemicals from prospecting operations killed fish and destroyed habitats.[106][107] The surge in the mining population also resulted in the disappearance of game and food gathering locales as

gold camps and other settlements were built amidst them. Later farming spread to supply the settlers' camps, taking more land away from the Native Americans.[146]

In some areas, systematic attacks against tribespeople in or near mining districts occurred. Various conflicts were fought between natives and settlers.[147] Miners often saw Native Americans as impediments to their mining activities.[148] Ed Allen, interpretive lead for Marshall Gold Discovery State Historic Park, reported that there were times when miners would kill up to 50 or more Natives in one day.[149] Retribution attacks on solitary miners could result in larger scale attacks against Native populations, at times tribes or villages not involved in the original act.[150] During the 1852 Bridge Gulch Massacre, a group of settlers attacked a band of Wintu Indians in response to the killing of a citizen named J. R. Anderson. After his killing, the sheriff led a group of men to track down the Indians, whom the men then attacked, killing more than 150 Wintu people. Only three children survived the massacre that was against a different band of Wintu than the one that had killed Anderson.[151]

Historian Benjamin Madley in *An American Genocide*, recorded the numbers of killings of California Indians between 1846 and 1873 and estimated that during this period at least 9,400 to 16,000 California Indians were killed by non-Indians, mostly occurring in more than 370 massacres (defined as the "intentional killing of five or more disarmed combatants or largely unarmed noncombatants, including women, children, and prisoners, whether in the context of a battle or otherwise").[152] Furthermore, California stood in opposition to ratifying the eighteen treaties signed between tribal leaders and federal agents in 1851.[153] The state government, in support of miner activities, funded and supported private militia groups, appropriating over $1 million towards the funding and operation of the paramilitary organizations.[154] Peter Burnett, California's first governor, declared that California was a battleground between the races and that there were only two options towards California Indians: extermination or removal. "That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct, must be expected. While we cannot anticipate the result with but painful regret, the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert." For Burnett, like many of his contemporaries, the genocide was part of God's plan, and it was necessary for Burnett's constituency

to move forward in California.[155] The Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, passed on April 22, 1850, by the California Legislature, allowed settlers to capture and use Native people as bonded workers, prohibited Native peoples' testimony against settlers, and allowed the adoption of Native children by settlers, often for labor purposes.[156]

After the initial boom had ended, explicitly anti-foreign and racist attacks, laws, and confiscatory taxes sought to drive out foreigners—in addition to Native Americans—from the mines, especially the Chinese and Latin American immigrants mostly from Sonora, Mexico, and Chile.[66][157] Spanish-speaking immigrants tended to group together and among these Chileans tended to assume leadership which made outsiders call all of them "Chilean".[97] This leadership was particularly visible when Spanish-speaking miners had to confront "Anglo" miners.[97] Chilean miners are known to have resisted eviction by various means, both legal and by the use of revenge attacks culminating in the Chile War of 1849.[97][158]

The toll on the American immigrants was severe as well: one in twelve forty-niners perished, as the death and crime rates during the Gold Rush were extraordinarily high, and the resulting vigilantism also took its toll.[159][160]

Worldwide economic stimulation

Chilean wheat exports to California from 1848 to 1854 (in qqm)[161]

Year	Grains	Flour
1848	3000	n/a
1849	87,000	69,000
1850	277,000	221,000
1854	63,000	50,000

The gold rush stimulated economies around the world as well. Farmers in Chile, Australia, and Hawaii found a huge new market for their food; British manufactured goods were in high demand; clothing and even prefabricated houses arrived from

China.[162] The return of large amounts of California gold to pay for these goods raised prices and stimulated investment and the creation of jobs around the world.[163] Australian prospector Edward Hargraves, noting similarities between the geography of California and his home country, returned to Australia to discover gold and spark the Australian gold rushes.[164] Preceding the gold rush, the United States was on a bi-metallic standard, but the sudden increase in physical gold supply increased the relative value of physical silver and drove silver money from circulation. The increase in gold supply also created a monetary supply shock.[165]

Within a few years after the end of the gold rush, in 1863, the groundbreaking ceremony for the western leg of the first transcontinental railroad was held in Sacramento. The line's completion, some six years later, financed in part with Gold Rush money,[166] united California with the central and eastern United States. Travel that had taken weeks or even months could now be accomplished in days.[167]

Gender practices

As the California gold rush brought a disproportionate population of men and set an environment of experimental lawlessness separate from the bounds of standard society, conventional American gender roles came into question.[168] In the large absence of women, these migrant young men were made to reorganize their social and sexual practices, leading to cross-gender practices that most often took place as cross-dressing. Dance events were a notable social space for cross-dressing, where a piece of cloth (such as a handkerchief or sackcloth patch) would denote a 'woman.'[169] Beyond social events, these subverted gender expectations continued into domestic duties as well. Though cross-dressing occurred most frequently with men as women, the reverse also applied.[170]

These miners and merchants of various genders and gendered appearances, encouraged by the social fluidity and population limitations of the Wild West, shaped the beginnings of San Francisco's prominent queer history.[168]

Longer-term

External videos

Presentation by H. W. Brands on *The Age of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the New American Dream*, September 19, 2002, C-SPAN

California's name became indelibly connected with the gold rush, and fast success in a new world became known as the "California Dream".[171] California was perceived as a place of new beginnings, where great wealth could reward hard work and good luck. Historian H. W. Brands noted that in the years after the Gold Rush, the California Dream spread across the nation:

The old American Dream ... was the dream of the Puritans, of Benjamin Franklin's "Poor Richard"... of men and women content to accumulate their modest fortunes a little at a time, year by year by year. The new dream was the dream of instant wealth, won in a twinkling by audacity and good luck. [This] golden dream ... became a prominent part of the American psyche only after Sutter's Mill.[172]

Legacy

(1) State motto, "Eureka" on the Seal of California. (2) California state route shield, with the number 49 and shaped like a miner's spade. (3) The 1925 commemorative California Diamond Jubilee half dollar.

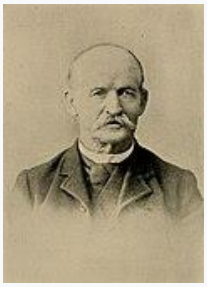
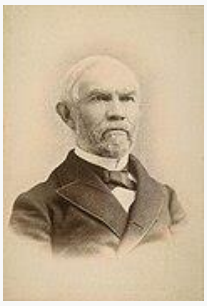
Overnight California gained the international reputation as the "golden state".[173] Generations of immigrants have been attracted by the California Dream. California farmers,[174] oil drillers,[175] movie makers,[176] airplane builders,[177] computer and microchip makers, and "dot-com" entrepreneurs have each had their boom times in the decades after the gold rush.[178]

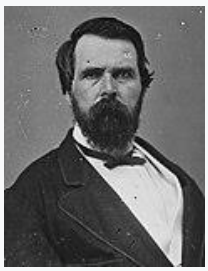
In addition, the standard route shield of state highways in California is in the shape of a miner's spade to honor the California gold rush.[179][180] Today, the aptly named State Route 49 travels through the Sierra Nevada foothills, connecting many Gold Rush-era towns such as Placerville, Auburn, Grass Valley, Nevada City, Coloma, Jackson, and Sonora.[181] This state highway also passes very near Columbia State Historic Park, a protected area encompassing the historic business district of the town of Columbia; the park has preserved many gold rush–era buildings, which are presently occupied by tourist-oriented businesses.[182]

Cultural references

The literary history of the gold rush is reflected in the works of Mark Twain (*The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*), Bret Harte (*A Millionaire of Rough-and-Ready*), Joaquin Miller (*Life Amongst the Modocs*), and many others.[38][183]

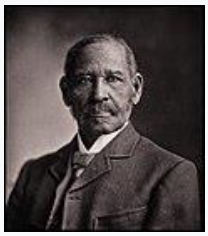
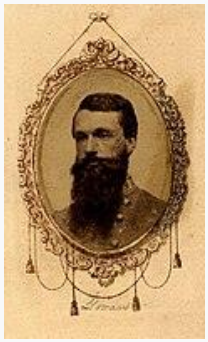
The San Francisco 49ers, a professional American football team based in the San Francisco Bay Area and competing in the National Football League, are named after miners.

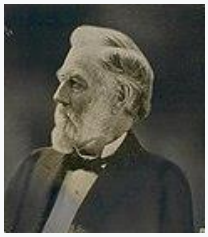
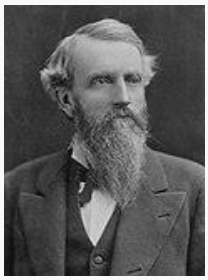
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
John "Grizzly" Adams		1812–1860	Medway, Massachusetts, U.S.
Elihu Anthony		1818–1905	Greenfield, New York, U.S.
Philip Danforth Armour		1832–1901	Stockbridge, New York, U.S.
Josiah Belden		1815–1892	Connecticut, U.S.
Charles H. Bennett		1811–1855	Walla Walla, Washington, U.S.

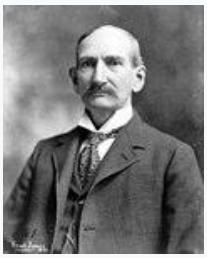
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
John Bidwell		1819–1900	Chautauqua County, New York, U.S.
Samuel Brannan		1819–1889	Saco, Massachusetts (now Maine), U.S.
Juana Briones de Miranda		c. 1802 – 1889	Villa de Branciforte (modern day Santa Cruz), California
R. C. Chambers		1832–1901	Lexington, Ohio, U.S.
Jean Baptiste Charbonneau		1805–1866	Fort Mandan, North Dakota, U.S.
Alvin Aaron Coffey Sr.		1822–1902	Mason County, Kentucky, U.S.

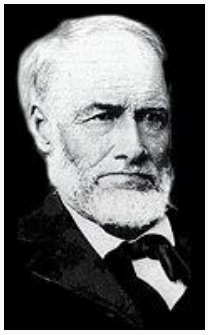
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Belle Cora		c. 1827–1862	Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.
Lotta Crabtree		1847–1924	New York City, New York, U.S.
William D. Bradshaw		1826–1864	Buncombe County, North Carolina, U.S
Charles Crocker		1822–1888	Troy, New York, U.S.
Alonzo Delano		1806–1874	Aurora, Erie County, New York, U.S.
George Washington Dennis		c. 1825–1916	Mobile County, Alabama, U.S.

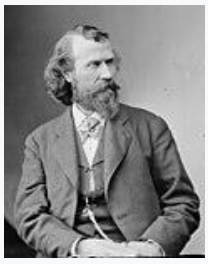
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Charles S. Fairfax		1829–1869	Vaucluse Plantation, Virginia, U.S.
Thomas Fallon		1825–1885	Ireland
Joseph Libbey Folsom		1817–1855	Meredith, New Hampshire, U.S.
John C. Frémont		1813–1890	Savannah, Georgia, U.S.
John White Geary		1819–1873	Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, U.S.

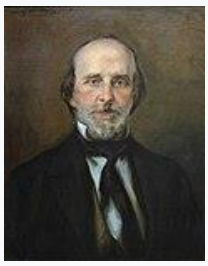
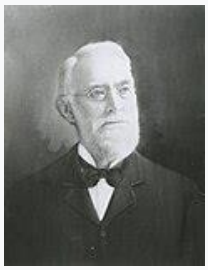
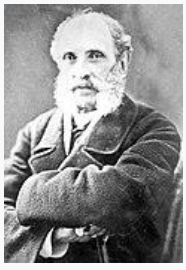
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Domingo Ghirardelli		1817–1894	Rapallo, Kingdom of Sardinia (now Italy)
Mifflin Wistar Gibbs		1823–1915	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.
Thomas Gilman		1830–1911	Tennessee, U.S.
George Gordon		1818–1869	London, England
Daniel Govan		1829–1911	Northampton County, North Carolina, U.S.

Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Ulysses S. Grant		1822–1885	Point Pleasant, Ohio, U.S.
Alvinza Hayward		1821–1904	Vermont, U.S.
George Hearst		1820–1891	Sullivan, Missouri Territory (now Missouri), U.S.
Albert W. Hicks		c. 1820–1860	Foster, Rhode Island, U.S.
Frederick A. Hihn		1829–1913	Duchy of Brunswick (now Germany)
John Wesley Hillman		1832–1915	Albany, New York, U.S.

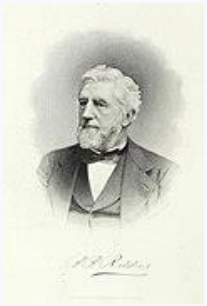
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Sherman Otis Houghton		1828–1914	New York City, New York, U.S.
William B. Ide		1796–1852	Rutland, Massachusetts, U.S.
Frank James		1843–1915	Kearney, Missouri, U.S.
Seth Kinman		1815–1888	Union County, Pennsylvania, U.S.
William Leidesdorff		1810–1848	St. Croix, Danish West Indies (now United States Virgin Islands)

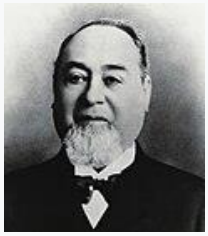
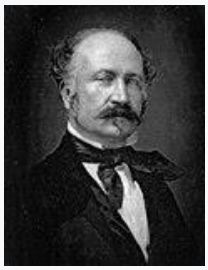
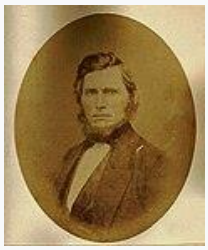
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Peter Lester		c. 1814 – c. 1897	South Carolina, U.S.
James Lick		1796–1876	Stumpstown (now Fredericksburg), Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, U.S.
Heinrich Lienhard		1822–1903	Bilten, Canton of Glarus, Switzerland
James W. Marshall		1810–1885	Hopewell Township, New Jersey, U.S.
Richard Barnes Mason		1797–1850	Lexington Plantation, Fairfax County, Virginia, U.S.

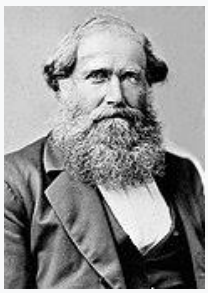
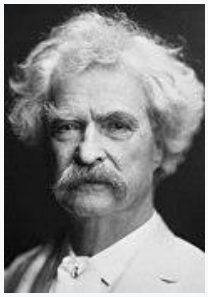
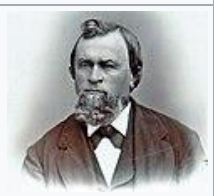
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Lola Montez		1821–1861	Grange, County Sligo, Connacht, Ireland
James McClatchy		1824–1883	Ireland
Benjamin McCulloch		1811–1862	Rutherford County, Tennessee, U.S.
Joaquin Miller		1837–1913	Union County, Indiana, U.S.
Joaquin Murrieta		1829–1853	Álamos, Sonora, Mexico

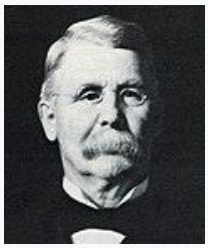
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Isaac Murphy		c. 1799–1882	Pennsylvania, U.S.
John Marion Murphy		1824–1892	Frampton, Quebec, Lower Canada
Joshua Norton		1818–1880	Deptford, England
Lester Allan Pelton		1829–1908	Vermilion, Ohio, U.S.
Vicente Pérez Rosales		1807–1886	Santiago, Chile.

Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Pío Pico		1801–1894	Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, San Gabriel, Alta California, New Spain
Mary Ellen Pleasant		c. 1814–1904	U.S.
Addison Pratt		1802–1872	Winchester, New Hampshire, U.S.
José Manuel Ramírez Rosales		1804–1877	Santiago, Chile.
James F. Reed		1800–1874	County Armagh, Kingdom of Ireland

Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Benjamin B. Redding		1824–1882	Yarmouth, Colony of Nova Scotia (now Nova Scotia, Canada)
Moses Rodgers		c. 1835–1900	Missouri, U.S.
John Howell Sears		1823–1907	Sullivan County, New York, U.S.
William Tecumseh Sherman		1820–1891	Lancaster, Ohio, U.S.
Leland Stanford		1824–1893	Watervliet, New York, U.S.
Elijah Steele		1817–1883	New York, U.S.

Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Levi Strauss		1829–1902	Buttenheim, Kingdom of Bavaria, German Confederation (now Germany)
John Studebaker		1833–1917	Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.
Marie Suize		1824–1892	Savoy, France
John Sutter		1803–1880	Kandern, Margraviate of Baden, Holy Roman Empire (now Germany)
A. A. Townsend		1810–1888	Sussex County, New Jersey, U.S.
Ah Toy		1829–1928	Canton, Guangdong, Qing China
George Treat		1819–1907	Frankfort, Maine, U.S.

Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Matthew Turner		1825–1909	Geneva, Ohio, U.S.
Mark Twain		1835–1910	Florida, Missouri, U.S.
Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo		1807–1890	Monterey, Alta California, Viceroyalty of New Spain (now California, U.S.)
William Waldo		1812–1881	
Carl David Maria Weber		1814–1881	Steinwenden, Palatinate, Kingdom of Bavaria (now Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany)
Bela Wellman		1819–1887	

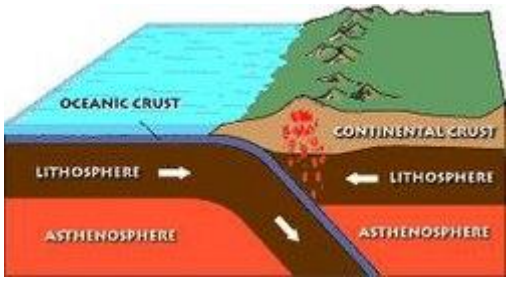
Name	Image	Birth, death	Birthplace
Luzena Wilson		c. 1820 –1902	
Edwin B. Winans		1826– 1894	

Gold in California

Three gold nuggets from Tuolumne County, California, similar to what the early miners would have found.

Gold became highly concentrated in California, United States as the result of global forces operating over hundreds of millions of years. Volcanoes, tectonic plates and erosion all combined to concentrate billions of dollars' worth of gold in the mountains of California. During the California Gold Rush, gold-seekers known as "Forty-Niners" retrieved this gold, at first using simple techniques, and then developing more sophisticated techniques, which spread around the world.

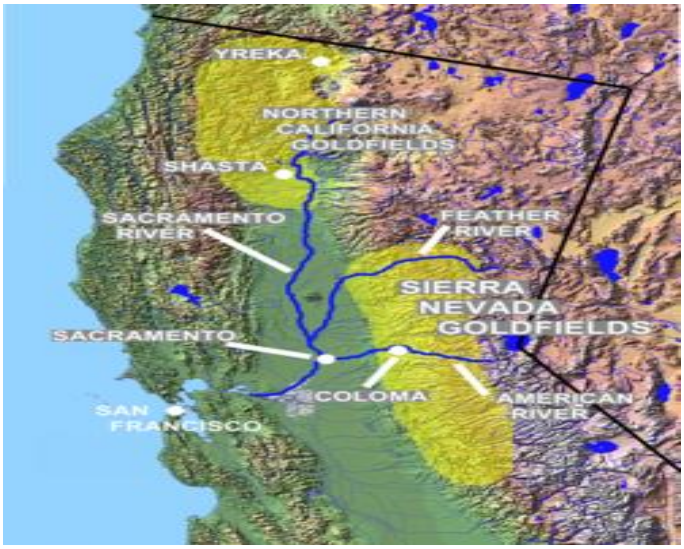
Geology



Gold-bearing magma rising after being subducted under the continental crust.

Geologic evidence indicates that over a span of at least 400 million years, gold that had been widely dispersed in the Earth's crust became more concentrated by geologic actions into the gold-bearing regions of California. Only gold that is concentrated can be economically recovered. Some 400 million years ago, rocks that would be accreted onto western North America to build California lay at the bottom of a large sea. Subsea volcanoes deposited lava and minerals (including gold) onto the sea floor; sometimes enough that islands were created.[1] Between 400 million and 200 million years ago, geologic movement forced the sea floor and these volcanic islands and deposits eastwards, colliding with the North American Plate, which was moving westwards.[2]

Beginning about 200 million years ago, tectonic pressure forced the sea floor beneath the American continental mass.[3] As it sank, or subducted, beneath the western margin of the North American plate portions of the sea floor and overlying continental crust heated and melted, producing large molten masses (magma). Being lighter and hotter than the ancient continental crust above it, this magma forced its way upward, cooling as it rose[4] to become the granite rock found throughout the Sierra Nevada and other mountains in California today.[5] As the hot magma cooled, solidified, and came in contact with water, minerals with similar melting temperatures tended to concentrate together.[5] As the magma solidified, gold became concentrated within hydrous silica solutions and was deposited within veins of quartz.[4][6]



Goldfields in the mountains of northern and central California.

As the Sierra Nevada and other mountains in California were forced upwards by the actions of tectonic plates, the solidified minerals and rocks were raised to the surface and subjected to erosion.[7] The surrounding rock then weathered and crumbled, and the exposed gold and other materials were carried downstream by water. Because gold is denser than almost all other minerals, this process further concentrated the gold as it sank, and pockets of gold gathered in quiet gravel beds along the sides of old rivers and streams.[8]

The California mountains rose and shifted several times within the last fifty million years, and each time, old streambeds moved and were dried out, leaving the deposits of gold resting within the ancient gravel beds where the gold had been collecting.[9] Newer rivers and streams then developed, and some of these cut through the old channels, carrying the gold into still larger concentrations.[9]

The Forty-Niners of the California Gold Rush first focused their efforts on these deposits of gold, which had been gathered in the gravel beds by hundreds of millions of years of geologic action.

Gold recovery

Because the gold in the California gravel beds was so richly concentrated, the early forty-niners simply panned for gold in California's rivers and streams, a form of placer mining.[10][11] However, panning cannot take place on a large scale, and industrious miners and groups of miners graduated to placer mining "cradles" and "rockers" or "long-toms"[12] to process larger volumes of gravel.[13] Miners would also engage in "coyoteing".[14] This method involved digging a shaft 6 to 13 meters (20 to 43 ft) deep into placer deposits along a stream. Tunnels were then dug in all directions to reach the richest veins of pay dirt.

In the most complex placer mining, groups of prospectors would divert the water from an entire river into a sluice alongside the river, and then dig for gold in the newly exposed river bottom.[15] Modern estimates by the U.S. Geological Survey are that some 12 million ounces[16] (370 t) of gold were removed in the first five years of the Gold Rush (worth over US$16 billion at December 2010 prices).[17]

In the next stage, by 1853, hydraulic mining was used on ancient gold-bearing gravel beds on hillsides and bluffs in the goldfields.[18] In a modern style of hydraulic mining first developed in California, a high-pressure hose directed a powerful stream or jet of water at gold-bearing gravel beds.[19] The loosened gravel and gold would then pass over sluices, with the gold settling to the bottom where it was collected. By the mid-1880s, it is estimated that 11 million ounces (340 t) of gold (worth approximately US$15 billion at December 2010 prices) had been recovered by "hydraulicking".[17] This style of hydraulic mining later spread around the world.

A byproduct of these extraction methods was that large amounts of gravel, silt, heavy metals, and other pollutants went into streams and rivers.[20] As of 1999 many areas still bear the scars of hydraulic mining, since the resulting exposed earth and downstream gravel deposits do not support plant life.[21]

After the Gold Rush had concluded, gold recovery operations continued. The final stage to recover loose gold was to prospect for gold that had slowly washed down into the flat river bottoms and sandbars of California's Central Valley and other gold-bearing areas of California (such as Scott Valley in Siskiyou County). By the late 1890s, dredging technology (also invented in California) had become economical,[22] and it is estimated that more than 20 million ounces (620 t) were recovered by dredging (worth approximately US$28 billion at December 2010 prices).[17]

Both during the Gold Rush and in the decades that followed, gold-seekers also engaged in "hard-rock" mining, that is, extracting the gold directly from the rock that contained it (typically quartz), usually by digging and blasting to follow and remove veins of the gold-bearing quartz.[23] By 1851, quartz mining had become the major industry of Coloma.[24] Once the gold-bearing rocks were brought to surface, the rocks were crushed and the gold separated, either using separation in water, using its density difference from quartz sand, or by washing the sand over copper plates coated with mercury (with which gold forms an amalgam). Loss of mercury in the amalgamation process was a source of environmental contamination.[25] Eventually, hard-rock mining wound up becoming the single largest source of gold produced in

the Gold Country.[17][26] The total production of gold in California from then until now is estimated at 118 million ounces (3700 t).[27]

Geological after-effects

There were decades of minor earthquakes, more than at any other time in the historical record for Northern California, before the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Previously interpreted as precursory activity to the 1906 earthquake, they have been found to have a strong seasonal pattern and due to large seasonal sediment loads in coastal bays that overlie faults as a result of mining of gold inland.

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CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH 1849
USA
33
THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH: THE '49ERS & THE WILD WEST!
• Sparked by the 1848 discovery at Sutter's Mill, it brought over 300,000 people to California.
• This massive migration transformed California into a state but had devastating effects on Native Americans and the environment.
• "Gold fever" created boomtowns, lawlessness, and a diverse population from around the world.

List of Capitals in the United States

This is a list of capital cities of the United States, including places that serve or have served as federal, state, insular area, territorial, colonial and Native American capitals.

Washington, D.C. has been the federal capital of the United States since 1800. Each U.S. state has its own capital city, as do many of its insular areas. Most states have not changed their capital city since becoming a state, but the capital cities of their respective preceding colonies, territories, kingdoms, and republics typically changed multiple times. There have also been other governments within the current borders of the United States with their own capitals, such as the Republic of Texas, Native American nations, and other unrecognized governments.

Population Tables of U.S. Cities

The skyline of New York City, the most populous city in the United States

Cities

Population

- Area
- Density
- Ethnic identity
- Foreign-born
- Income

- Spanish speakers
- Capitals
- By decade
- By state
- By decade/state

Urban areas

Populous cities and metropolitan areas

Metropolitan areas

- 184 combined statistical areas
- 935 core-based statistical areas
- 393 metropolitan statistical areas
- 542 micropolitan statistical areas

Megaregions

- **Related population lists**
- North American metro areas
- World cities
- States and territories

- v
- t
- e

National capitals

The buildings in cities identified in the chart below served either as official capitals of the United States under the United States Constitution, or, prior to its ratification, sites where the Second Continental Congress or Congress of the Confederation met. The United States did not have a permanent capital under the Articles of Confederation.

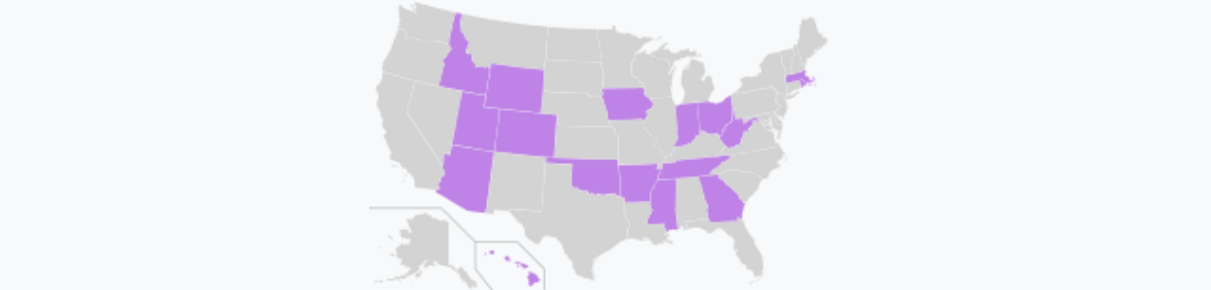
The U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1787, and gave the Congress the power to exercise "exclusive legislation" over a district that "may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States."[1] The 1st Congress met at Federal Hall in New York.[2] In 1790, it passed the Residence Act, which established the national capital at a site along the Potomac River that would become Washington, D.C.[3] For the next ten

years, Philadelphia served as the temporary capital.[4] There, Congress met at Congress Hall.[5] On November 17, 1800, the 6th United States Congress formally convened in Washington, D.C.[4] Congress has met outside of Washington only twice since: on July 16, 1987, at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, to commemorate the 200th anniversary of ratification of the Constitution;[6] and at Federal Hall National Memorial in New York on September 6, 2002, to mark the first anniversary of the September 11 attacks.[7] Both meetings were ceremonial.

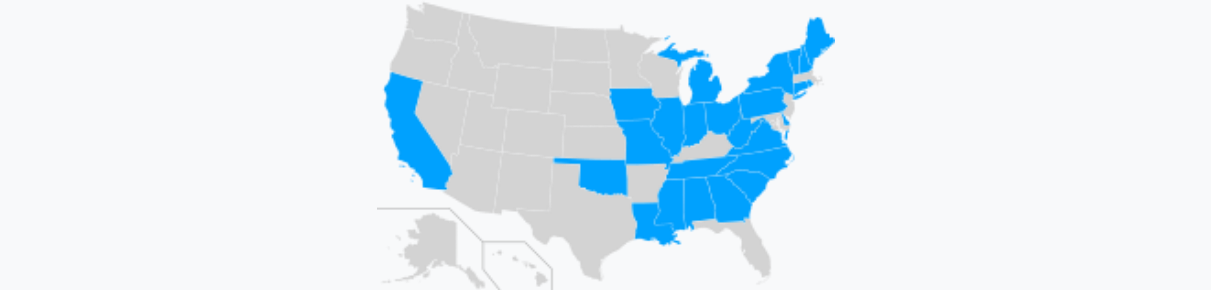
City	Building	Start date	End date	Duration
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Independence Hall	July 4, 1776[a]	December 12, 1776	5 months and 8 days
Baltimore, Maryland	Henry Fite House	December 20, 1776	February 27, 1777	2 months and 7 days
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Independence Hall	March 5, 1777	September 18, 1777	6 months and 13 days
Lancaster, Pennsylvania	Court House	September 27, 1777	September 27, 1777	1 day
York, Pennsylvania	Court House	September 30, 1777	June 27, 1778	8 months and 28 days
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	College Hall[b]	July 2, 1778	July 13, 1778	11 days
	Independence Hall	July 14, 1778	March 1, 1781	2 years, 7 months and 15 days
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Independence Hall	March 2, 1781	June 21, 1783	2 years, 3 months and 19 days

Princeton, New Jersey[c]	Nassau Hall	June 30, 1783	November 4, 1783	4 months and 5 days
Annapolis, Maryland	Maryland State House	November 26, 1783	August 19, 1784	8 months and 24 days
Trenton, New Jersey	French Arms Tavern	November 1, 1784	December 24, 1784	1 month and 23 days
New York, New York	Federal Hall	January 11, 1785	October 6, 1788	3 years, 11 months and 5 days
	Fraunces Tavern, Walter Livingston House	October 6, 1788	March 3, 1789	4 months and 25 days
New York, New York	Federal Hall	March 4, 1789	December 5, 1790	1 year, 9 months and 1 day
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Congress Hall	December 6, 1790	May 14, 1800	9 years, 5 months and 8 days[d]
Washington, D.C.	United States Capitol	November 17, 1800[e]	August 24, 1814[f]	13 years, 9 months and 7 days
	Blodgett's Hotel	September 19, 1814	December 7, 1815	1 year, 2 months and 18 days
	Old Brick Capitol	December 4, 1815	March 3, 1819	3 years, 2 months and 27 days
	United States Capitol	March 4, 1819	Present	207 years, 3 months and 22 days

State Capitals



States (highlighted in purple) whose capital city is also their most populous



States (highlighted in blue) that have changed their capital city at least once

Each state has a capital that serves as the seat of its government. Ten of the thirteen original states and 15 other states have changed their capital city at least once; the last state to move its capital city was Oklahoma in 1910.

In the following table, the "Since" column shows the year that the city began serving as the state's capital (or the capital of the entities that preceded it). The MSA/μSA and CSA columns display the population of the metro area the city is a part of, and should not be construed to mean the population of the city's sphere of influence or that the city is an anchor for the metro area. Fields colored light yellow denote that the population is a micropolitan statistical area.

State	Capital	Since	Area	Population (2020 US Census)			City rank in state
				City	MSA/μSA	CSA	
Alabama	Montgomery	1846	159.8 mi² (414 km²)	200,603	386,047	476,207	3
Alaska	Juneau	1906	2,716.7 mi² (7,036 km²)	32,255	32,255		3

State	Capital	Since	Area	Population (2020 US Census)			City rank in state
				City	MSA/ µSA	CSA	
Arizona	Phoenix	1889	517.6 mi² (1,341 km²)	1,608,139	4,845,832	4,899,104	1
Arkansas	Little Rock	1821	116.2 mi² (301 km²)	202,591	748,031	912,604	1
California	Sacramento	1854	97.9 mi² (254 km²)	524,943	2,397,382	2,680,831	6
Colorado	Denver	1867	153.3 mi² (397 km²)	715,522	2,963,821	3,623,560	1
Connecticut	Hartford	1875	17.3 mi² (45 km²)	121,054	1,213,531	1,482,086	4
Delaware	Dover	1777	22.4 mi² (58 km²)	39,403	181,851	7,379,700	2
Florida	Tallahassee	1824	95.7 mi² (248 km²)	196,169	384,298		8
Georgia	Atlanta	1868	133.5 mi² (346 km²)	498,715	6,089,815	6,930,423	1
Hawaii	Honolulu	1845	68.4 mi² (177 km²)	350,964	1,016,508		1
Idaho	Boise	1865	63.8 mi² (165 km²)	235,684	764,718	850,341	1
Illinois	Springfield	1837	54.0 mi² (140 km²)	114,394	208,640	308,523	7
Indiana	Indianapolis	1825	361.5 mi² (936 km²)	887,642	2,111,040	2,492,514	1

State	Capital	Since	Area	Population (2020 US Census)			City rank in state
				City	MSA/ µSA	CSA	
Iowa	Des Moines	1857	75.8 mi² (196 km²)	214,133	709,466	890,322	1
Kansas	Topeka	1856	56.0 mi² (145 km²)	126,587	233,152		5
Kentucky	Frankfort	1792	14.7 mi² (38 km²)	28,602	75,393	746,045	15
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	1880	76.8 mi² (199 km²)	227,470	870,569		2
Maine	Augusta	1832	55.4 mi² (143 km²)	18,899	123,642		12
Maryland	Annapolis	1694	6.73 mi² (17 km²)	40,812	2,844,510	9,973,383	7
Massachusetts	Boston	1630	89.6 mi² (232 km²)	675,647	4,941,632	8,466,186	1
Michigan	Lansing	1847	35.0 mi² (91 km²)	112,644	541,297		5
Minnesota	Saint Paul	1849	52.8 mi² (137 km²)	311,527	3,690,261	4,078,788	2
Mississippi	Jackson	1864	104.9 mi² (272 km²)	153,701	591,978	671,607	1
Missouri	Jefferson City	1826	27.3 mi² (71 km²)	43,228	150,309		15
Montana	Helena	1875	14.0 mi² (36 km²)	32,091	83,058		6

State	Capital	Since	Area	Population (2020 US Census)			City rank in state
				City	MSA/ µSA	CSA	
Nebraska	Lincoln	1867	74.6 mi² (193 km²)	291,082	340,217	361,921	2
Nevada	Carson City	1861	143.4 mi² (371 km²)	58,639	58,639	657,958	6
New Hampshire	Concord	1808	64.3 mi² (167 km²)	43,976	153,808	8,466,186	3
New Jersey	Trenton	1784	7.66 mi² (20 km²)	90,871	387,340	23,582,649	10
New Mexico	Santa Fe	1610	37.3 mi² (97 km²)	87,505	154,823	1,162,523	4
New York	Albany	1797	21.4 mi² (55 km²)	99,224	899,262	1,190,727	6
North Carolina	Raleigh	1792	114.6 mi² (297 km²)	467,665	1,413,982	2,106,463	2
North Dakota	Bismarck	1883	26.9 mi² (70 km²)	73,622	133,626		2
Ohio	Columbus	1816	210.3 mi² (545 km²)	905,748	2,138,926	2,544,048	1
Oklahoma	Oklahoma City	1910	620.3 mi² (1,607 km²)	681,054	1,425,695	1,498,149	1
Oregon	Salem	1855	45.7 mi² (118 km²)	175,535	433,353	3,280,736	3
Pennsylvania	Harrisburg	1812	8.11 mi² (21 km²)	50,099	591,712	1,295,259	9

State	Capital	Since	Area	Population (2020 US Census)			City rank in state
				City	MSA/ µSA	CSA	
Rhode Island	Providence	1900	18.5 mi² (48 km²)	190,934	1,676,579	8,466,186	1
South Carolina	Columbia	1786	125.2 mi² (324 km²)	136,632	829,470	951,412	2
South Dakota	Pierre	1889	13.0 mi² (34 km²)	14,091	20,745		9
Tennessee	Nashville	1826?	525.9 mi² (1,362 km²)	689,447	1,989,519	2,118,233	1
Texas	Austin	1836	305.1 mi² (790 km²)	961,855	2,283,371		4
Utah	Salt Lake City	1858	109.1 mi² (283 km²)	199,723	1,257,936	2,701,129	1
Vermont	Montpelier	1805	10.2 mi² (26 km²)	8,074	59,807	285,369	6
Virginia	Richmond	1780	60.1 mi² (156 km²)	226,610	1,314,434		4
Washington	Olympia	1853	16.7 mi² (43 km²)	55,605	294,793	4,953,421	23
West Virginia	Charleston	1885	31.6 mi² (82 km²)	48,864	258,859	779,969	1
Wisconsin	Madison	1838	68.7 mi² (178 km²)	269,840	680,796	910,246	2
Wyoming	Cheyenne	1869	21.1 mi² (55 km²)	65,132	100,512		1

State	Capital	Since	Area	Population (2020 US Census)			City rank in state
				City	MSA/ µSA	CSA	
[20][21][22]							

Historical Capitals in the United States of America

State	Capital	Date	Notes
Alabama[37] Statehood in 1819	*San Agustín* (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish colony of *La Florida*.[g]
	Savannah (GA)	1733	Capital of the British proprietary Colony of Georgia.
		1755	Capital of the British Province of Georgia.
		1776	Capitals of the State of Georgia.
	Augusta (GA)	1778	
	Heard's Fort (GA)	1780	
	Augusta (GA)	1781	
	Savannah (GA)	1782	

	Ebenezer (GA)	1782	
	Savannah (GA)	1784	
	Augusta (GA)	1786	
	Louisville (GA)	1796	
	Natchez (MS)	1798	Capitals of the Mississippi Territory.
	Washington (MS)	1802	
	St. Stephens	1817	Capital of the Alabama Territory.
	Huntsville	**1819**	Capitals of the State of Alabama.
	Cahawba	1820	
	Tuscaloosa	1826	
	Montgomery	1846	**Capital of the State of Alabama**. (Capital of the Confederate States of America in 1861.)
Alaska[38] Statehood in 1959	*Novo-Arkhangelsk* Sitka	1808	Capital of the Russian colony of *Alaska*.
		1867	Capital of the Department of Alaska.
		1900	Capitals of the District of Alaska.

	Juneau	1906	
		1912	Capital of the Territory of Alaska.
		1959	**Capital of the State of Alaska.**
Arizona[39] Statehood in 1912	Santa Fe (NM)	1848	Capital of the U.S. provisional government of New Mexico 1848–1850.
		1850	Capital of the U.S. Territory of New Mexico 1850–1912.
	Mesilla (NM)	1862	Capital of the Confederate Territory of Arizona (southern New Mexico and Arizona 1862).
	San Antonio (TX)	1862	Capital of the government-in-exile of the Confederate Territory of Arizona 1862–1865.
	Fort Whipple	1864	Capitals of the U.S. Territory of Arizona.
	Prescott	1864	
	Tucson	1867	
	Prescott	1877	
	Phoenix	1889	
		1912	**Capital of the State of Arizona.**

Arkansas[40] Statehood in 1836	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *La Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Louisiana Territory.
		1812	Capital of the Missouri Territory.
	Arkansas Post	1819	Capitals of the Arkansaw Territory.[h]
	Little Rock	1821	
		1836	**Capital of the State of Arkansas**.[h] (Washington was the Confederate state capital 1863–1865.)
California[41] Statehood in 1850	*Loreto* (BCS)	1770	Capitals of the Spanish *Virreinato de la Nueva España* colonies of *las Californias*.
	Presidio Reál de San Carlos de Monterey Monterey	1777	
		1804	Capital of the Spanish *Virreinato de la Nueva España* province of *Alta California*.
		1821	Capital of the Mexican province of *Alta California*.

		1846	Capital of the U.S. military government of California.
		1849	Capital of the Provisional Government of California.
	Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe	**1850**	**Capitals of the State of California**.
	Vallejo	1852	
	Benicia	1853	
	Sacramento[i]	1854	
Colorado[42] Statehood in 1876	Denver City[j]	1859	Capitals of the extralegal Territory of Jefferson.
	Golden City	1860	
	Denver City	1861	Capitals of the Territory of Colorado.
	Colorado City	1862	
	Golden City	1862	
	Denver[k]	1867	
		1876	**Capital of the State of Colorado**.
Connecticut Statehood in 1776	*Fort Amsterdam* (NY)	1625	Capital of the Dutch colony of *Nieuw-Nederland*.

	Hartford	1639	Capital of the English Colony of Connecticut 1639–1686.
	New-Haven	1640	Capital of the English Colony of New-Haven until its merger into the Connecticut Colony in 1662.
	Boston (MA)	1686	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America.
	Hartford	1689	Capital of the English Colony of Connecticut.
	joint capitals	1701	Hartford and New-Haven served as the "co-capitals" of the English Colony of Connecticut, with the Assembly holding its May session in Hartford and its October session in New-Haven.
		1707	Hartford and New-Haven joint capitals of the British Colony of Connecticut.
		1776	Hartford and New Haven joint capitals of the State of Connecticut.
	Hartford	1875	**Capital of the State of Connecticut**.
Delaware Statehood in 1776	*Fort Christina*	1638	Capital of the Swedish colony of *Nya Sverige*.
	Fort Amsterdam *Nieuw-Amsterdam* New-York *Nieuw-Oranje* New-York (NY)	1655	Capital of the Dutch province of *Nieuw-Nederland*.
		1664	Capital of the English Colony of New-York.

		1673	Capital of the Dutch military government of *Nieuw-Nederland*.
		1674	Capital of the English Colony of New-York.
	Philadelphia (PA)	1682	Capital of the English Colony of Pennsylvania.
	New Castle	1704	Capital of the English Lower Counties on the Delaware.
		1707	Capital of the British Lower Counties on the Delaware.
		1776	**Capitals of the State of Delaware**.
	Dover	1777	
Florida[43] Statehood in 1845	*Fort de la Caroline*	1564	Capital of the French colony of *La Caroline* 1564–1565.
	San Agustín St. Augustine	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida* 1565–1763.[g]
		1763	Capital of the British province of East Florida 1763–1783.
		1783	Capital of the Spanish province of *Florida Oriental* 1783–1821.
		1763	Capital of the British province of British West Florida 1763–1783.

	Santa María de Ochuse Pensacola	1783	Capital of the Spanish province of *Florida Occidental* 1783–1821.
	Tallahassee	1824	Capital of the Florida Territory.
		1845	**Capital of the State of Florida**.
Georgia[44] Statehood in 1776	*Fort de la Caroline*	1564	Capital of the French colony of *La Caroline* 1564–1565.
	San Agustín (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida*.[g]
	Savannah	1733	Capital of the British proprietary Colony of Georgia.
		1755	Capital of the British Province of Georgia.
		1776	**Capitals of the State of Georgia**.
	Augusta	1778	
	Heard's Fort	1780	
	Augusta	1781	
	Savannah	1782	
	Ebenezer	1782	

	Savannah	1784	
	Augusta	1786	
	Louisville	1796	
	Milledgeville	1807	
	Macon	1864	
	Milledgeville	1865	
	Atlanta	1868	
Hawaii Statehood in 1959	*Lahaina*	1820	Capitals of the Kingdom of Hawaii.
	Honolulu	1845	
		1894	Capital of the Republic of Hawaii.
		1898	Capital of the Territory of Hawaii.
		1959	**Capital of the State of Hawai'i**.
Idaho[45] Statehood in 1890	Oregon City (OR)	1843	Capital of the Provisional Government of Oregon in the Oregon Country.[46]
		1848	Capitals of the Territory of Oregon (all of Idaho 1848–1853, southern Idaho 1853–1859).
	Salem (OR)	1851	

	Olympia (WA)	1853	Capital of the Territory of Washington (northern Idaho 1853–1859, all of Idaho 1859–1863).
	Lewiston	1863	Capitals of the Territory of Idaho.
	Boise	1865	
		1890	**Capital of the State of Idaho**.
Illinois[47] Statehood in 1818	Marietta (OH)	1788	Capital of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio.
	Vincennes (IN)	1800	Capital of the Territory of Indiana.
	Kaskaskia	1809	Capital of the Territory of Illinois.
		1818	**Capitals of the State of Illinois**.
	Vandalia	1820	
	Springfield	1839	
Indiana Statehood in 1816	Marietta (OH)	1788	Capital of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio.
	Vincennes	1800	Capitals of the Territory of Indiana.
	Corydon	1813	
		1816	**Capitals of the State of Indiana**.

	Indianapolis	1825	
Iowa[48] Statehood in 1846	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *La Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Louisiana Territory.
		1812	Capital of the Missouri Territory (1812–1821).
	Detroit (MI)	1834	Capital of the Territory of Michigan.
	Belmont (WI)	1836	Capitals of the Territory of Wisconsin.
	Burlington	1837	
		1838	Capitals of the Territory of Iowa.
	Iowa City	1841	
		1846	**Capitals of the State of Iowa.**
	Des Moines	1857	

Kansas[49] Statehood in 1861	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *La Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Louisiana Territory.
		1812	Capital of the Missouri Territory (1812–1821).
	Pawnee	1855	Capital of the Kansas Territory (July 2 – 6).
	Shawnee Mission	1855	Capital of the Kansas Territory.
	Lecompton	1856	Capital *de jure* (pro-slavery) of the Territory of Kansas.
	Topeka		Capital *de facto* (anti-slavery) of the Territory of Kansas.
	Minneola	1858	Declared capital by territorial legislature, although this action was later declared void.[50]
	Topeka	**1861**	**Capital of the State of Kansas.**

Kentucky[51] Statehood in 1792	Williamsburg (VA)	1699	Capital of the English Colony of Virginia.
		1707	Capital of the British Colony of Virginia.
		1776	Capital of the Commonwealth of Virginia.
	Richmond (VA)	1780	
	Frankfort	**1792**	**Capital of the Commonwealth of Kentucky**. (The government initially met at Lexington but Frankfort was quickly named the capital. Bowling Green was the rival Confederate state capital 1861–62).
Louisiana[l] Statehood in 1812	*San Agustín* (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida*.[g]
	La Mobile (AL)	1702	Capitals of the French colony of *La Louisiane*.
	Bilocci (MS)	1720	
	La Nouvelle-Orléans *Nueva Orleans* New Orleans	1722	
		1763	Capital of the Spanish district of *Baja Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *La Basse-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the Territory of Orleans.

		1812	**Capitals of the State of Louisiana**. (After the Union captured New Orleans in 1862, the Confederate seat of government relocated to Opelousas in 1862 and then to Shreveport in 1863.)
	Donaldsonville	1830	
	New Orleans	1831	
	Baton Rouge	1849	
	New Orleans	1864	
	Baton Rouge	1882	
Maine[52] Statehood in 1820	*Île Sainte-Croix*	1604	Capitals of the French colony of *l'Acadie*.
	Port-Royal (NS)	1605	
	Boston (MA)	1630	Capital of the English Colony of Massachusetts Bay.
		1686	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America.
		1689	Capital of the dissident Colony of Massachusetts Bay.
		1691	Capital of the English Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1774	Capital of the dissident Province of Massachusetts Bay.

		1776	Capital of the State of Massachusetts Bay.
		1780	Capital of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
	Portland	**1820**	Capital of the State of Maine.
		1827	Capital *de facto* of the State of Maine.
	Augusta		Capital *de jure* of the State of Maine.
		1832	**Capital of the State of Maine.**
Maryland[53] Statehood in 1776	St. Mary's City	1634	Capital of the English proprietary Colony of Maryland.
	Anne Arundel's Towne **Annapolis**	1694	Capital of the English Province of Maryland.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of Maryland.
		1776	**Capital of the State of Maryland.** (Capital of the United States of America 1783–1784.)
Massachusetts Statehood in 1776	Plimouth	1620	Capital of the English Colony of New-Plimouth 1620–1686.
	Boston	1630	Capital of the English Colony of Massachusetts Bay 1630–1686.

		1686	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America 1686–1689.
	Plimouth	1688	Capital of the dissident Colony of New-Plimouth 1688–1692.
	Boston	1689	Capital of the dissident Colony of Massachusetts Bay 1689–1692.
		1692	Capital of the English Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1774	Capital of the dissident Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1776	Capital of the State of Massachusetts Bay.
		1780	**Capital of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts**.
Michigan[54] Statehood in 1837	Marietta (OH)	1788	Capitals of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio (all of Michigan 1788–1800, eastern Michigan 1800–1803).
	Chillicothe (OH)	1800	
	Vincennes (IN)		Capitals of the Territory of Indiana (western Michigan 1800–1803; all of Michigan 1803–1805, a portion of the Upper Peninsula 1805–1816).
	Corydon (IN)	1813	
	Detroit	1805	Capital of the Territory of Michigan (Lower Peninsula 1805–1818, all of Michigan 1818–1837).

			(Detroit was occupied by British Armed Forces 1812–1813).
		1837	**Capitals of the State of Michigan**.
	Lansing	1847	
Minnesota[55] Statehood in 1858	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana* 1765–1800.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *la Haute-Louisiane* (west of Mississippi River 1800–1804).
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (west of Mississippi River under the authority of the Indiana Territory 1804–1805).
		1805	Capital of the Territory of Louisiana (west of Mississippi River 1805–1812).
		1812	Capital of the Territory of Missouri (west of Mississippi River 1812–1821).
	Marietta (OH)	1788	Capital of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio (east of Mississippi River 1788–1800).
	Vincennes (IN)	1800	Capital of the Territory of Indiana (east of Mississippi River 1800–1809).
	Kaskaskia (IL)	1809	Capital of the Territory of Illinois (east of Mississippi River 1809–1818).

	Detroit (MI)	1818	Capital of the Territory of Michigan (east of Mississippi River 1818–1834, all of Minnesota 1834–1836).
	Belmont (WI)	1836	Capitals of the Territory of Wisconsin.
	Burlington (IA)	1837	
		1838	Capital of the Territory of Iowa (west of Mississippi River 1838–1841).
	Madison (WI)		Capital of the Territory of Wisconsin (east of Mississippi River 1838–1848).
	Iowa City (IA)	1841	Capital of the Territory of Iowa (west of Mississippi River 1841–1846).
	Saint Paul	1849	Capital of the Territory of Minnesota.
		1858	**Capital of the State of Minnesota**.
Mississippi[56] Statehood in 1817	*San Agustín* (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida*.[g]
	Savannah (GA)	1733	Capital of the British proprietary Colony of Georgia.
		1755	Capital of the British Province of Georgia.
		1776	Capitals of the State of Georgia.

	Augusta (GA)	1778	
	Heard's Fort (GA)	1780	
	Augusta (GA)	1781	
	Savannah (GA)	1782	
	Ebenezer (GA)	1782	
	Savannah (GA)	1784	
	Augusta (GA)	1786	
	Louisville (GA)	1796	
	Natchez	1798	Capitals of the Territory of Mississippi.
	Washington	1802	
	Natchez	**1817**	**Capitals of the State of Mississippi**.
	Jackson	1821	
Missouri Statehood in 1821	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *La Haute-Louisiane*.

		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Louisiana Territory.
		1812	Capital of the Missouri Territory.
	Saint Charles	**1821**	**Capitals of the State of Missouri**. (A Confederate state government in exile operated from Neosho 1861–1863, and from Marshall, Texas, 1863–1865).
	Jefferson City	1826	
Montana[57] Statehood in 1889	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana* (east of Continental Divide 1763–1800.)
		1800	Capital of the French district of *la Haute-Louisiane* (east of Continental Divide 1800–1804).
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (east of Continental Divide under the authority of the Indiana Territory 1804–1805).
		1805	Capital of the Territory of Louisiana (east of Continental Divide 1805–1812).
		1812	Capital of the Territory of Missouri (east of Continental Divide 1812–1821).

	Fort Vancouver (WA)	1825	Capital *de facto* of the Oregon Country (west of Continental Divide 1818–1843).
	Oregon City (OR)	1843	Capital of the Provisional Government of Oregon (west of Continental Divide 1843–1848).
		1848	Capitals of the Territory of Oregon (west of Continental Divide 1848–1853).
	Salem (OR)	1851	
	Olympia (WA)	1853	Capital of the Territory of Washington (west of Continental Divide 1853–1863).
	Omaha (NE)	1854	Capital of the Territory of Nebraska (east of Continental Divide 1854–1861).
	Yankton (SD)	1861	Capital of the Territory of Dakota (east of Continental Divide 1861–1863).
	Lewiston (ID)	1863	Capital of the Territory of Idaho.
	Bannack	1864	Capitals of the Territory of Montana.
	Virginia City	1865	
	Helena	1875	
		1889	**Capital of the State of Montana.**

Nebraska Statehood in 1867	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *la Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Territory of Louisiana.
		1812	Capital of the Territory of Missouri (1812–1821).
	Omaha	1854	Capitals of the Territory of Nebraska.
	Lancaster **Lincoln**	1867	
		1867	**Capital of the State of Nebraska.**
Nevada[58] Statehood in 1864	Fillmore (UT)	1850	Capitals of the Territory of Utah.
	Salt Lake City (UT)	1858	
	Genoa	1861	Capital of the Territory of Nevada.
	Carson City	1861	Capital of the Territory of Nevada.
		1864	**Capital of the State of Nevada.**

New Hampshire[59] Statehood in 1776	Boston (MA)	1630	Capital of the English Colony of Massachusetts Bay.
	Portsmouth	1680	Capital of the English Province of New Hampshire.
	Boston (MA)	1686	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America.
	Portsmouth	1689	Capital of the dissident Province of New Hampshire.
		1691	Capital of the English Province of New Hampshire.
		1698	Capital of the English Province of New Hampshire under jurisdiction of the Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of New Hampshire under jurisdiction of the Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.
		1741	Capital of the British Province of New Hampshire.
	Exeter	1775	Capital of the Revolutionary War government of New Hampshire.
		1776	**Capitals of the State of New Hampshire**.
	Concord	1808	

New Jersey Statehood in 1776	*Fort Amsterdam* (NY) New-York (NY)	1625	Capital of the Dutch colony of *Nieuw-Nederland*.
		1652	Capital of the Dutch province of *Nieuw-Nederland*.
		1664	Capital of the English Province of New York.
	Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth)	1665	Capital of the English Province of New Jersey.
	Perth Amboy	1673	Capital of the English Province of East Jersey 1673–1688.
	Burlington		Capital of the English Province of West Jersey 1673–1688.
	Boston (MA)	1688	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America 1688–1689.
	Perth Amboy	1689	Capital of the English Province of East Jersey 1689–1702.
	Burlington		Capital of the English Province of West Jersey 1689–1702.
	joint capitals	1702	East Jersey and West Jersey were re-united as the English Province of New Jersey in 1702. Perth Amboy and Burlington served jointly as the capital until 1784.
		1707	Joint capitals of the British Province of New Jersey.

		1776	Joint capitals of the State of New Jersey.
	Trenton	1784	**Capital of the State of New Jersey**. (Capital of the United States of America in 1784).
New Mexico Statehood in 1912	*San Juan de los Caballeros*	1598	Capitals of the Spanish *Virreinato de la Nueva España* province of *Santa Fe de Nuevo México*.
	La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asís	1610	
	El Paso del Norte (now Ciudad Juárez CHH)	1680	Capital of the Spanish *Virreinato de la Nueva España* province-in-exile of *Santa Fe de Nuevo México* (Pueblo Revolt 1680–1692).
	La Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asís Santa Fe	1692	Capital of the Spanish *Virreinato de la Nueva España* province of *Santa Fe de Nuevo México*.
		1821	Capital of the Mexican province of *Santa Fe de Nuevo México*.
		1824	Capital of the Mexican territory of *Santa Fe de Nuevo México*.
		1846	Capital of the U.S. military government of New Mexico 1846.
		1846	Capital of the U.S. provisional government of New Mexico 1846–1850.

		1850	Capital of the U.S. Territory of New Mexico 1850–1912.
	Santa Fe	**1912**	**Capital of the State of New Mexico**.
New York Statehood in 1776	*Fort Amsterdam* *Nieuw-Amsterdam* New-York *Nieuw-Oranje* New-York	1625	Capital of the Dutch colony of *Nieuw-Nederland* (*Novum Belgium*).
		1652	Capital of the Dutch province of *Nieuw-Nederland*.
		1664	Capital of the English Province of New York.
		1673	Capital of the Dutch military government of *Nieuw-Nederland*.
		1674	Capital of the English Province of New York.
	Boston (MA)	1688	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America.
	New-York	1689	Capital of the dissident government of New-York.
		1691	Capital of the English Province of New York.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of New York.
		1776	Capitals of the State of New York.

	Kingston	1777	
	Hurley	1777	
	Poughkeepsie	1777	
	New York	1788	Capital of the State of New York. (Capital of the United States of America 1785–1788 and 1789–1790).
	Albany	1797	**Capital of the State of New York**.
North Carolina Statehood in 1776	*San Agustín* (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida*.[g]
	Charlestown (SC)[m]	1670	Capital of the English Province of Carolina.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of Carolina.
	New Bern	1712	Capital of the British Province of North Carolina.
		1776	**Capitals of the State of North Carolina**.
	Fayetteville	1789	
	Raleigh	1794	
North Dakota Statehood in 1889	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.

		1800	Capital of the French district of *la Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Territory of Louisiana.
		1812	Capital of the Territory of Missouri (1812–1821).
	Detroit (MI)	1834	Capital of the Territory of Michigan (east of Missouri River and White Earth River 1834–1836).
	Belmont (WI)	1836	Capitals of the Territory of Wisconsin (east of Missouri River and White Earth River 1836–1838).
	Burlington (IA)	1837	
		1838	Capitals of the Territory of Iowa (east of Missouri River and White Earth River 1838–1846).
	Iowa City (IA)	1841	
	Saint Paul (MN)	1849	Capital of the Territory of Minnesota (east of Missouri River and White Earth River 1849–1858).
	Omaha (NE)	1854	Capital of the Territory of Nebraska (west of Missouri River or White Earth River 1854–1861).

	Yankton (SD)	1861	Capitals of the Territory of Dakota.
	Bismarck	1883	
		1889	**Capital of the State of North Dakota**.
Ohio Statehood in 1803	Marietta	1788	Capitals of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio.
	Chillicothe	1800	
		1803	**Capitals of the State of Ohio**.
	Zanesville	1810	
	Chillicothe	1812	
	Columbus	1816	
Oklahoma Statehood in 1907	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *la Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory).
		1805	Capital of the Territory of Louisiana.
		1812	Capital of the Territory of Missouri.

	Arkansas Post (AR)	1819	Capitals of the Territory of Arkansaw[h] (south of the parallel 36°30' north 1819–1824, southeastern Oklahoma 1824–1828).
	Little Rock (AR)	1821	
	Fort Gibson	1824	*De facto* capital of the Indian Territory.
	Tahlequah	1838	Capital of the Cherokee Nation.
	Tuskahoma	1838	Capital of the Choctaw Nation.
	Tishomingo	1855	Capital of the Chickasaw Nation.
	Wewoka	1866	Capital of the Seminole Nation.
	Okmulgee	1867	Capital of the Creek Nation.
	Pawhuska	1872	Capital of the Osage Nation.
	Guthrie	1889	Capital of the Territory of Oklahoma.
		1907	**Capitals of the State of Oklahoma.**
	Oklahoma City	1910	
Oregon[61] Statehood in 1859	Champoeg	1843	Temporary capital of the disputed Oregon Country.
	Oregon City	1843	Capital of the Provisional Government of Oregon in the Oregon Country.[46]
		1848	Capitals of the Territory of Oregon.

	Salem	1851	
	Corvallis	1855	
	Salem	1855	
		1859	**Capital of the State of Oregon**.
Pennsylvania[62] Statehood in 1776	*Fort Christina*	1638	Capital of the Swedish colony of *Nya Sverige*.
	Philadelphia	1682	Capital of the English proprietary Colony of Pennsylvania.
		1707	Capital of the British proprietary Colony of Pennsylvania.
		1776	Capital of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. (Capital of the United States of America 1776, 1777, 1778–1783, and 1790–1800).
	Lancaster	1799	Capital of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. (Capital of the United States of America 1777).
	Harrisburg	1812	**Capital of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania**.
Rhode Island Statehood in 1776	Providence	1636	Capital of the English Colony of Providence 1636–1644.

	Portsmouth	1639	Capital of the English Colony of Aquidneck Island 1639–1644.
		1644	Capital of the English Colony of Rhode Island.
	Providence	1644	Capital of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
	Boston (MA)	1686	Capital of the English Dominion of New-England in America.
	Providence	1689	Capital of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
		1707	Capital of the British Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
	five capitals	**1776**	From 1776 to 1853, the legislature of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations rotated among the county seats of the state's five counties: Providence, Newport, East Greenwich, South Kingstown, and Bristol.
	joint capitals	1854	From 1854 to 1899, the legislature of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations alternated sessions between Providence and Newport.
	Providence	1900	Capital of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
		2020	**Capital of the State of Rhode Island.**

South Carolina Statehood in 1776	*Charlesfort* (SC)	1562	Capital of the French colony of *Floride françoise*.
	San Agustín (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida*.[g]
	Charlestown[m]	1670	Capital of the English Province of Carolina.
		1707	Capital of the British Province of Carolina.
		1712	Capital of the British Province of South Carolina.
		1776	**Capitals of the State of South Carolina**.
	Columbia	1786	
South Dakota Statehood in 1889	*Saint-Louis* *San Luis* St. Louis (MO)	1765	Capital of the Spanish (though predominantly Francophone) district of *Alta Louisiana*.
		1800	Capital of the French district of *la Haute-Louisiane*.
		1804	Capital of the District of Louisiana (under the authority of the Indiana Territory.)
		1805	Capital of the Territory of Louisiana.
		1812	Capital of the Territory of Missouri (1812–1821).

	Detroit (MI)	1834	Capital of the Territory of Michigan (east of Missouri River 1834–1836).
	Belmont (WI)	1836	Capitals of the Territory of Wisconsin (east of Missouri River 1836–1838).
	Burlington (IA)	1837	
		1838	Capitals of the Territory of Iowa (east of Missouri River 1838–1846).
	Iowa City (IA)	1841	
	Saint Paul (MN)	1849	Capital of the Territory of Minnesota (east of Missouri River 1849–1858).
	Omaha (NE)	1854	Capital of the Territory of Nebraska (west of Missouri River 1854–1861).
	Yankton	1861	Capitals of the Territory of Dakota.
	Bismarck (ND)	1883	
	Pierre	**1889**	**Capital of the State of South Dakota**.
Tennessee[63] Statehood in 1796	New Bern (NC)	1712	Capital of the British Province of North Carolina.
		1776	Capital of the State of North Carolina.
	Rocky Mount	1790	

	White's Fort Knoxville	1791	Capitals of the Territory South of the River Ohio.
		1796	Capital of the State of Tennessee.
	Kingston	1807	Capital of the State of Tennessee for one day in 1807 to fulfill treaty obligations with the Cherokee Nation.
	Knoxville	1807	**Capitals of the State of Tennessee.**
	Nashville	1812	
	Knoxville	1817	
	Murfreesboro	1818	
	Nashville	1826	
Texas Statehood in 1845	*Los Adaes* (LA)	1729	Capitals of the Spanish province of *Tejas*.
	San Antonio de Béxar (now San Antonio)	1772	
	Saltillo (COA)	1824	Capitals of the Mexican province of *Coahuila y Tejas*.
	Monclova (COA)	1833	
	San Felipe de Austin	1835	Capital of the Provisional Government of Texas.
	Washington (now	1836	Capitals of the Republic of Texas.

	Washington-on-the-Brazos)		
	Galveston	1836	
	Harrisburg	1836	
	Velasco	1836	
	Columbia	1836	
	Houston	1837	
	Austin	1839	
		1845	**Capital of the State of Texas**.
Utah Statehood in 1896	Salt Lake City	1849	Capital of the extralegal State of Deseret.
	Fillmore	1850	Capitals of the Territory of Utah.
	Salt Lake City	1858	
		1896	**Capital of the State of Utah**.
Vermont[64] Statehood in 1791	Westminster	1777	Capitals of the Republic of New Connecticut.
	Windsor	1777	
		1777	Capital of the Vermont Republic.

		1791	**Capitals of the State of Vermont**.
	Montpelier	1805	
Virginia[65] Statehood in 1776	*San Agustín* (FL)	1565	Capital of the Spanish province of *La Florida*.[g]
	Jamestown	1607	Capitals of the English Colony of Virginia.
	Middle Plantation Williamsburg	1698	
		1707	Capital of the British Colony of Virginia.
		1776	Capital of the Commonwealth of Virginia.
	Richmond	1780	**Capital of the Commonwealth of Virginia**. (Capital of the Confederate States of America 1861–1865.) (A rival pro-Union state government operated from Wheeling 1861–1863 and from Alexandria 1863–1865).
Washington[66] Statehood in 1889	Champoeg (OR)	1843	Temporary capital of the disputed Oregon Country.
	Oregon City (OR)	1843	Capital of the Provisional Government of Oregon in the Oregon Country.[46]
		1848	Capitals of the Territory of Oregon.
	Salem (OR)	1851	

	Olympia	1853	Capital of the Territory of Washington.
		1889	**Capital of the State of Washington.**
West Virginia Statehood in 1863	Jamestown (VA)	1619	Capitals of the English Colony of Virginia.
	Middle Plantation (VA) Williamsburg (VA)	1698	
		1707	Capital of the British Colony of Virginia.
		1776	Capitals of the Commonwealth of Virginia.
	Richmond (VA)	1780	
	Wheeling	1861	Capital of the rival pro-Union government of the Commonwealth of Virginia.
		1863	**Capitals of the State of West Virginia.**
	Charleston	1870	
	Wheeling	1875	
	Charleston	1885	
Wisconsin[67] Statehood in 1848	Marietta (OH)	1788	Capital of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio.
	Vincennes (IN)	1800	Capital of the Territory of Indiana.

	Kaskaskia (IL)	1809	Capital of the Territory of Illinois.
	Detroit (MI)	1818	Capital of the Territory of Michigan.
	Belmont	1836	Capitals of the Territory of Wisconsin.
	Burlington (IA)	1837	
	Madison	1838	
		1848	**Capital of the State of Wisconsin.**
Wyoming[68] Statehood in 1890	Lewiston (ID)	1863	Capital of the Territory of Idaho.
	Yankton (SD)	1864	Capital of the Territory of Dakota.
	Cheyenne	1869	Capital of the Territory of Wyoming.
		1890	**Capital of the State of Wyoming.**

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American Century

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Century

The **American Century** is a characterization of the period since the middle of the 20th century as being largely dominated by the United States in political, economic, technological, and cultural terms. It is comparable to the description of the period 1815–1914 as Britain's Imperial Century.[3] The United States' influence grew throughout the 20th century, but became especially dominant after the end of World War II, when only two superpowers remained; the United States and the Soviet Union. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States remained the world's only superpower,[4] and became the hegemon, or what some have termed a hyperpower.

Flag of the United States

Origin of the phrase

The term was coined by *Time* publisher Henry Luce to describe what he thought the role of the United States would be and should be during the 20th century.[6] In a February 17, 1941, *Life* magazine editorial Luce, the son of missionaries, urged the United States to forsake isolationism for a missionary's role, acting as the world's Good Samaritan and spreading

democracy.[7] He called upon the US to enter World War II to defend democratic values:

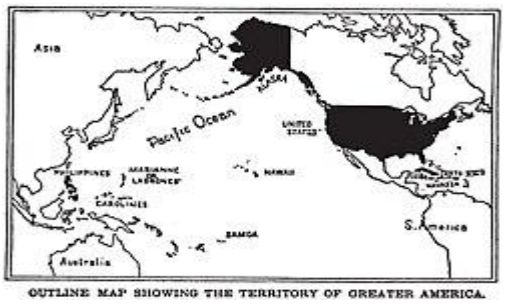
Throughout the 17th century and the 18th century and the 19th century, this continent teemed with manifold projects and magnificent purposes. Above them all and weaving them all together into the most exciting flag of all the world and of all history was the triumphal purpose of freedom. It is in this spirit that all of us are called, each to his own measure of capacity, and each in the widest horizon of his vision, to create the first great American Century.[8]

Democracy and other American ideals would "do their mysterious work of lifting the life of mankind from the level of the beasts to what the Psalmist called a little lower than the angels". Only under the American Century can the world "come to life in any nobility of health and vigor".[9]

According to David Harvey, Luce believed "the power conferred was global and universal rather than territorially specific, so Luce preferred to talk of an American century rather than an empire".[10] In the same article he called upon United States "to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit".[11]

Early characteristics

Map of the United States and directly controlled territories at its greatest extent from 1898 to 1902, after the Spanish–American War



Post–Spanish–American War map of "Greater America"

Beginning at the end of the 19th century, with the Spanish–American War in 1898 and the Boxer Rebellion, the United States began to play a more prominent role in the world beyond the North American continent. The government adopted protectionism after the Spanish–American War to develop its native industry and built up the navy, the "Great White Fleet". When Theodore Roosevelt became president in 1901, he accelerated a foreign policy shift away from isolationism and towards foreign involvement, a process which had begun under his predecessor William McKinley.

For instance, the United States fought the Philippine–American War against the First Philippine Republic to solidify its control over the newly acquired Philippines.[12] In 1904, Roosevelt committed the United States to building the Panama Canal, creating the Panama Canal Zone. Interventionism found its formal articulation in the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, proclaiming a right for the United States to intervene anywhere in the Americas, a moment that underlined the emergent US regional hegemony.

After the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the United States pursued a policy of non-intervention, avoiding conflict while trying to broker a peace.

President Woodrow Wilson later argued that the war was so important that the US had to have a voice in the peace conference.[13] The United States was never formally a member of the Allies but entered the war in 1917 as a self-styled "Associated Power". Initially the United States had a small army, but, after the passage of the Selective Service Act, it drafted 2.8 million men,[14] and, by summer 1918, was sending 10,000 fresh soldiers to France every day. The war ended in 1919 with the Treaty of Versailles. The United States then adopted a policy of isolationism, having refused to endorse the 1919 Versailles Treaty or formally enter the League of Nations.[15]

In 1916, the U.S. economy overtook that of the British Empire,[16] becoming the world's largest economy. During the interwar period, economic protectionism took hold in the United States, particularly as a result of the Smoot–Hawley Tariff Act which is credited by economists with the prolonging and worldwide propagation of the Great Depression.[17]:33 From 1934, trade liberalization began to take place through the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

With the onset of World War II in 1939, Congress loosened the Neutrality Acts of 1930s but remained opposed to entering the European war.[18] In 1940, the United States ranked 18th in terms of military power.[19][20][21] The Neutrality Patrol had US destroyers fighting at sea, but no state of war had been declared by Congress. American public opinion remained isolationist. The 800,000-member America First Committee vehemently opposed any American intervention in the European conflict, even as the US sold military aid to the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union through the Lend-Lease program.

In the 1941 State of the Union Address, known as the Four Freedoms speech, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made a break with the tradition of non-interventionism. He outlined the US role in helping allies already engaged in warfare. By August, President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had drafted the Atlantic Charter to define goals for the post-war world.[22] In December 1941, Japan attacked American and British territories with near-simultaneous offensives against Southeast Asia and the Central Pacific including an attack on the US fleet at Pearl Harbor.[23]. These attacks led the United States and United Kingdom to declare war on Japan. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which the United States reciprocated.[24]

During the War, the Big Four powers (the United States, United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China) met to plan the post-war world.[25][26] In an effort to maintain peace,[27] the Allies formed the United Nations, which came into existence on October 24, 1945,[28] and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, as a common standard for all member states.[29] The United States worked closely with the United Kingdom to establish the IMF, World Bank and NATO.[30][31]

Pax Americana

Pax Americana represents the relative peace in the Western world, resulting in part from the preponderance of power enjoyed by the United States of America starting around the middle of the 20th century. Although the term finds its primary utility in the late 20th century, it has been used in other times in the 20th century. Its modern connotations concern the peace established after the end of World War II in 1945.

Post-1945 characteristics

The American Century existed through the Cold War and demonstrated the status of the United States as the foremost of the world's two superpowers. After the Cold War, the most common belief held that only the United States fulfilled the criteria to be considered a superpower.[4] Its geographic area composed the fourth-largest state in the world, with an area of approximately 9.37 million km^2.[32] The population of the US was 248.7 million in 1990, at that time the fourth-largest nation.[33]

In the mid-to-late 20th century, the political status of the US was defined as a strongly capitalist federation and constitutional republic. It had a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council plus two allies with permanent seats, the United Kingdom and France. The US had strong ties with capitalist Western Europe, Latin America, British Commonwealth, and several East Asian countries (Korea, Taiwan, Japan). It allied itself with both right-wing dictatorships and capitalist democracies.[34]

The American Century includes the political influence of the United States but also its economic influence. Many states around the world would, over the course of the 20th century, adopt the economic policies of the Washington Consensus, sometimes against the wishes of their populations. The economic force of the US was powerful at the end of the century due to it being by far the largest economy in the world. The US had large resources of minerals, energy resources, metals, and timber, a large and modernized farming industry and large industrial base. The United States dollar is the dominant world reserve currency under the Bretton Woods system. US systems were rooted in capitalist economic theory based on supply and demand, that is, production determined by

customers' demands. The US was allied with the G7 major economies. US economic policy prescriptions were the "standard" reform packages promoted for crisis-wracked developing countries by Washington, DC–based international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, as well as the US Treasury Department.[35]

Countries with United States military bases, as of 2023

The military of the United States was a naval-based advanced military with by far the highest military expenditure in the world.[36] The United States Navy is the world's largest navy, with the largest number of aircraft carriers, bases all over the world (particularly in an incomplete "ring" bordering the Warsaw Pact states to the west, south and east). The US had the largest nuclear arsenal in the world during the first half of the Cold War, one of the largest armies in the world and one of the two largest air forces in the world. Its powerful military allies in Western Europe (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization states) had their own nuclear capabilities. The US also possessed a powerful global intelligence network in the Central Intelligence Agency.

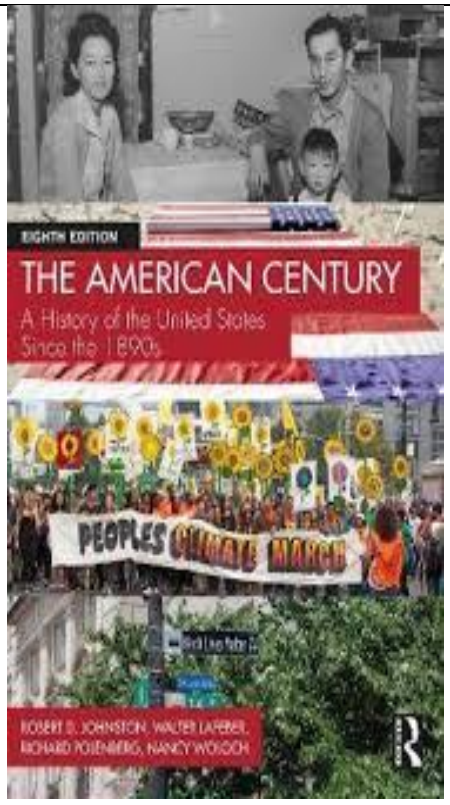
The cultural effect of the US, often known as Americanization, is seen in the influence on other countries of US music, TV, films, art, and fashion, as well as the desire for freedom of speech and other guaranteed rights its residents enjoy. US pop stars such as Elvis Presley, Michael Jackson, and Madonna have become global celebrities.[37]

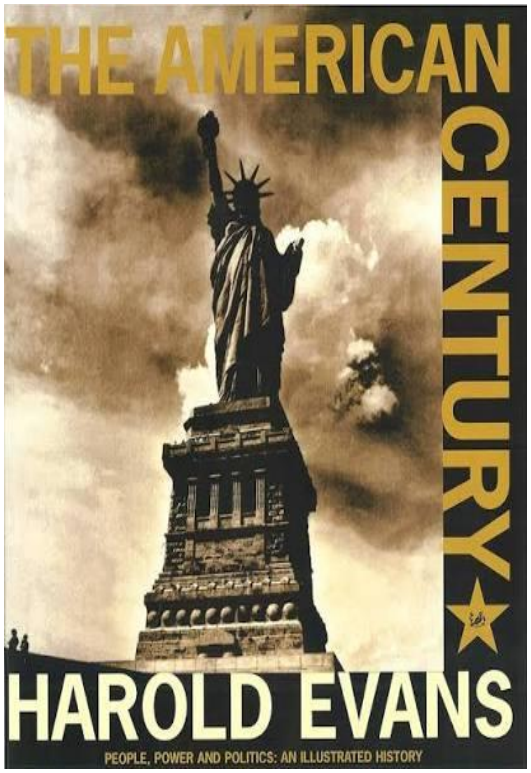
Criticism and usage

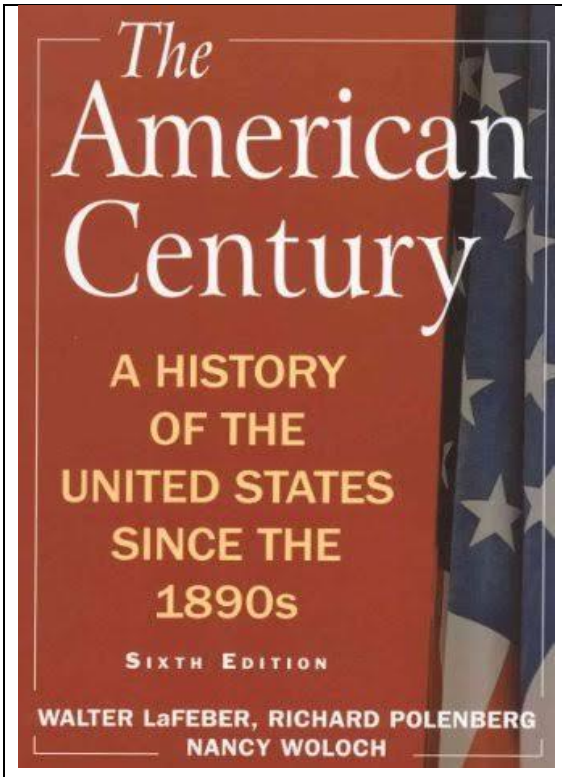
Critics have condemned Luce's "jingoistic missionary zeal".[38] Others have noted the end of the 20th century and the American Century, most famously the late gonzo journalist Hunter S. Thompson who titled his 2003 autobiography *Kingdom of Fear: Loathsome Secrets of a Star Crossed Child in the Last Days of the American Century*.

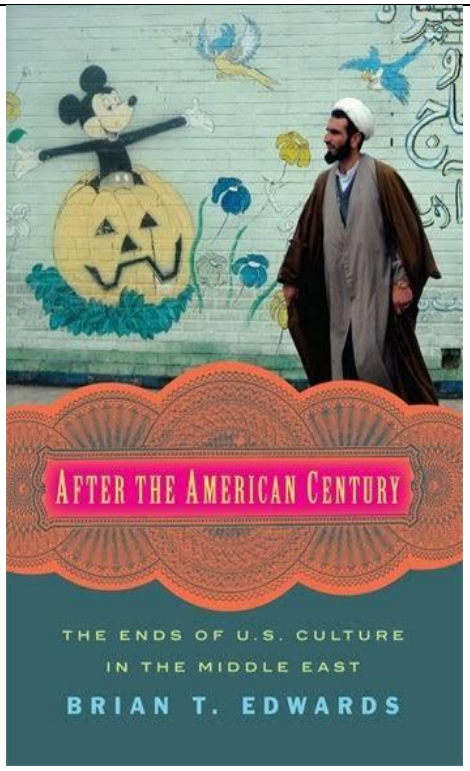
With the advent of the new millennium, critics from the University of Illinois stated that it was a matter of debate whether the US was losing its superpower status, especially in relation to China's rise.[39]

Other analysts have made the case for the "American Century" fitting neatly between the US's late entry into World War I in 1917 and the inauguration of the isolationist presidency of Donald Trump in 2017.






The American Century
A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE 1890s
SIXTH EDITION
WALTER LaFEBER, RICHARD POLENBERG
NANCY WOLOCH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THE ENDS OF U.S. CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
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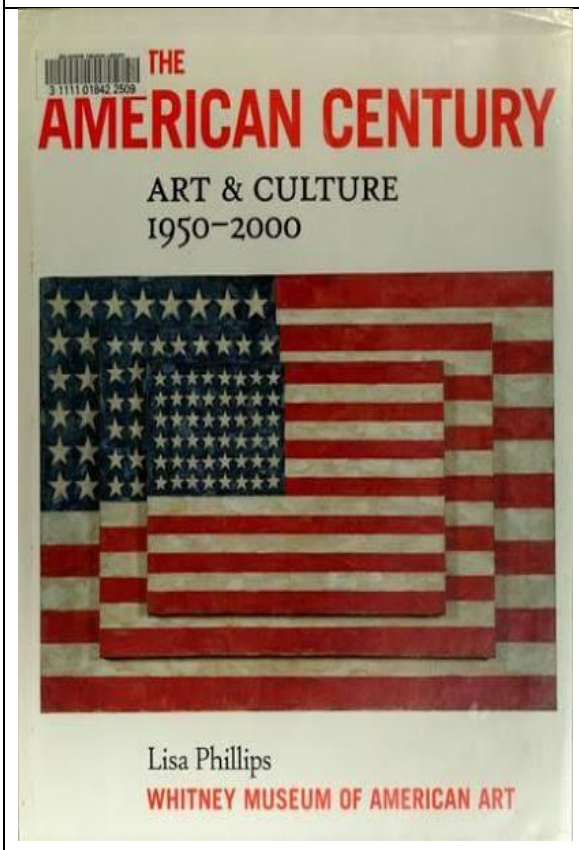
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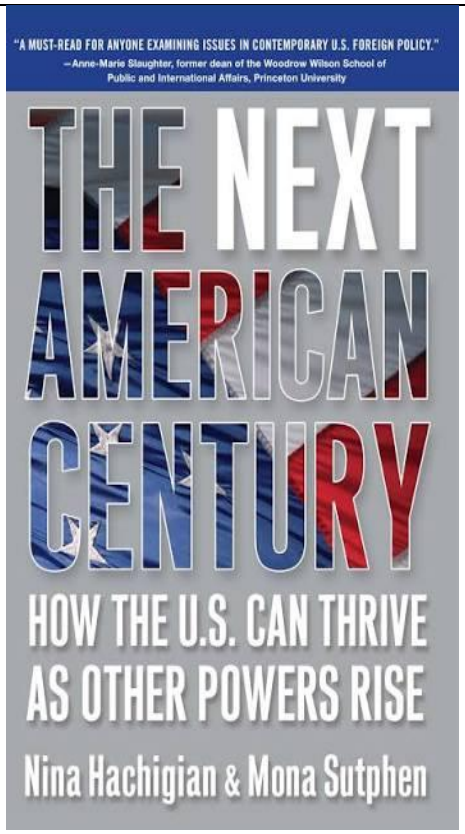
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HOW THE U.S. CAN THRIVE AS OTHER POWERS RISE
Nina Hachigian & Mona Sutphen

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Part II

Presidents of USA

Presidents & Vice-Presidents of USA

From 1789 until 1933, the terms of President and Vice President and the term of the Congress coincided, beginning on March 4 and ending on March 3. This changed when the 20th amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1933. Beginning in 1934, the convening date for Congress became January 3 (unless Congress by law appoints a different day), and beginning in 1937 the starting date for the presidential term became January 20. Because of this change, the number of Congresses overlapping with a presidential term increased from two to three, although the third only overlaps by a few weeks.

[Kindly click the following Web Links]

01] https://millercenter.org/president

02] https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/presidents

03]

No.	President	Vice President	Years of Service	Congresses
1.	George Washington	John Adams	Apr. 30, 1789–Mar. 3, 1797	1, 2, 3, 4
2.	John Adams	Thomas Jefferson	Mar. 4, 1797–Mar. 3, 1801	5, 6
3.	Thomas Jefferson	Aaron Burr	Mar. 4, 1801–Mar. 3, 1805	7, 8
	Thomas Jefferson	George Clinton	Mar. 4, 1805–Mar. 3, 1809	9, 10
4.	James Madison	George Clinton[1]	Mar. 4, 1809–Mar. 3, 1813	11, 12
	James Madison	Elbridge Gerry[2]	Mar. 4, 1813–Mar. 3, 1817	13, 14
5.	James Monroe	Daniel D. Tompkins	Mar. 4, 1817–Mar. 3, 1825	15, 16, 17, 18
6.	John Quincy Adams	John C. Calhoun	Mar. 4, 1825–Mar. 3, 1829	19, 20

No.	President	Vice President	Years of Service	Congresses
7.	Andrew Jackson	John C. Calhoun[3]	Mar. 4, 1829–Mar. 3, 1833	21, 22
	Andrew Jackson	Martin Van Buren	Mar. 4, 1833–Mar. 3, 1837	23, 24
8.	Martin Van Buren	Richard M. Johnson	Mar. 4, 1837–Mar. 3, 1841	25, 26
9.	William Henry Harrison[4]	John Tyler	Mar. 4, 1841–Apr. 4, 1841	27
10.	John Tyler	.....	Apr. 6, 1841–Mar. 3, 1845	27, 28
11.	James K. Polk	George M. Dallas	Mar. 4, 1845–Mar. 3, 1849	29, 30
12.	Zachary Taylor[4]	Millard Fillmore	Mar. 5, 1849–July 9, 1850	31
13.	Millard Fillmore	.....	July 10, 1850–Mar. 3, 1853	31, 32
14.	Franklin Pierce	William R. King[5]	Mar. 4, 1853–Mar. 3, 1857	33, 34
15.	James Buchanan	John C. Breckinridge	Mar. 4, 1857–Mar. 3, 1861	35, 36
16.	Abraham Lincoln	Hannibal Hamlin	Mar. 4, 1861–Mar. 3, 1865	37, 38
	Abraham Lincoln[4]	Andrew Johnson	Mar. 4, 1865–Apr. 15, 1865	39
17.	Andrew Johnson	.....	Apr. 15, 1865–Mar. 3, 1869	39, 40
18.	Ulysses S. Grant	Schuyler Colfax	Mar. 4, 1869–Mar. 3, 1873	41, 42
	Ulysses S. Grant	Henry Wilson[6]	Mar. 4, 1873–Mar. 3, 1877	43, 44
19.	Rutherford B. Hayes	William A. Wheeler	Mar. 4, 1877–Mar. 3, 1881	45, 46

No.	President	Vice President	Years of Service	Congresses
20.	James A. Garfield[4]	Chester A. Arthur	Mar. 4, 1881–Sept. 19, 1881	47
21.	Chester A. Arthur	.....	Sept. 20, 1881–Mar. 3, 1885	47, 48
22.	Grover Cleveland	Thomas A. Hendricks[7]	Mar. 4, 1885–Mar. 3, 1889	49, 50
23.	Benjamin Harrison	Levi P. Morton	Mar. 4, 1889–Mar. 3, 1893	51, 52
24.	Grover Cleveland	Adlai E. Stevenson	Mar. 4, 1893–Mar. 3, 1897	53, 54
25.	William McKinley	Garret A. Hobart[8]	Mar. 4, 1897–Mar. 3, 1901	55, 56
	William McKinley[4]	Theodore Roosevelt	Mar. 4, 1901–Sept. 14, 1901	57
26.	Theodore Roosevelt	.....	Sept. 14, 1901–Mar. 3, 1905	57, 58
	Theodore Roosevelt	Charles W. Fairbanks	Mar. 4, 1905–Mar. 3, 1909	59, 60
27.	William H. Taft	James S. Sherman[9]	Mar. 4, 1909–Mar. 3, 1913	61, 62
28.	Woodrow Wilson	Thomas R. Marshall	Mar. 4, 1913–Mar. 3, 1921	63, 64, 65, 66
29.	Warren G. Harding[4]	Calvin Coolidge	Mar. 4, 1921–Aug. 2, 1923	67, 68
30.	Calvin Coolidge	.....	Aug. 3, 1923–Mar. 3, 1925	68
	Calvin Coolidge	Charles G. Dawes	Mar. 4, 1925–Mar. 3, 1929	69, 70
31.	Herbert Hoover	Charles Curtis	Mar. 4, 1929–Mar. 3, 1933	71, 72
32.	Franklin D. Roosevelt	John Nance Garner	Mar. 4, 1933–Jan. 20, 1941	73, 74, 75, 76, 77

No.	President	Vice President	Years of Service	Congresses
	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Henry A. Wallace	Jan. 20, 1941–Jan. 20, 1945	77, 78, 79
	Franklin D. Roosevelt[4]	Harry S. Truman	Jan. 20, 1945–Apr. 12, 1945	79
33.	Harry S. Truman	.....	Apr. 12, 1945–Jan. 20, 1949	79, 80, 81
	Harry S. Truman	Alben W. Barkley	Jan. 20, 1949–Jan. 20, 1953	81, 82, 83
34.	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Richard M. Nixon	Jan. 20, 1953–Jan. 20, 1961	83, 84, 85, 86, 87
35.	John F. Kennedy[4]	Lyndon B. Johnson	Jan. 20, 1961–Nov. 22, 1963	87, 88
36.	Lyndon B. Johnson	.....	Nov. 22, 1963–Jan. 20, 1965	88, 89
	Lyndon B. Johnson	Hubert H. Humphrey	Jan. 20, 1965–Jan. 20, 1969	89, 90, 91
37.	Richard M. Nixon	Spiro T. Agnew[10]	Jan. 20, 1969–Dec. 6, 1973	91, 92, 93
	Richard M. Nixon[12]	Gerald R. Ford[11]	Dec. 6, 1973–Aug. 9, 1974	93
38.	Gerald R. Ford	.....	Aug. 9, 1974–Dec. 19, 1974	93
	Gerald R. Ford	Nelson A. Rockefeller [13]	Dec. 19, 1974–Jan. 20, 1977	93, 94, 95
39.	James Earl "Jimmy" Carter	Walter F. Mondale	Jan. 20, 1977–Jan. 20, 1981	95, 96, 97
40.	Ronald Reagan	George H.W. Bush	Jan. 20, 1981–Jan. 20, 1989	97, 98, 99, 100, 101
41.	George H.W. Bush	J. Danforth Quayle	Jan. 20, 1989–Jan. 20, 1993	101, 102, 103,

No.	President	Vice President	Years of Service	Congresses
42.	William J. Clinton	Albert Gore Jr.	Jan. 20, 1993–Jan. 20, 2001	103, 104, 105, 106, 107
43.	George W. Bush	Dick Cheney	Jan. 20, 2001–Jan. 20, 2009	107, 108, 109, 110, 111
44.	Barack Obama	Joseph R. Biden Jr.	Jan. 20, 2009–Jan. 20, 2017	111, 112, 113, 114, 115
45.	Donald J. Trump	Mike Pence	Jan. 20, 2017–Jan. 20, 2021	115, 116, 117
46.	Joseph R. Biden Jr.	Kamala D. Harris	Jan. 20, 2021–Jan. 20, 2025	117, 118, 119
47.	Donald J. Trump	James David (J.D.) Vance	Jan. 20, 2025–present	119

Criteria for the US President

If presidential ambitions are on your horizon, there are a few key criteria you have to hit first. As outlined by **the US constitution**, candidates must be at least 35 years old, be a natural born US citizen and have been a resident of the United States for 14 years.

Once in office, there are other restrictions on the office of the President, most notably the two-term limit outlined in the 22nd amendment. The tradition of a two-term limit for presidents was set by George Washington, the very first president, and continued by all subsequent presidents, until Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt was elected to the office of president on four occasions between 1933 and 1945, making him the longest serving president of all time.

In 1951, the 22nd amendment was officially ratified, stating that no person could be elected to the role of president more than twice, thereby instituting a two-term limit on all future presidents. The amendment was passed due to the fear that without term limits, the presidency could become a dictatorship. A presidential term lasts for four years, so by instituting a two-term limit, the 22nd

amendment ensured that no person could hold office for a period of longer than eight years.

Where does the US president live?

In rom-com 'The American President', the White House is described as 'the greatest home court advantage in the modern world', playing host to leaders and dignitaries from right across the world throughout its illustrious history.
But, alongside its role as the home of **US democracy**, the White House is also a home to the US President and the first family. Originally dubbed the 'Executive Mansion', the White House was given its official name by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1901, who requested the name be imprinted on all official stationery in a letter to Secretary of State John Hay.

Home to every President except the first, the White House has gone through a number of renovations over the years, including the creation of the now-iconic West Wing in 1902.

In 1909, the first Oval Office was constructed - located in the West Wing, the Oval Office serves as the formal workplace of the president. Also found in the West Wing are the Situation Room, where the president and high-ranking personnel can monitor critical world events, the Cabinet Room, a meeting room for officials and advisors to the president, and offices for the president's senior staff.

The Oval Office and the West Wing as a whole have been immortalised in various photographs, films and television shows - not least Aaron Sorkin's hit drama 'The West Wing'.

Presidents of the United States

https://www.govtrack.us/congress/other-people/presidents

[Kindly click the following Web Links]

- President Donald Trump [Republican, 2025-2029]
- President Joseph Biden [Democrat, 2021-2025]
- President Donald Trump [Republican, 2017-2021]
- President Barack Obama [Democrat, 2009-2017]
- President George Walker Bush [Republican, 2001-2009]
- President William "Bill" Clinton [Democrat, 1993-2001]
- President George Herbert Walker Bush [Republican, 1989-1993]
- President Ronald Reagan [Republican, 1981-1989]
- President James "Jimmy" Carter [Democrat, 1977-1981]
- President Gerald Ford [Republican, 1974-1977]
- President Richard Nixon [Republican, 1969-1974]
- President Lyndon Johnson [Democrat, 1963-1969]
- President John Fitzgerald Kennedy [Democrat, 1961-1963]
- President Dwight Eisenhower [Republican, 1953-1961]
- President Harry Truman [Democrat, 1945-1953]
- President Franklin Roosevelt [Democrat, 1933-1945]
- President Herbert Hoover [Republican, 1929-1933]
- President Calvin Coolidge [Republican, 1923-1929]
- President Warren Harding [Republican, 1921-1923]
- President Woodrow Wilson [Democrat, 1913-1921]

- President William Taft [Republican, 1909-1913]
- President Theodore Roosevelt [Republican, 1901-1909]
- President William McKinley Jr. [Republican, 1897-1901]
- President Grover Cleveland [Democrat, 1893-1897]
- President Benjamin Harrison [Republican, 1889-1893]
- President Grover Cleveland [Democrat, 1885-1889]
- President Chester Arthur [Republican, 1881-1885]
- President James Garfield [Republican, 1881-1881]
- President Rutherford Hayes [Republican, 1877-1881]
- President Ulysses Grant [Republican, 1869-1877]
- President Andrew Johnson [Democrat, 1865-1869]
- President Abraham Lincoln [Republican, 1861-1865]
- President James Buchanan [Democrat, 1857-1861]
- President Franklin Pierce [Democrat, 1853-1857]
- President Millard Fillmore [Whig, 1850-1853]
- President Zachary Taylor [Whig, 1849-1850]
- President James Knox Polk [Democrat, 1845-1849]
- President John Tyler [Whig, 1841-1845]
- President William Harrison [Whig, 1841-1841]
- President Martin Van Buren [Democrat, 1837-1841]
- President Andrew Jackson [Democrat, 1829-1837]
- President John Quincy Adams [Democratic-Republican, 1825-1829]
- President James Monroe [Democratic-Republican, 1817-1825]

- President James Madison [Democratic-Republican, 1809-1817]
- President Thomas Jefferson [Democratic-Republican, 1801-1809]
- President John Adams [Federalist, 1797-1801]
- President George Washington [no party, 1789-1797]

The Presidents Timeline

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- **THE PRESIDENTS**

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  Biographies & Portraits

- GEORGE WASHINGTON | 1789-1797
- JOHN ADAMS | 1797-1801
- THOMAS JEFFERSON | 1801-1809
- JAMES MADISON | 1809-1817
- JAMES MONROE | 1817-1825
- JOHN QUINCY ADAMS | 1825-1829
- ANDREW JACKSON | 1829-1837
- MARTIN VAN BUREN | 1837-1841
- WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON | 1841
- JOHN TYLER | 1841-1845
- JAMES K. POLK | 1845-1849
- ZACHARY TAYLOR | 1849-1850
- MILLARD FILLMORE | 1850-1853
- FRANKLIN PIERCE | 1853-1857
- JAMES BUCHANAN | 1857-1861
- ABRAHAM LINCOLN | 1861-1865
- ANDREW JOHNSON | 1865-1869
- ULYSSES S. GRANT | 1869-1877
- RUTHERFORD B. HAYES | 1877-1881
- JAMES A. GARFIELD | 1881

- CHESTER A. ARTHUR | 1881-1885
- GROVER CLEVELAND | 1885-1889 / 1893-1897
- BENJAMIN HARRISON | 1889-1893
- WILLIAM MCKINLEY | 1897-1901
- THEODORE ROOSEVELT | 1901-1909
- WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT | 1909-1913
- WOODROW WILSON | 1913-1921
- WARREN G. HARDING | 1921-1923
- CALVIN COOLIDGE | 1923-1929
- HERBERT HOOVER | 1929-1933
- FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT | 1933-1945
- HARRY S. TRUMAN | 1945-1953
- DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER | 1953-1961
- JOHN F. KENNEDY | 1961-1963
- LYNDON B. JOHNSON | 1963-1969
- RICHARD M. NIXON | 1969-1974
- GERALD R. FORD | 1974-1977
- JIMMY CARTER | 1977-1981
- RONALD REAGAN | 1981-1989
- GEORGE H.W. BUSH | 1989-1993
- BILL CLINTON | 1993-2001
- GEORGE W. BUSH | 2001-2009
- BARACK OBAMA | 2009-2017
- DONALD J. TRUMP | 2017-2021 / 2025-
- JOE BIDEN | 2021-2025

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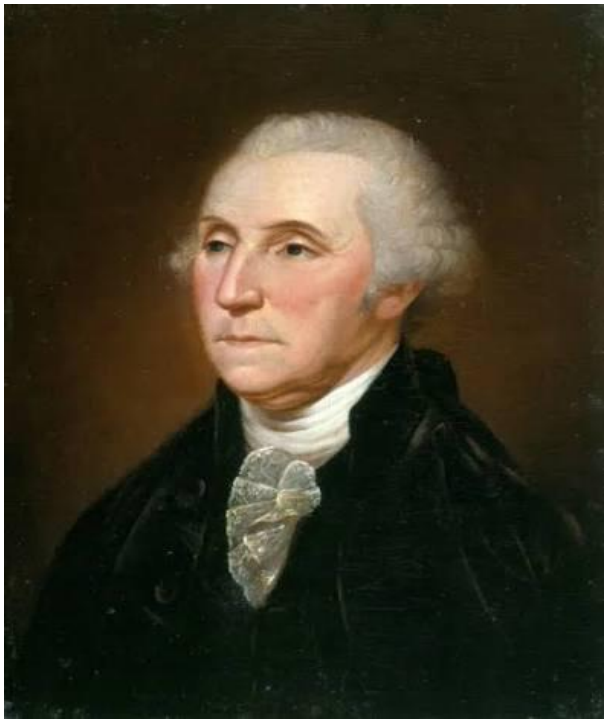
250

Part II

Presidents of USA



George Washington

1st President of the United States

[30 April 30 1789 <::> 4 March 1797]

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02] https://kids.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/george-washington

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-Washington/The-Washington-administration

04] The Strange Greatness of George Washington [Video] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K1BaPETVOQA [1:13:26]

George Washington (born February 22 [February 11, Old Style], 1732, Westmoreland county, Virginia [U.S.]—died December 14, 1799, Mount Vernon, Virginia, U.S.) was an American general and commander in chief of the colonial armies in the American Revolution (1775–83) and subsequently first president of the United States (1789–97).

Washington's father, Augustine Washington, had gone to school in England, tasted seafaring life, and then settled down to manage his growing Virginia estates. His mother was Mary Ball, whom Augustine, a widower, had married early the previous year. Washington's paternal lineage had some distinction; an early forebear was described as a "gentleman," Henry VIII later gave the family lands, and its members held various offices. But family fortunes fell with the Puritan revolution in England, and John Washington, grandfather of Augustine, migrated in 1657 to Virginia. The ancestral home at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, is maintained as a Washington memorial. Little definite information exists on any of the line until Augustine. He was an energetic, ambitious man who acquired much land, built mills, took an interest in opening iron mines, and sent his two eldest sons to England for schooling. By his first wife, Jane Butler, he had four children. By his second wife, Mary Ball, he had six. Augustine died April 12, 1743.

Childhood and Youth

George WashingtonYoung George Washington as a surveyor, illustration from *Old Times in the Colonies* (1881), by Charles Carleton Coffin.

George Washington: mapMap of a portion of the Ohio River region made by George Washington, 1754.

Little is known of George Washington's early childhood, spent largely on the Ferry Farm on the Rappahannock River, opposite Fredericksburg, Virginia. Mason L. Weems's stories of the hatchet and cherry tree and of young Washington's repugnance to fighting are apocryphal efforts to fill a manifest gap. He attended school irregularly from his 7th to his 15th year, first with the local church sexton and later with a schoolmaster named Williams. Some of his schoolboy papers survive. He was fairly well trained in practical mathematics—gauging, several types of mensuration, and such trigonometry as was useful in surveying. He studied geography, possibly had a little Latin, and certainly read some of *The Spectator* and other English classics. The copybook in which he transcribed at 14 a set of moral precepts, or *Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation*, was carefully preserved. His best training, however, was given him by practical men and outdoor occupations, not by books. He mastered tobacco growing and stock raising, and early in his teens he was sufficiently familiar with surveying to plot the fields about him.

At his father's death, the 11-year-old boy became the ward of his half brother Lawrence, a man of fine character who gave him wise and affectionate care. Lawrence inherited the beautiful estate of Little Hunting Creek, which had been granted to the original settler, John Washington, and which Augustine had done much since 1738 to develop. Lawrence married Anne (Nancy)

Fairfax, daughter of Col. William Fairfax, a cousin and agent of Lord Fairfax and one of the chief proprietors of the region. Lawrence also built a house and named the 2,500-acre (1,000-hectare) holding Mount Vernon in honor of the admiral under whom he had served in the siege of Cartagena. Living there chiefly with Lawrence (though he spent some time near Fredericksburg with his other half brother, Augustine, called Austin), George entered a more spacious and polite world. Anne Fairfax Washington was a woman of charm, grace, and culture; Lawrence had brought from his English school and naval service much knowledge and experience. A valued neighbor and relative, George William Fairfax, whose large estate, Belvoir, was about 4 miles (6 km) distant, and other relatives by marriage, the Carlyles of Alexandria, helped form George's mind and manners.

The youth turned first to surveying as a profession. Lord Fairfax, a middle-aged bachelor who owned more than 5,000,000 acres (2,000,000 hectares) in northern Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley, came to America in 1746 to live with his cousin George William at Belvoir and to look after his properties. Two years later he sent to the Shenandoah Valley a party to survey and plot his lands to make regular tenants of the squatters moving in from Pennsylvania. With the official surveyor of Prince William county in charge, Washington went along as assistant. The 16-year-old lad kept a disjointed diary of the trip, which shows skill in observation. He describes the discomfort of sleeping under "one thread Bear blanket with double its Weight of Vermin such as Lice Fleas & c"; an encounter with an Indian war party bearing a scalp; the Pennsylvania-German emigrants, "as ignorant a set of people as the Indians they would never speak English but when spoken to they speak all Dutch"; and the serving of roast wild turkey on "a Large Chip," for "as for dishes we had none." The following year (1749), aided by Lord Fairfax, Washington received an appointment as official surveyor of Culpeper county, and for more than two years he was kept almost constantly busy. Surveying not only in Culpeper but also in Frederick and Augusta counties, he made journeys far beyond the Tidewater region into the western wilderness. The experience taught him resourcefulness and endurance and toughened him in both body and mind. Coupled with Lawrence's ventures in land, it also gave him an interest in western development that endured throughout his life. He was always disposed to speculate in western holdings and to view favorably projects for colonizing the West, and he greatly resented the limitations that the crown in time laid on the westward movement. In 1752 Lord Fairfax determined to take up his final residence in the Shenandoah Valley and settled there in a log hunting lodge, which he called Greenway Court after a Kentish manor of his family's. There Washington was sometimes entertained and had access to a small library that Fairfax had begun accumulating at Oxford.

Mount VernonEast view of the mansion at Mount Vernon, Fairfax county, Virginia.

The years 1751–52 marked a turning point in Washington's life, for they placed him in control of Mount Vernon. Lawrence, stricken by tuberculosis, went to Barbados in 1751 for his health, taking George along. From this sole journey beyond the present borders of the United States, Washington returned with the light scars of an attack of smallpox. In July of the next year, Lawrence died, making George executor and residuary heir of his estate should his daughter, Sarah, die without issue. As she died within two months, Washington at age 20 became head of one of the best Virginia estates. He always thought farming the "most delectable" of pursuits. "It is honorable," he wrote, "it is amusing, and, with superior judgment, it is profitable." And, of all the spots for farming, he thought Mount Vernon the best. "No estate in United America," he assured an English correspondent, "is more pleasantly situated than this." His greatest pride in later days was to be regarded as the first farmer of the land.

He gradually increased the estate until it exceeded 8,000 acres (3,000 hectares). He enlarged the house in 1760 and made further enlargements and improvements on the house and its landscaping in 1784–86. He also tried to keep abreast of the latest scientific advances.

***The Farmer*, George Washington*The Farmer*, lithograph, 1853, portrays George Washington, offering a sentimentalized view of slaves working at Mount Vernon.**

For the next 20 years the main background of Washington's life was the work and society of Mount Vernon. He gave assiduous attention to the rotation of crops, fertilization of the soil, and the management of livestock. He had to manage the 18 slaves that came with the estate and others he bought later; by 1760 he had paid taxes on 49 slaves—though he strongly disapproved of the institution and hoped for some mode of abolishing it. At the time of his death, more than 300 slaves were housed in the quarters on his property. He had been unwilling to sell slaves lest families be broken up, even though the increase in their numbers placed a burden on him for their upkeep and gave him a larger force of workers than he required, especially after he gave up the cultivation of tobacco. In his will, he bequeathed the slaves in his possession to his wife and ordered that upon her death they be set free, declaring also that the young, the aged, and the infirm among them "shall be comfortably cloathed & fed by my heirs." Still, this accounted for only about half the

slaves on his property. The other half, owned by his wife, were entailed to the Custis estate, so that on her death they were destined to pass to her heirs. However, she freed all the slaves in 1800 after his death.

For diversion Washington was fond of riding, fox hunting, and dancing, of such theatrical performances as he could reach, and of duck hunting and sturgeon fishing. He liked billiards and cards and not only subscribed to racing associations but also ran his own horses in races. In all outdoor pursuits, from wrestling to colt breaking, he excelled. A friend of the 1750s describes him as "straight as an Indian, measuring six feet two inches in his stockings"; as very muscular and broad-shouldered but, though large-boned, weighing only 175 pounds; and as having long arms and legs. His penetrating blue-gray eyes were overhung by heavy brows, his nose was large and straight, and his mouth was large and firmly closed. "His movements and gestures are graceful, his walk majestic, and he is a splendid horseman." He soon became prominent in community affairs, was an active member and later vestryman of the Episcopal church, and as early as 1755 expressed a desire to stand for the Virginia House of Burgesses.

Prerevolutionary military and political career of George Washington

Early military career

Traditions of John Washington's feats as Indian fighter and Lawrence Washington's talk of service days helped imbue George with military ambition. Just after Lawrence's death, Lieut. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie appointed George adjutant for the southern district of Virginia at £100 a year (November 1752). In 1753 he became adjutant of the Northern Neck and Eastern Shore. Later that year, Dinwiddie found it necessary to warn the French to desist from their encroachments on Ohio Valley lands claimed by the crown. After sending one messenger who failed to reach the goal, he determined to dispatch Washington. On the day he received his orders, October 31, 1753, Washington set out for the French posts. His party consisted of a Dutchman to serve as interpreter, the expert scout Christopher Gist as guide, and four others, two of them experienced traders with the Indians. Theoretically, Great Britain and France were at peace. Actually, war impended, and Dinwiddie's message was an ultimatum: the French must get out or be put out.

George Washington: sketch mapGeorge Washington's sketch map of his journey (1753–54) from what is now Cumberland, Maryland, to Fort LeBoeuf (now Waterford, Pennsylvania), 1754.

The journey proved rough, perilous, and futile. Washington's party left what is now Cumberland, Maryland, in the middle of November and, despite wintry weather and impediments of the wilderness, reached Fort LeBoeuf, at what is now Waterford, Pennsylvania, 20 miles (32 km) south of Lake Erie, without delay. The French commander was courteous but adamant. As Washington reported, his officers "told me, That it was their absolute Design to take possession of the Ohio, and by God they would do it." Eager to carry this alarming news back, Washington pushed off hurriedly with Gist. He was lucky to have gotten back alive. An Indian fired at them at 15 paces but missed. When they crossed the Allegheny River on a raft, Washington was jerked into the ice-filled stream but saved himself by catching one of the timbers. That night he almost froze in his wet clothing. He reached Williamsburg, Virginia, on January 16, 1754, where he hastily penned a record of the journey. Dinwiddie, who was laboring to convince the crown of the seriousness of the French threat, had it printed, and when he sent it to London, it was reprinted in three different forms.

The enterprising governor forthwith planned an expedition to hold the Ohio country. He made Joshua Fry colonel of a provincial regiment, appointed Washington lieutenant colonel, and set them to recruiting troops. Two agents of the Ohio Company, which Lawrence Washington and others had formed to develop lands on the upper Potomac and Ohio rivers, had begun building a fort at what later became Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Dinwiddie, ready to launch into his own war, sent Washington with two companies to reinforce this post. In April 1754 the lieutenant colonel set out from Alexandria with about 160 men at his back. He marched to Cumberland only to learn that the French had anticipated the British blow; they had

taken possession of the fort of the Ohio Company and had renamed it Fort Duquesne. Happily, the Indians of the area offered support. Washington therefore struggled cautiously forward to within about 40 miles (60 km) of the French position and erected his own post at Great Meadows, near what is now Confluence, Pennsylvania. From this base, he made a surprise attack (May 28, 1754) upon an advance detachment of 30 French, killing the commander, Coulon de Jumonville, and nine others and taking the rest prisoners. The French and Indian War had begun.

Washington at once received promotion to a full colonelcy and was reinforced, commanding a considerable body of Virginia and North Carolina troops, with Indian auxiliaries. But his attack soon brought the whole French force down upon him. They drove his 350 men into the Great Meadows fort (Fort Necessity) on July 3, besieged it with 700 men, and, after an all-day fight, compelled him to surrender. The construction of the fort had been a blunder, for it lay in a waterlogged creek bottom, was commanded on three sides by forested elevations approaching it closely, and was too far from Washington's supports. The French agreed to let the disarmed colonials march back to Virginia with the honours of war, but they compelled Washington to promise that Virginia would not build another fort on the Ohio for a year and to sign a paper acknowledging responsibility for "l'assassinat" of de Jumonville, a word that Washington later explained he did not rightly understand. He returned to Virginia, chagrined but proud, to receive the thanks of the House of Burgesses and to find that his name had been mentioned in the London gazettes. His remark in a letter to his brother that "I have heard the bullets whistle; and believe me, there is something charming in the sound" was commented on humorously by the author Horace Walpole and sarcastically by King George II.

The arrival of Gen. Edward Braddock and his army in Virginia in February 1755, as part of the triple plan of campaign that called for his advance on Fort Duquesne and in New York Gov. William Shirley's capture of Fort Niagara and Sir William Johnson's capture of Crown Point, brought Washington new opportunities and responsibilities. He had resigned his commission in October 1754 in resentment of the slighting treatment and underpayment of colonial officers and particularly because of an untactful order of the British war office that provincial officers of whatever rank would be subordinate to any officer holding the king's commission. But he ardently desired a part in the war; "my inclinations," he wrote a friend, "are strongly bent to arms." When Braddock showed appreciation of his merits and invited him to join the expedition as personal aide-de-camp, with the courtesy title of colonel, he therefore accepted. His self-reliance, decision, and masterfulness soon became apparent.

At table he had frequent disputes with Braddock, who, when contractors failed to deliver their supplies, attacked the colonials as supine and dishonest while Washington defended them warmly. His freedom of utterance is proof of Braddock's esteem. Braddock accepted Washington's unwise advice that he divide his army, leaving half of it to come up with the slow wagons and cattle train and taking the other half forward against Fort Duquesne at a rapid pace. Washington was ill with fever during June but joined the advance guard in a covered wagon on July 8, begged to lead the march on

Fort Duquesne with his Virginians and Indian allies, and was by Braddock's side when on July 9 the army was ambushed and bloodily defeated.

In this defeat Washington displayed the combination of coolness and determination, the alliance of unconquerable energy with complete poise, that was the secret of so many of his successes. So ill that he had to use a pillow instead of a saddle and that Braddock ordered his body servant to keep special watch over him, Washington was, nevertheless, everywhere at once. At first he followed Braddock as the general bravely tried to rally his men to push either forward or backward, the wisest course the circumstances permitted. Then he rode back to bring up the Virginians from the rear and rallied them with effect on the flank. To him was largely due the escape of the force. His exposure of his person was as reckless as Braddock's, who was fatally wounded on his fifth horse; Washington had two horses shot out from under him and his clothes cut by four bullets without being hurt. He was at Braddock's deathbed, helped bring the troops back, and was repaid by being appointed, in August 1755, while still only 23 years old, commander of all Virginia troops.

But no part of his later service was conspicuous. Finding that a Maryland captain who held a royal commission would not obey him, he rode north in February 1756 to Boston to have the question settled by the commander in chief in America, Governor Shirley, and, bearing a letter from Dinwiddie, had no difficulty in carrying his point. On his return he plunged into a multitude of vexations. He had to protect a weak, thinly settled frontier nearly 400 miles (650 km) in length with only some 700 ill-disciplined colonial troops, to cope with a legislature unwilling to support him, to meet attacks on the drunkenness and inefficiency of the soldiers, and to endure constant wilderness hardships. It is not strange that in 1757 his health failed and in the closing weeks of that year he was so ill of a "bloody flux" (dysentery) that his physician ordered him home to Mount Vernon.

In the spring of 1758 he had recovered sufficiently to return to duty as colonel in command of all Virginia troops. As part of the grand sweep of several armies organized by British statesman William Pitt the Elder, Gen. John Forbes led a new advance upon Fort Duquesne. Forbes resolved not to use Braddock's road but to cut a new one west from Raystown, Pennsylvania. Washington disapproved of the route but played an important part in the movement. Late in the autumn the French evacuated and burned Fort Duquesne, and Forbes reared Fort Pitt on the site. Washington, who had just been elected to the House of Burgesses, was able to resign with the honorary rank of brigadier general.

Although his officers expressed regret at the "loss of such an excellent Commander, such a sincere Friend, and so affable a Companion," he quit the service with a sense of frustration. He had thought the war excessively slow. The Virginia legislature had been niggardly in voting money; the Virginia recruits had come forward reluctantly and had proved of poor quality—Washington had hanged a few deserters and flogged others heavily. Virginia gave him less pay than other colonies offered their troops. Desiring a regular commission such as his half brother Lawrence had held, he applied in vain to the British commander in North America, Lord Loudoun, to make good a promise that Braddock had given him. Ambitious for both rank and honor, he showed

a somewhat strident vigor in asserting his desires and in complaining when they were denied. He returned to Mount Vernon somewhat disillusioned.

Marriage and plantation life of George Washington

The wedding of George Washington and Martha Dandridge Custis

Learn about George Washington's hobbies before becoming the first president of the United States of AmericaDramatization of George Washington's pre-Revolutionary life as a Virginia landowner.

George Washington: Mount Vernon mapMap of the Mount Vernon estate, Virginia, drawn by George Washington.

Immediately on resigning his commission, Washington was married (January 6, 1759) to Martha Dandridge, the widow of Daniel Parke Custis. She was a few months older than he, was the mother of two children living and two dead, and possessed one of the considerable fortunes of Virginia. Washington had met her the previous March and had asked for her hand before his campaign with Forbes. Though it does not seem to have been a romantic love match, the marriage united two harmonious temperaments and proved happy. Martha was a good housewife, an amiable companion, and a dignified hostess. Like many wellborn women of the era, she had little formal schooling, and Washington often helped her compose important letters.

Martha Washington and George Washington and their childrenGeorge Washington and Martha Washington with the children of her son, John Parke ("Jacky") Custis; the two were adopted by the Washingtons after Jacky Custis's death.

Some estimates of the property brought to him by this marriage have been exaggerated, but it did include a number of slaves and about 15,000 acres (6,000 hectares), much of it valuable for its proximity to Williamsburg. More important to Washington were the two stepchildren, John Parke ("Jacky") and Martha Parke ("Patsy") Custis, who at the time of the marriage were six and four, respectively. He lavished great affection and care upon them, worried greatly over Jacky's waywardness, and was overcome with grief when Patsy died just before the Revolution. Jacky died during the war, leaving four children. Washington adopted two

of them, a boy and a girl, and even signed his letters to the boy as "your papa." Himself childless, he thus had a real family.

From the time of his marriage Washington added to the care of Mount Vernon the supervision of the Custis estate at the White House on the York River. As his holdings expanded, they were divided into farms, each under its own overseer; but he minutely inspected operations every day and according to one visitor often pulled off his coat and performed ordinary labor. As he once wrote, "middling land under a man's own eyes, is more profitable than rich land at a distance." Until the eve of the Revolution he devoted himself to the duties and pleasures of a great landholder, varied by several weeks' attendance every year in the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg. During 1760–74 he was also a justice of the peace for Fairfax county, sitting in court in Alexandria.

In no light does Washington appear more characteristically than as one of the richest, largest, and most industrious of Virginia planters. For six days a week he rose early and worked hard; on Sundays he irregularly attended Pohick Church (16 times in 1760), entertained company, wrote letters, made purchases and sales, and sometimes went fox hunting. In these years he took snuff and smoked a pipe; throughout life he liked Madeira wine and punch. Although wheat and tobacco were his staples, he practiced crop rotation on a three-year or five-year plan. He had his own water-powered flour mill, blacksmith shop, brick and charcoal kilns, carpenters, and masons. His fishery supplied shad, bass, herring, and other catches, salted as food for his slaves. Coopers, weavers, and his own shoemaker turned out barrels, cotton, linen, and woollen goods, and brogans for all needs. In short, his estates, in accordance with his orders to overseers to "buy nothing you can make yourselves," were largely self-sufficient communities. But he did send large orders to England for farm implements, tools, paint, fine textiles, hardware, and agricultural books and hence was painfully aware of British commercial restrictions.

Washington was an innovative farmer and a responsible landowner. He experimented at breeding cattle, acquired at least one buffalo, with the hope of proving its utility as a meat animal, and kept stallions at stud. He also took pride in a peach and apple orchard.

His care of slaves was exemplary. He carefully clothed and fed them, engaged a doctor for them by the year, generally refused to sell them—"I am principled against this kind of traffic in the human species"—and administered correction mildly. They showed so much attachment that few ran away.
He meanwhile played a prominent role in the social life of the Tidewater region. The members of the council and House of Burgesses, a roster of influential Virginians, were all friends. He visited the Byrds of Westover, the Lees of Stratford, the Carters of Shirley and Sabine Hall, and the Lewises of Warner Hall; Mount Vernon often was busy with guests in return. He liked house parties and afternoon tea on the Mount Vernon porch overlooking the grand Potomac; he was fond of picnics, barbecues, and clambakes; and throughout life he enjoyed dancing, frequently going to Alexandria for balls. Cards were a steady diversion, and his accounts record sums lost at them, the largest reaching nearly £10. His diary sometimes states that in bad weather he was

"at home all day, over cards." Billiards was a rival amusement. Not only the theater, when available, but also concerts, cockfights, circuses, puppet shows, and exhibitions of animals received his patronage.

He insisted on the best clothes—coats, laced waistcoats, hats, colored silk hose—bought in London. The Virginia of the Randolphs, Corbins, Harrisons, Tylers, Nicholases, and other prominent families had an aristocratic quality, and Washington liked to do things in a large way. It has been computed that in the seven years prior to 1775, Mount Vernon had 2,000 guests, most of whom stayed to dinner if not overnight.

Prerevolutionary politics

George Washington: paintingGeorge Washington in the uniform of a British colonial colonel, oil painting by Charles Willson Peale, 1772.

Washington's contented life was interrupted by the rising storm in imperial affairs. The British ministry, facing a heavy postwar debt, high home taxes, and continued military costs in America, decided in 1764 to obtain revenue from the colonies. Up to that time, Washington, though regarded by associates, in Col. John L. Peyton's words, as "a young man of an extraordinary and exalted character," had shown no signs of personal greatness and few signs of interest in state affairs. The Proclamation of 1763 interdicting settlement beyond the Alleghenies irked him, for he was interested in the Ohio Company, the Mississippi Company, and other speculative western ventures. He nevertheless played a silent part in the House of Burgesses and was a thoroughly loyal subject.

But he was present when Patrick Henry introduced his resolutions against the Stamp Act in May 1765 and shortly thereafter gave token of his adherence to the cause of

the colonial Whigs against the Tory ministries of England. In 1768 he told George Mason at Mount Vernon that he would take his musket on his shoulder whenever his country called him. The next spring, on April 4, 1769, he sent Mason the Philadelphia nonimportation resolutions with a letter declaring that it was necessary to resist the strokes of "our lordly masters" in England; that, courteous remonstrances to Parliament having failed, he wholly endorsed the resort to commercial warfare; and that as a last resort no man should scruple to use arms in defense of liberty. When, the following month, the royal governor of Virginia dissolved the House of Burgesses, he shared in the gathering, at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, that drew up nonimportation resolutions, and he went further than most of his neighbors in adhering to them. At that time and later he believed with most Americans that peace need not be broken.

Late in 1770 he paid a land-hunting visit to Fort Pitt, where George Croghan was maturing his plans for the proposed 14th colony of Vandalia. Washington directed his agent to locate and survey 10,000 acres adjoining the Vandalia tract, and at one time he wished to share in certain of Croghan's schemes. But the Boston Tea Party of December 1773 and the bursting of the Vandalia bubble at about the same time turned his eyes back to the East and the threatening state of Anglo-American relations. He was not a member of the Virginia committee of correspondence formed in 1773 to communicate with other colonies, but when the Virginia legislators, meeting irregularly again at the Raleigh Tavern in May 1774, called for a Continental Congress, he was present and signed the resolutions. Moreover, he was a leading member of the first provincial convention or revolutionary legislature late that summer, and to that body he made a speech that was much praised for its pithy eloquence, declaring that "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston."

The Virginia provincial convention promptly elected Washington one of the seven delegates to the first Continental Congress. He was by this time known as a radical rather than a moderate, and in several letters of the time he opposed a continuance of petitions to the British crown, declaring that they would inevitably meet with a humiliating rejection. "Shall we after this whine and cry for relief when we have already tried it in vain?" he wrote. When the Congress met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, he was in his seat in full uniform, and his participation in its councils marks the beginning of his national career.

His letters of the period show that, while still utterly opposed to the idea of independence, he was determined never to submit "to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges, which are essential to the happiness of every free State, and without which life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure." If the ministry pushed matters to an extremity, he wrote, "more blood will be spilled on this occasion than ever before in American history." Though he served on none of the committees, he was a useful member, his advice being sought on military matters and weight being attached to his advocacy of a nonexportation as well as nonimportation agreement. He also helped to secure approval of the Suffolk Resolves, which looked toward armed resistance as a last resort and did much to harden the king's heart against America.

Returning to Virginia in November, he took command of the volunteer companies drilling there and served as chairman of the Committee of Safety in Fairfax county. Although the province contained many experienced officers and Col. William Byrd of Westover had succeeded Washington as commander in chief, the unanimity with which the Virginia troops turned to Washington was a tribute to his reputation and personality; it was understood that Virginia expected him to be its general. He was elected to the second Continental Congress at the March 1775 session of the legislature and again set out for Philadelphia.

Revolutionary leadership of George Washington

Head of the colonial forces

The choice of Washington as commander in chief of the military forces of all the colonies followed immediately upon the first fighting, though it was by no means inevitable and was the product of partly artificial forces. The Virginia delegates differed upon his appointment. Edmund Pendleton was, according to John Adams, "very full and clear against it," and Washington himself recommended Gen. Andrew Lewis for the post. It was chiefly the fruit of a political bargain by which New England offered Virginia the chief command as its price for the adoption and support of the New England army. This army had gathered hastily and in force about Boston immediately after the clash of British troops and American minutemen at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. When the second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, one of its first tasks was to find a permanent leadership for this force. On June 15, Washington, whose military counsel had already proved invaluable on two committees, was nominated and chosen by unanimous vote. Beyond the considerations noted, he owed being chosen to the facts that Virginia stood with Massachusetts as one of the most powerful colonies; that his appointment would augment the zeal of the Southern people; that he had gained an enduring reputation in the Braddock campaign; and that his poise, sense, and resolution had impressed all the delegates. The scene of his election, with Washington darting modestly into an adjoining room and John Hancock flushing with jealous mortification, will always impress the historical imagination; so also will the scene of July 3, 1775, when, wheeling his horse under an elm in front of the troops paraded on Cambridge common, he drew his sword and took command of the army investing Boston. News of Bunker Hill had reached him before he was a day's journey from Philadelphia, and he had expressed confidence of victory when told how the militia had fought. In accepting the command, he refused any payment beyond his expenses and called upon "every gentleman in the room" to bear witness that he disclaimed fitness for it. At once he showed characteristic decision and energy in organizing the raw volunteers, collecting provisions and munitions, and rallying Congress and the colonies to his support.

George WashingtonGen. George Washington (riding a white horse) and his staff welcoming a provision train of supplies for the Continental Army.

The first phase of Washington's command covered the period from July 1775 to the British evacuation of Boston in March 1776. In those eight months he imparted discipline to the army, which at maximum strength slightly exceeded 20,000; he dealt with subordinates who, as John Adams said, quarrelled "like cats and dogs"; and he kept the siege vigorously alive. Having himself planned an invasion of Canada by Lake Champlain, to be entrusted to Gen. Philip Schuyler, he heartily approved of Benedict Arnold's proposal to march north along the Kennebec River in Maine and take Quebec. Giving Arnold 1,100 men, he instructed him to do everything possible to conciliate the Canadians. He was equally active in encouraging privateers to attack British commerce. As fast as means offered, he strengthened his army with ammunition and siege guns, having heavy artillery brought from Fort Ticonderoga, New York, over the frozen roads early in 1776. His position was at first precarious, for the Charles River pierced the center of his lines investing Boston. If the British general, Sir William Howe, had moved his 20 veteran regiments boldly up the stream, he might have pierced Washington's army and rolled either wing back to destruction. But all the generalship was on Washington's side. Seeing that Dorchester Heights, just south of Boston, commanded the city and harbor and that Howe had unaccountably failed to occupy it, he seized it on the night of March 4, 1776, placing his Ticonderoga guns in position. The British naval commander declared that he could not remain if the Americans were not dislodged, and Howe, after a storm disrupted his plans for an assault, evacuated the city on March 17. He left 200 cannons and invaluable stores of small arms and munitions. After collecting his booty, Washington hurried south to take up the defense of New York.

Charles Willson Peale: *George Washington*George Washington, oil on canvas by Charles Willson Peale, 1776; in the Brooklyn Museum, New York. 111.7 × 97.3 cm.

Washington had won the first round, but there remained five years of the war, during which the American cause was repeatedly near complete disaster. It is unquestionable that Washington's strength of character, his ability to hold the confidence of army and people and to diffuse his own courage among them, his unremitting activity, and his strong common sense constituted the chief factors in achieving American victory. He was not a great tactician: as Jefferson said later, he often "failed in the field"; he was sometimes guilty of grave military blunders, the chief being his assumption of a position on Long Island, New York, in 1776 that exposed his entire army to capture the moment it was defeated. At the outset he was painfully inexperienced, the wilderness fighting of the French war having done nothing to teach him the strategy of maneuvering whole armies. One of his chief faults was his tendency to subordinate his own judgment to that of the generals surrounding him; at every critical juncture, before Boston, before New York, before Philadelphia, and in New Jersey, he called a council of war and in almost every instance accepted its decision. Naturally bold and dashing—as he proved at Trenton and Princeton, as well as at Germantown—he repeatedly adopted evasive and delaying tactics on the advice of his associates; however, he did succeed in keeping a strong army in existence and maintaining the flame of national spirit. When the auspicious moment arrived, he planned the rapid movements that ended the war.

How Did Smallpox Change the American Revolution?250 years ago, medical science helped win a war.

One element of Washington's strength was his sternness as a disciplinarian. The army was continually dwindling and refilling, politics largely governed the selection of officers by Congress and the states, and the ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-paid forces were often half-prostrated by sickness and ripe for mutiny. Troops from each of the three sections, New England, the middle states, and the South, showed a deplorable jealousy of the others. Washington was rigorous in breaking cowardly, inefficient, and dishonest men and boasted in front of Boston that he had "made a pretty good sort of slam among such kind of officers." Deserters and plunderers were flogged, and Washington once erected a gallows 40 feet (12 meters) high, writing, "I am determined if I can be justified in the proceeding, to hang two or three on it, as an example to others." At the same time, the commander in chief won the devotion of many of his men by his earnestness in demanding better treatment for them from Congress. He complained of their short rations, declaring once that they were forced to "eat every kind of horse food but hay."

J.C. Armytage: *Retreat at Long Island*Retreat at Long Island, depicting George Washington directing the retreat across the East River; engraving by J.C. Armytage after a painting by M.A. Wageman.

The darkest chapter in Washington's military leadership was opened when, reaching New York in April 1776, he placed half his army, about 9,000 men, under Israel Putnam, on the perilous position of Brooklyn Heights, Long Island, where a British fleet in the East River might cut off their retreat. He spent a fortnight in May with the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, then discussing the question of independence; though no record of his utterances exists, there can be no doubt that he advocated complete separation. His return to New York preceded but slightly the arrival of the British army under Howe, which made its main encampment on Staten Island until its whole strength of nearly 30,000 could be mobilized. On August 22, 1776, Howe moved about 20,000 men across to Gravesend Bay on Long Island. Four days later, sending the fleet under command of his brother Adm. Richard Howe to make a feint against New York City, he thrust a crushing force along feebly protected roads against the American flank. The patriots were outmaneuvered, defeated, and suffered a total loss of 5,000 men, of whom 2,000 were captured. Their whole position might have been carried by storm, but, fortunately for Washington, General Howe delayed. While the enemy lingered, Washington succeeded under cover of a dense fog in ferrying the remaining force across the East River to Manhattan, where he took up a fortified position. The British, suddenly landing on the lower part of the island, drove back the Americans in a clash marked by disgraceful cowardice on the part of troops from Connecticut and others. In a series of actions, Washington was forced northward, more than once in danger of capture, until the loss of his two Hudson River forts, one of them with 2,600 men, compelled him to retreat from White Plains across the river into New Jersey. He retired toward the Delaware River while his army melted away, until it seemed that armed resistance to the British was about to expire.

The Trenton-Princeton campaign of George Washington

Emanuel Leutze: *Washington Crossing the Delaware*Washington Crossing the Delaware, oil on canvas by Emanuel Leutze, 1851; in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. It depicts George Washington and his army dramatically crossing the icy Delaware River for a surprise dawn attack on the British at Trenton, New Jersey, on December 25, 1776.

George WashingtonGeorge Washington crossing the Delaware River on the evening of December 25, 1776, before the Battle of Trenton.

Learn about George Washington's crossing the Delaware, winter at Valley Forge, and victory at YorktownDramatization of scenes from George Washington's service in the American Revolutionary War, including crossing the Delaware, spending the winter at Valley Forge, and defeating the British at the Battle of Yorktown

It was at this darkest hour of the Revolution that Washington struck his brilliant blows at Trenton and Princeton in New Jersey, reviving the hopes and energies of the nation. Howe, believing that the American army soon would dissolve totally, retired to New York, leaving strong forces in Trenton and Burlington. Washington, at his camp west of the Delaware River, planned a simultaneous attack on both posts, using his whole

command of 6,000 men. But his subordinates in charge of both wings failed him, and he was left on the night of December 25, 1776, to march on Trenton with about 2,400 men. With the help of Colonel John Glover's regiment, which was comprised of fishermen and sailors from Marblehead, Massachusetts, Washington and his troops were ferried across the Delaware River. In the dead of night and amid a blinding snowstorm, they then marched 10 miles (16 km) downstream and in the early hours of the morning caught the enemy at Trenton unaware. In less than two hours and without the loss of a single man in battle, Washington's troops defeated the Hessians, killed their commander (Johann Rall), and captured nearly 1,000 prisoners and arms and ammunition. This historic Christmas crossing proved to be a turning point in the war, and it was immortalized for posterity by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze in his famous 1851 painting of the event. (The painting is historically inaccurate: the depicted flag is anachronistic, the boats are the wrong size and shape, and it is questionable whether Washington could have crossed the icy Delaware while standing in the manner depicted.)

The immediate result of this American victory was that Gen. Charles Cornwallis hastened with about 8,000 men to Trenton, where he found Washington strongly posted behind the Assunpink Creek, skirmished with him, and decided to wait overnight "to bag the old fox." During the night, the wind shifted, the roads froze hard, and Washington was able to steal away from camp (leaving his fires deceptively burning), march around Cornwallis's rear, and fall at daybreak upon the three British regiments at Princeton. These were put to flight with a loss of 500 men, and Washington escaped with more captured munitions to a strong position at Morristown, New Jersey. The effect of these victories heartened all Americans, brought recruits flocking to camp in the spring, and encouraged foreign sympathizers with the American cause.

Edward Percy Moran: *Washington at Valley Forge*Washington at Valley Forge, print of the painting (c. 1911) by Edward Percy Moran.

Thus far the important successes had been won by Washington; then battlefield success fell to others, while he was left to face popular apathy, military cabals, and the disaffection of Congress. The year 1777 was marked by the British capture of Philadelphia and the surrender of British Gen. John Burgoyne's invading army to Gen. Horatio Gates at Saratoga, New York, followed by intrigues to displace Washington from his command. Howe's main British army of 18,000 left New York by

sea on July 23, 1777, and landed on August 25 in Maryland, not far below Philadelphia. Washington, despite his inferiority of force—he had only 11,000 men, mostly militia and, in the marquis de Lafayette's words, "badly armed and worse clothed"—risked a pitched battle on September 11 at the fords of Brandywine Creek, about 13 miles (21 km) north of Wilmington, Delaware. While part of the British force held the Americans engaged, General Cornwallis, with the rest, made a secret 17-mile (27-km) detour and fell with crushing effect on the American right and rear, the result being a complete defeat from which Washington was fortunate to extricate his army in fairly good order. For a time he hoped to hold the Schuylkill Fords, but the British passed them and on September 26 triumphantly marched into Philadelphia. Congress fled to the interior of Pennsylvania, and Washington, after an unsuccessful effort to repeat his stroke at Trenton against the British troops posted at Germantown, had to take up winter quarters at Valley Forge. His army, twice beaten, ill housed, and ill fed, with thousands of men "barefoot and otherwise naked," was at the point of exhaustion; it could not keep the field, for inside of a month it would have disappeared. Under these circumstances, there is nothing that better proves the true fiber of Washington's character and the courage of his soul than the unyielding persistence with which he held his strong position at Valley Forge through a winter of semistarvation, of justified grumbling by his men, of harsh public criticism, and of captious meddling by a Congress that was too weak to help him. In February Martha Washington arrived and helped to organize entertainment for the soldiers.

Washington's enemies seized the moment of his greatest weakness to give vent to an antagonism that had been nourished by sectional jealousies of North against South, by the ambition of small rivals, and by baseless accusations that he showed favoritism to such foreigners as Lafayette. The intrigues of Thomas Conway, an Irish adventurer who had served in the French army and had become an American general, enlisted Thomas Mifflin, Charles Lee, Benjamin Rush, and others in an attempt to displace Washington. General Gates appears to have been a tool of rather than a party to the plot, expecting that the chief command would devolve upon himself. A faction of Congress sympathized with the movement and attempted to paralyze Washington by reorganizing the board of war, a body vested with the general superintendence of operations, of which Gates became the president; his chief of staff, James Wilkinson, the secretary; and Mifflin and Timothy Pickering, members. Washington was well aware of the hostility in congress, of the slanders spread by Rush and James Lovell of Massachusetts, and of the effect of forgeries published in the American press by adroit British agents. He realized the intense jealousy of many New Englanders, which made even John Adams write his wife that he was thankful Burgoyne had not been captured by Washington, who would then "have been deified. It is bad enough as it is." But Washington decisively crushed the cabal: after the loose tongue of Wilkinson disclosed Conway's treachery, Washington sent the general on November 9, 1777, proof of his knowledge of the whole affair.

Battle of MonmouthGeorge Washington at the Battle of Monmouth (1778) during the American Revolutionary War.

With the conclusion of the French alliance in the spring of 1778, the aspect of the war was radically altered. The British army in Philadelphia, fearing that a French fleet would blockade the Delaware while the militia of New Jersey and Pennsylvania invested the city, hastily retreated upon New York City. Washington hoped to cut off part of the enemy and by a hurried march with six brigades interposed himself at the end of June between Sir Henry Clinton (who had succeeded Howe) and the New Jersey coast. The result was the Battle of Monmouth on June 28, where a shrewd strategic plan and vigorous assault were brought to naught by the treachery of Charles Lee. When Lee ruined the attack by a sudden order to retreat, Washington hurried forward, fiercely denounced him, and restored the line, but the golden opportunity had been lost. The British made good their march to Sandy Hook, and Washington took up his quarters at New Brunswick. Lee was arrested, court-martialed, and convicted on all three of the charges made against him; but instead of being shot, as he deserved, he was sentenced to a suspension from command for one year. The arrival of the French fleet under Adm. Charles-Hector Estaing on July 1778 completed the isolation of the British, and Clinton was thenceforth held to New York City and the surrounding area. Washington made his headquarters in the highlands of the Hudson and distributed his troops in cantonments around the city and in New Jersey.

***Surrender of CornwallisSurrender of Cornwallis: at York-Town Va. Oct. 1781*, lithograph by N. Currier (firm), c. 1846.**

The final decisive stroke of the war, the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, is to be credited chiefly to Washington's vision. With the domestic situation intensely gloomy early in 1781, he was hampered by the feebleness of Congress, the popular

discouragement, and the lack of prompt and strong support by the French fleet. A French army under the comte de Rochambeau had arrived to reinforce him in 1780, and Washington had pressed Admiral de Grasse to assist in an attack upon either Cornwallis in the south or Clinton in New York. In August the French admiral sent definite word that he preferred the Chesapeake, with its large area and deep water, as the scene of his operations; and within a week, on August 19, 1781, Washington marched south with his army, leaving Gen. William Heath with 4,000 men to hold West Point. He hurried his troops through New Jersey, embarked them on transports in Delaware Bay, and landed them at Williamsburg, Virginia, where he had arrived on September 14. Cornwallis had retreated to Yorktown and entrenched his army of 7,000 British regulars. Their works were completely invested before the end of the month; the siege was pressed with vigor by the allied armies under Washington, consisting of 5,500 Continentals, 3,500 Virginia militia, and 5,000 French regulars; and on October 19 Cornwallis surrendered. By this campaign, probably the finest single display of Washington's generalship, the war was brought to a virtual close.

George Washington: resigning commissionGeneral George Washington Resigning His Commission, oil painting by John Trumbull, 1822–24; in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C., U.S.

Currier & Ives: Washington Taking Leave of the Officers of His ArmyWashington Taking Leave of the Officers of His Army, lithograph by Currier & Ives, 1848.

Washington remained during the winter of 1781–82 with the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, exhorting it to maintain its exertions for liberty and to settle the army's claims for pay. He continued these exhortations after he joined his command at

Newburgh on the Hudson in April 1782. He was astounded and angered when some loose camp suggestions found expression in a letter from Col. Lewis Nicola offering a plan by which he should use the army to make himself king. He blasted the proposal with fierce condemnation. When the discontent of his unpaid men came to a head in the circulation of the "Newburgh Address" (an anonymously written grievance) early in 1783, he issued a general order censuring the paper and at a meeting of officers on March 15 read a speech admonishing the army to obey Congress and promising his best efforts for a redress of grievances. He was present at the entrance of the American army into New York on the day of the British evacuation, November 25, 1783, and on December 4 took leave of his closest officers in an affecting scene at Fraunces Tavern. Traveling south, on December 23, in a solemn ceremonial immortalized by the pen of William Makepeace Thackeray, he resigned his commission to the Continental Congress in the state senate chamber of Maryland in Annapolis and received the thanks of the nation. His accounts of personal expenditures during his service, kept with minute exactness in his own handwriting and totalling £24,700, without charge for salary, had been given the controller of the treasury to be discharged. Washington left Annapolis at sunrise of December 24 and before nightfall was at home in Mount Vernon.

In the next four years Washington found sufficient occupation in his estates, wishing to close his days as a gentleman farmer and to give to agriculture as much energy and thought as he had to the army. He enlarged the Mount Vernon house; he laid out the grounds anew, with sunken walls, or ha-has; and he embarked on experiments with mahogany, palmetto, pepper, and other foreign trees, and English grasses and grains. His farm manager during the Revolution, a distant relative named Lund Washington, retired in 1785 and was succeeded by a nephew, Maj. George Augustine Washington, who resided at Mount Vernon until his death in 1792. Washington's losses during the war had been heavy, caused by neglect of his lands, stoppage of exportation, and depreciation of paper money, which cost him hardly less than $30,000. He then attempted successfully to repair his fortunes, his annual receipts from all his estates being from $10,000 to $15,000 a year. In 1784 he made a tour of nearly 700 miles (1,125 km) to view the wildlands he owned to the westward, Congress having made him a generous grant. As a national figure, he was constrained to offer hospitality to old army friends, visitors from other states and nations, diplomats, and Indian delegations, and he and his household seldom sat down to dinner alone.

At a Glance: the Washington Presidency

Presidency of George Washington

Postrevolutionary Politics

Jean-Antoine Houdon: *George Washington*Portrait bust of George Washington by Jean-Antoine Houdon, c. late 18th–early 19th century; in the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

Viewing the chaotic political condition of the United States after 1783 with frank pessimism and declaring (May 18, 1786) that "something must be done, or the fabric must fall, for it is certainly tottering," Washington repeatedly wrote his friends urging steps toward "an indissoluble union." At first he believed that the Articles of Confederation might be amended. Later, especially after the shock of Shays's Rebellion, he took the view that a more radical reform was necessary but doubted as late as the end of 1786 that the time was ripe. His progress toward adoption of the idea of a federal convention was, in fact, puzzlingly slow. Although John Jay assured him in March 1786 that breakup of the nation seemed near and opinion for a constitutional convention was crystallizing, Washington remained noncommittal. But, despite long hesitations, he earnestly supported the proposal for a federal impost, warning the states that their policy must decide "whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered a blessing or a curse." And his numerous letters to the leading men of the country assisted greatly to form a sentiment favorable to a more perfect union. Some understanding being necessary between Virginia and Maryland regarding the navigation of the Potomac, commissioners from the two states had met at Mount Vernon in the spring of 1785; from this seed sprang the federal convention. Washington approved in advance the call for a gathering of all the states to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787 to "render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." But

he was again hesitant about attending, partly because he felt tired and infirm, partly because of doubts about the outcome. Although he hoped to the last to be excused, he was chosen one of Virginia's five delegates.

Washington arrived in Philadelphia on May 13, the day before the opening of the Constitutional Convention, and as soon as a quorum was obtained he was unanimously chosen its president. For four months he presided over the convention, breaking his silence only once upon a minor question of congressional apportionment. Although he said little in debate, no one did more outside the hall to insist on stern measures. "My wish is," he wrote, "that the convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the Constitution to the bottom, and provide a radical cure." His weight of character did more than any other single force to bring the convention to an agreement and obtain ratification of the instrument afterward. He did not believe it perfect, though his precise criticisms of it are unknown. But his support gave it victory in Virginia, where he sent copies to Patrick Henry and other leaders with a hint that the alternative to adoption was anarchy, declaring that "it or dis-union is before us to chuse from." He received and personally circulated copies of *The Federalist*. When ratification was obtained, he wrote to leaders in the various states urging that men staunchly favorable to it be elected to Congress. For a time he sincerely believed that, the new framework completed, he would be allowed to retire again to privacy. But all eyes immediately turned to him for the first president. He alone commanded the respect of both the parties engendered by the struggle over ratification, and he alone would be able to give prestige to the republic throughout Europe. In no state was any other name considered. The electors chosen in the first days of 1789 cast a unanimous vote for him, and reluctantly—for his love of peace, his distrust of his own abilities, and his fear that his motives in advocating the new government might be misconstrued all made him unwilling—he accepted.

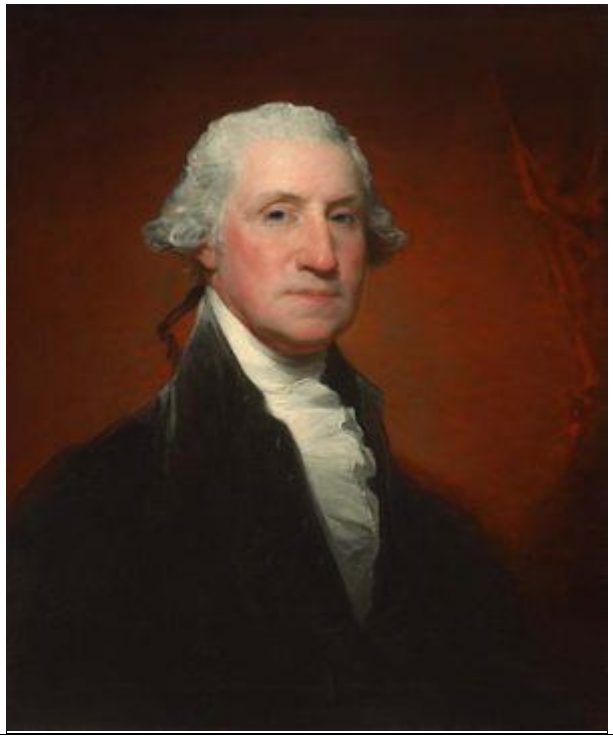
Washington delivering his inaugural address*Washington Delivering His Inaugural Address April 1789, in the Old City Hall, New-York, steel engraving by Henry S. Sadd, 1849, after a painting by Tompkins H. Matteson.*

On April 16, after receiving congressional notification of the honor, he set out from Mount Vernon, reaching New York City in time to be inaugurated on April 30. His journey northward was a celebratory procession as people in every town and village through which he passed turned out to greet him, often with banners and speeches, and in some places with triumphal arches. He came across the Hudson River in a specially built barge decorated in red, white, and blue. The inaugural ceremony was performed on Wall Street, near the spot now marked by John Quincy Adams Ward's

statue of Washington. A great crowd broke into cheers as, standing on the balcony of Federal Hall, he took the oath administered by Chancellor Robert Livingston and retired indoors to read Congress his inaugural address. Washington was clad in a brown suit of American manufacture, but he wore white stockings and a sword after the fashion of European courts.

Martha was as reluctant as her husband to resume public life. But a month later she came from Mount Vernon to join him. She, too, was greeted wildly on her way. And when Washington crossed the Hudson to bring her to Manhattan, guns boomed in salute. The Washingtons, to considerable public criticism, traveled about in a coach-and-four like monarchs. Moreover, during his presidency, Washington did not shake hands, and he met his guests on state occasions while standing on a raised platform and displaying a sword on his hip. Slowly, feeling his way, Washington was defining the style of the first president of a country in the history of the world. The people, too, were adjusting to a government without a king. Even the question of how to address a president had to be discussed. It was decided that in a republic the simple salutation "Mr. President" would do.

The Washington Administration



Gilbert Stuart: portrait of George WashingtonGeorge Washington (Vaughan-Sinclair portrait), oil on canvas by Gilbert Stuart, 1795; in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 73.8 × 61.1 cm.

Washington's administration of the government in the next eight years was marked by the caution, the methodical precision, and the sober judgment that had always characterized him. He regarded himself as standing aloof from party divisions and emphasized his position as president of the whole country by touring first through the Northern states and later through the Southern. A painstaking inquiry into all the

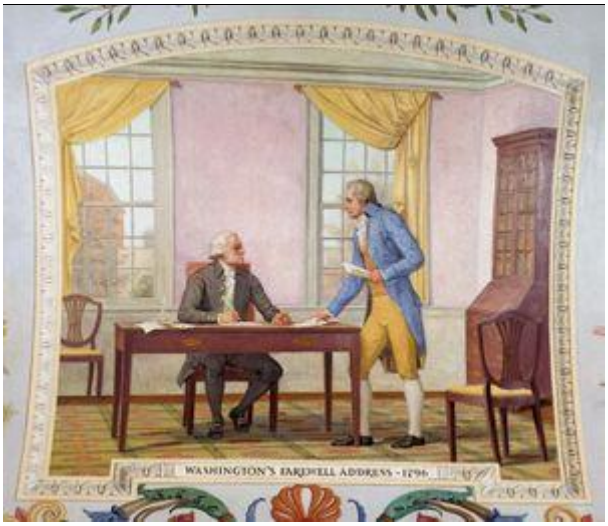
problems confronting the new nation laid the basis for a series of judicious recommendations to Congress in his first message. In selecting the four members of his first cabinet—Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton as secretary of treasury, Henry Knox as secretary of war, and Edmund Randolph as attorney general—Washington balanced the two parties evenly. But he leaned with especial weight upon Hamilton, who supported his scheme for the federal assumption of state debts, took his view that the bill establishing the Bank of the United States was constitutional, and in general favored strengthening the authority of the federal government. Distressed when the inevitable clash between Jefferson and Hamilton arose, he tried to keep harmony, writing frankly to each and refusing to accept their resignations.

But when war was declared between France and England in 1793, he took Hamilton's view that the United States should completely disregard the treaty of alliance with France and pursue a course of strict neutrality, while he acted decisively to stop the improper operations of the French minister, Edmond-Charles Genêt. He had a firm belief that the United States must insist on its national identity, strength, and dignity. His object, he wrote, was to keep the country "free from political connections with *every* other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for *ourselves*, and not for others." The sequel was the resignation of Jefferson at the close of 1793, the two men parting on good terms and Washington praising Jefferson's "integrity and talents." The suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 by federal troops whom Hamilton led in person and the dispatch of John Jay to conclude a treaty of commerce with Great Britain tended further to align Washington with the federalists. Although the general voice of the people compelled him to acquiesce reluctantly to a second term in 1792 and his election that year was again unanimous, during his last four years in office he suffered from a fierce personal and partisan animosity. This culminated when the publication of the terms of the Jay Treaty, which Washington signed in August 1795, provoked a bitter discussion, and the House of Representatives called upon the president for the instructions and correspondence relating to the treaty. These Washington, who had already clashed with the Senate on foreign affairs, refused to deliver, and, in the face of an acrimonious debate, he firmly maintained his position.

Early in his first term, Washington, who by education and natural inclination was minutely careful of the proprieties of life, established the rules of a virtual republican court. In both New York and Philadelphia he rented the best houses procurable, refusing to accept the hospitality of George Clinton, for he believed the head of the nation should be no man's guest. He returned no calls and shook hands with no one, acknowledging salutations by a formal bow. He drove in a coach drawn by four or six smart horses, with outriders and lackeys in rich livery. He attended receptions dressed in a black velvet suit with gold buckles, with yellow gloves, powdered hair, a cocked hat with an ostrich plume in one hand, and a sword in a white leather scabbard. After being overwhelmed by callers, he announced that, except for a weekly levee open to all, persons desiring to see him had to make appointments in advance. On Friday afternoons the first lady held informal receptions, at which the president appeared. Although the presidents of the Continental Congress had made their tables partly public, Washington, who entertained largely, inviting members of Congress in rotation,

insisted that his hospitality be private. He served good wines and the menus were elaborate, but such visitors as Pennsylvania Sen. William Maclay complained that the atmosphere was too "solemn." Indeed, his simple ceremony offended many of the more radical anti-federalists, who did not share his sense of its fitness and accused the president of conducting himself like a king. But his cold and reserved manner was caused by native diffidence rather than any excessive sense of dignity.

Retirement



Washington's Farewell AddressAlexander Hamilton (right) helping Pres. George Washington write his farewell address. Painting by Allyn Cox, Cox Corridors, the Great Experiment Hall in the House of Representatives wing of the U.S. Capitol building, Washington, D.C.

George Washington on Mount RushmoreProfile of the stone sculpture of George Washington, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, southwestern South Dakota, U.S.

Earnestly desiring leisure, feeling a decline of his physical powers, and wincing under abuses of the opposition, Washington refused to yield to the general pressure for a third term. This refusal was blended with a testament of sagacious advice to his

country in the Farewell Address of September 19, 1796, written largely by Hamilton but remolded by Washington and expressing his ideas. Retiring in March 1797 to Mount Vernon, he devoted himself for the last two and a half years of his life to his family, farm operations, and care of his slaves. In 1798 his seclusion was briefly interrupted when the prospect of war with France caused his appointment as commander in chief of the provisional army, and he was much worried by the political quarrels over high commissions; but the war cloud passed away.

George Washington: death ***Life of George Washington—The Christian Death*****, oil painting by Junius Brutus Stearns, 1853.**

George Washington: death procession Procession commemorating George Washington's death.

Washington: The only state named after a presidentLearn more about the state of Washington—the only state named after a U.S. president—and its geography, people, economy, and history.

On December 12, 1799, after riding on horseback for several hours in cold and snow, he returned home exhausted and was attacked late the next day with quinsy or acute laryngitis. He was bled heavily four times and given gargles of "molasses, vinegar and butter," and a blister of cantharides (a preparation of dried beetles) was placed on his throat, his strength meanwhile rapidly sinking. He faced the end with characteristic serenity, saying, "I die hard, but I am not afraid to go," and later: "I feel myself going. I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long." After giving instructions to his secretary, Tobias Lear, about his burial, he died at 10:00 PM on December 14. The news of his death placed the entire country in mourning, and the sentiment of the country endorsed the famous words of Henry ("Light-Horse Harry") Lee, embodied in resolutions that John Marshall introduced in the House of Representatives, that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." When the news reached Europe, the British channel fleet and the armies of Napoleon paid tribute to his memory, and many of the leaders of the time joined in according him a preeminent place among the heroes of history. His fellow citizens memorialized him forever by naming the newly created capital city of the young nation for him while he was still alive. Later, one of the states of union would bear his name—the only state named for an individual American. Moreover, counties in 32 states were given his name, and in time it also could be found in 121 postal addresses. The people of the United States have continued to glory in knowing him as "the Father of His Country," an accolade he was pleased to accept, even though it pained him that he fathered no children of his own. For almost a century beginning in the 1770s, Washington was the uncontested giant in the American pantheon of greats, but only

until Abraham Lincoln was enshrined there after another critical epoch in the life of the country.

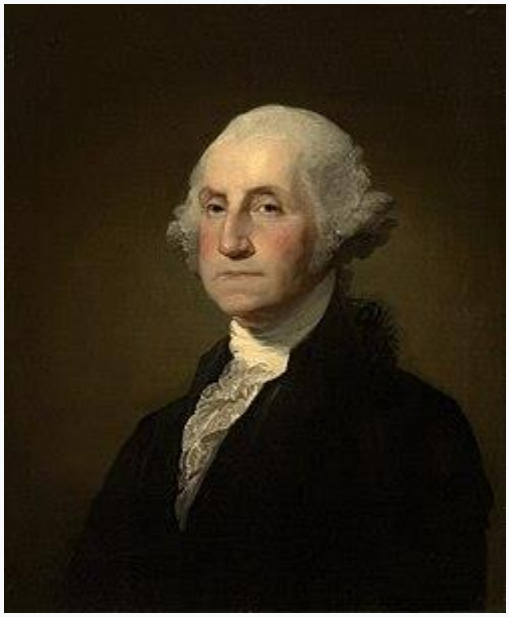
Cabinet of Pres. George Washington

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. George Washington.

Cabinet of President George Washington

April 30, 1789–March 3, 1793 (Term 1)	
State	Thomas Jefferson
Treasury	Alexander Hamilton
War	Henry Knox
Attorney General	Edmund Jennings Randolph
March 4, 1793–March 3, 1797 (Term 2)	
State	Thomas Jefferson Edmund Jennings Randolph (from January 2, 1794) Timothy Pickering (from August 20, 1795)
Treasury	Alexander Hamilton Oliver Wolcott, Jr. (from February 2, 1795)
War	Henry Knox Timothy Pickering (from January 2, 1795) James McHenry (from February 6, 1796)
Attorney General	Edmund Jennings Randolph William Bradford (from January 29, 1794) Charles Lee (from December 10, 1795)

George Washington



Portrait, c. 1803

1st President of the United States

In office
April 30, 1789 – March 4, 1797

Vice President John Adams

Preceded by Office established

Succeeded by John Adams

Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army

In office
June 19, 1775 – December 23, 1783

Appointed by Continental Congress

Preceded by	Office established
Succeeded by	Henry Knox (as Senior Officer)
Personal details	
Born	February 22, 1732[a] Popes Creek, Virginia, British America
Died	December 14, 1799 (aged 67) Mount Vernon, Virginia, U.S.
Resting place	Mount Vernon
Party	Independent
Spouse	Martha Dandridge Custis (m. 1759)
Relatives	Washington family
Occupation	• Military officer • politician • surveyor • planter
Awards	• Congressional Gold Medal • Thanks of Congress[1]
Signature	

Military service	
Branch/service	• Virginia Militia • Continental Army • United States Army
Years of service	• 1752–1758 (Virginia Militia) • 1775–1783 (Continental Army) • 1798–1799 (U.S. Army)
Rank	• Colonel (1st Virginia Regiment) • Colonel (Virginia Militia) • General and Commander-in-chief (Continental Army) • Lieutenant General (U.S. Army) • General of the Armies (appointed posthumously)
Commands	• Virginia Regiment • Continental Army • United States Army

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John Adams

2nd President of the United States

[4 May 30 1797 <::> 3 March 1801]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/john-adams/

02] https://millercenter.org/president/adams

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Adams-president-of-United-States

04] John Adams - 2nd President of the United States Documentary https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=neQRLGYlh-Q [1:05:36]

John Adams (born October 30 [October 19, Old Style], 1735, Braintree [now in Quincy], Massachusetts [U.S.]—died July 4, 1826, Quincy, Massachusetts, U.S.) was an early advocate of American independence from Great Britain, a major figure in the Continental Congress (1774–77), the author of the Massachusetts constitution (1780), a signer of the Treaty of Paris (1783), the first American ambassador to the Court of St. James (1785–88), and the first vice president (1789–97) and second president (1797–1801) of the United States. Although Adams was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the most significant statesmen of the revolutionary era, his reputation faded in the 19th century, only to ascend again during the last half of the 20th century. The modern edition of his correspondence prompted a rediscovery of his bracing honesty and pungent way with words, his importance as a political thinker, his realistic perspective on American foreign policy, and his patriarchal role as founder of one of the most prominent families in American history.

Early life

Adams, John: birthplaceThe birthplace of John Adams, in Quincy, Massachusetts.

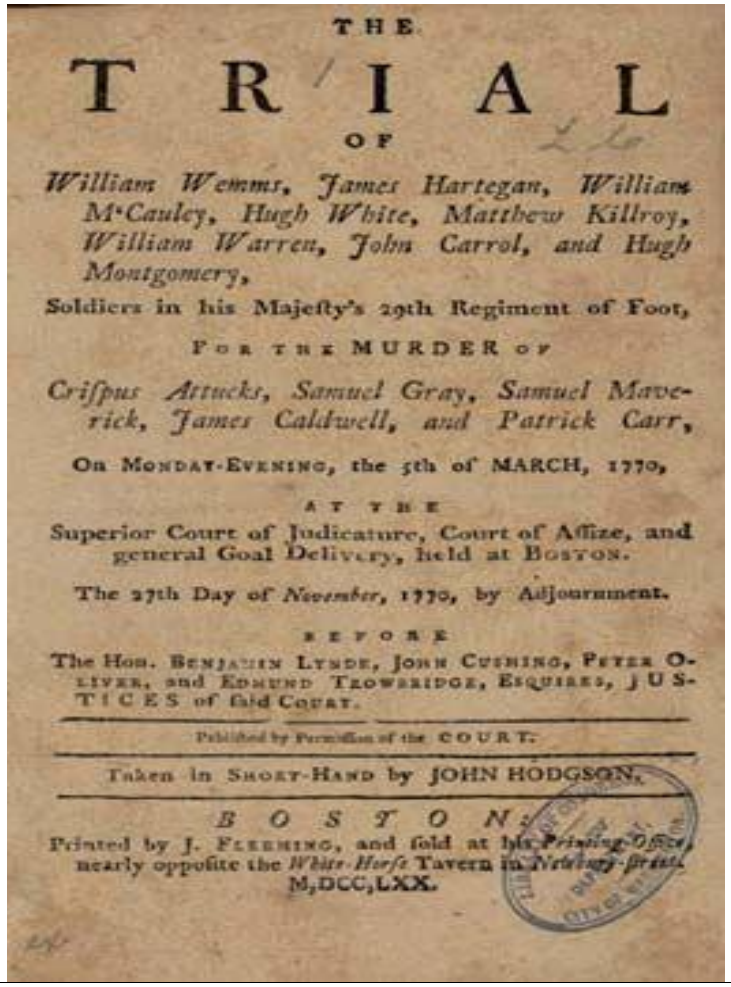
Adams was the eldest of the three sons of Deacon John Adams and Susanna Boylston of Braintree, Massachusetts. His father was only a farmer and shoemaker, but the Adams family could trace its lineage back to the first generation of Puritan settlers in New England. A local selectman and a leader in the community, Deacon Adams encouraged his eldest son to aspire toward a career in the ministry. In keeping with that goal, Adams graduated from Harvard College in 1755. For the next three years, he taught grammar school in Worcester, Massachusetts, while contemplating his future. He eventually chose law rather than the ministry and in 1758 moved back to Braintree, then soon began practicing law in nearby Boston.

In 1764 Adams married Abigail Smith, a minister's daughter from neighboring Weymouth. Intelligent, well-read, vivacious, and just as fiercely

independent as her new husband, Abigail Adams became a confidante and political partner who helped to stabilize and sustain the ever-irascible and highly volatile Adams throughout his long career. The letters between them afford an extended glimpse into their deepest thoughts and emotions and provide modern readers with the most revealing record of personal intimacy between husband and wife in the revolutionary era. Typical of their epistolary exchange was Abigail's lament regarding John's prolonged absence in her letter to him of November 27, 1775:

Colonel Warren returned last week to Plymouth, so that I shall not hear anything from you until he goes back again, which will not be till the last of this month. He damped my spirits greatly by telling me that the court had prolonged your stay another month. I was pleasing myself with the thought that you would soon be upon your return. It is in vain to repine. I hope the public will reap what I sacrifice.

Their first child, Abigail Amelia, was born in 1765. Their first son, John Quincy, arrived two years later. Two other sons, Thomas Boylston and Charles, followed shortly thereafter. (Another child, Susanna, did not survive infancy.)



THE

TRIAL

OF

William Wemms, James Hartegan, William M'Cauley, Hugh White, Matthew Killroy, William Warren, John Carrol, and Hugh Montgomery,

Soldiers in his Majesty's 29th Regiment of Foot,

FOR THE MURDER OF

Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Patrick Carr,

On MONDAY-EVENING, the 5th of MARCH, 1770,

AT THE

Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize, and general Goal Delivery, held at BOSTON.

The 27th Day of *November*, 1770, by Adjournment.

BEFORE

The Hon. BENJAMIN LYNDE, JOHN CUSHING, PETER OLIVER, and EDMUND TROWBRIDGE, ESQUIRES, JUSTICES of said COURT.

Published by Permission of the COURT.

Taken in SHORT-HAND by JOHN HODGSON.

BOSTON:

Printed by J. FLEEMING, and sold at his Printing-Office, nearly opposite the *White-Horse* Tavern in *Newbury-Street*.

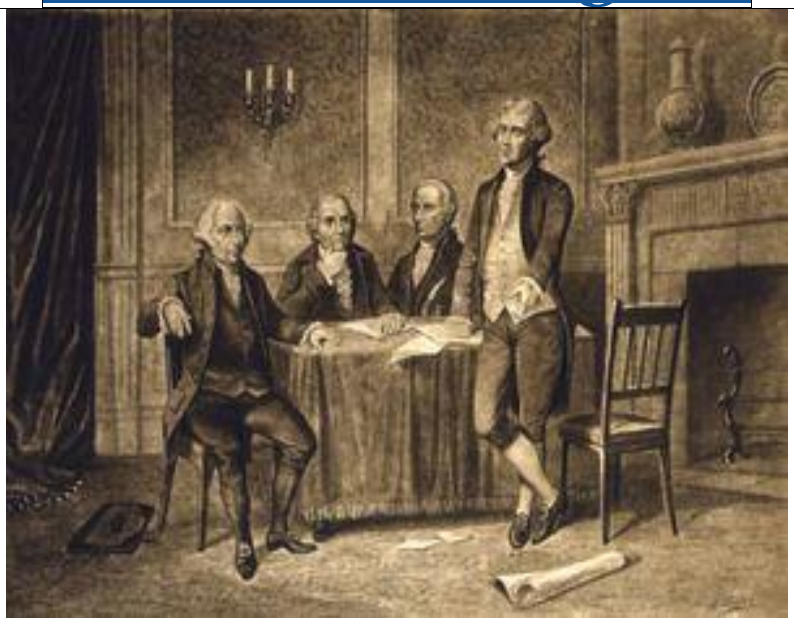
M,DCC,LXX.

Boston Massacre: trial of British soldiersDocument relating to the trial of the British soldiers accused of murdering five people during the Boston Massacre (1770). John Adams served as the defense lawyer, and only two men were convicted; they were released after their thumbs were branded.

By then Adams's legal career was on the rise, and he had become a visible member of the resistance movement that questioned Parliament's right to tax the American colonies. In 1765 Adams wrote "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law," which justified opposition to the recently enacted Stamp Act—an effort to raise revenue by requiring all publications and legal documents to bear a stamp—by arguing that Parliament's intrusions into colonial affairs exposed the inherently coercive and corrupt character of English politics. Intensely combative, full of private doubts about his own capacities but never about his cause, Adams became a leading figure in the opposition to the Townshend Acts (1767), which imposed duties on imported commodities (i.e., glass, lead, paper, paint, and tea). Despite his hostility toward the British government, in 1770 Adams agreed to defend the British soldiers who had fired on a Boston crowd in what became known as the Boston Massacre. His insistence on upholding the legal rights of the soldiers, who in fact had been provoked, made him temporarily unpopular but also marked him as one of the most principled radicals in the burgeoning movement for American independence. He had a penchant for doing the right thing, most especially when it made him unpopular.

At a glance: the Adams Presidency

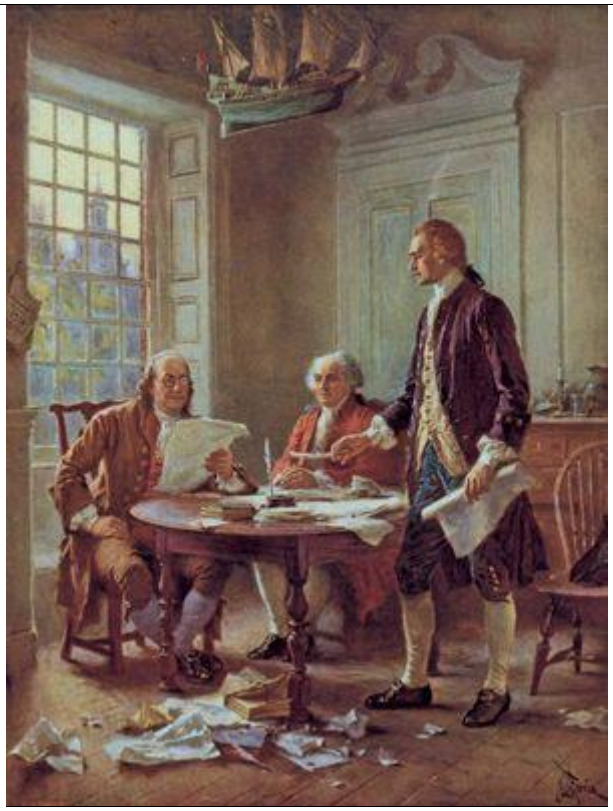
Continental Congress



Continental CongressLeaders of the Continental Congress (from left to right): John Adams, Gouverneur Morris, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson.

In the summer of 1774, Adams was elected to the Massachusetts delegation that joined the representatives from 12 of 13 colonies in Philadelphia at the

First Continental Congress. He and his cousin, Samuel Adams, quickly became the leaders of the radical faction, which rejected the prospects for reconciliation with Britain. His "Novanglus" essays, published early in 1775, moved the constitutional argument forward another notch, insisting that Parliament lacked the authority not just to tax the colonies but also to legislate for them in any way. (Less than a year earlier, Thomas Jefferson had made a similar argument against parliamentary authority in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*.)



Declaration of Independence(From left to right) Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson discussing a draft of the Declaration of Independence, 1776.

By the time the Second Continental Congress convened in 1775, Adams had gained the reputation as "the Atlas of independence." Over the course of the following year, he made several major contributions to the patriot cause destined to ensure his place in American history. First, he nominated George Washington to serve as commander of the fledging Continental Army. Second, he selected Jefferson to draft the Declaration of Independence. (Both decisions were designed to ensure Virginia's support for the revolution.) Third, he dominated the debate in the Congress on July 2–4, 1776, defending Jefferson's draft of the declaration and demanding unanimous support for a decisive break with Great Britain. Moreover, he had written *Thoughts on Government*, which circulated throughout the colonies as the major guidebook for the drafting of new state constitutions. In it, among other concerns, he contemplated the sort of representative assembly that would be most conducive to good government:

It should be in miniature an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, feel, reason, and act like them. That it may be the interest of this assembly to do strict justice at all times, it should be an equal representation, or, in other words, equal interests among the people should have equal interests in it. Great care should be taken to effect this, and to prevent unfair, partial, and corrupt elections.

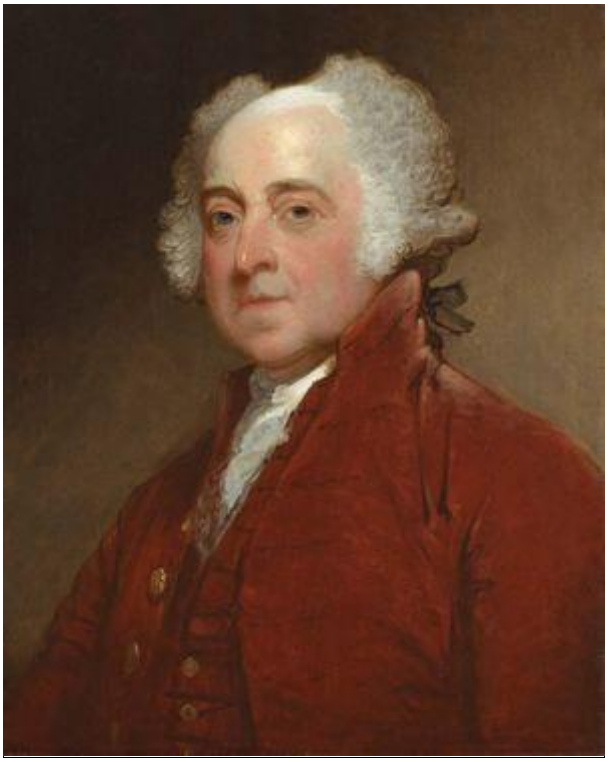
Adams remained the central figure of the Continental Congress for the following two years. He drafted the Plan of Treaties in July 1776, a document that provided the framework for a treaty with France and that almost inadvertently identified the strategic priorities that would shape American foreign policy over the next century. He was the unanimous choice to head the Board of War and Ordnance and was thereby made in effect a one-man war department responsible for raising and equipping the American army and creating from scratch an American navy. As the prospects for a crucial wartime alliance with France improved late in 1777, he was chosen to join Benjamin Franklin in Paris to conduct the negotiations. In February 1778 he sailed for Europe, accompanied by 10-year-old John Quincy.

Foreign service

By the time Adams arrived in Paris, the treaty creating an alliance with France had already been concluded. He quickly returned home in the summer of 1779, just in time to join the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention. The other delegates, acknowledging his constitutional expertise, simply handed him the job of drafting what became the Massachusetts constitution (1780), which immediately became the model for the other state constitutions and—in its insistence on a bicameral legislature and the separation of powers—a major influence on the Constitution of the United States. The Congress then ordered Adams to rejoin Franklin in Paris to lead the American delegation responsible for negotiating an end to the war with Britain. This time he took along his youngest son, Charles, as well as John Quincy, leaving Abigail to tend the farm and the other two children in Braintree. Not until 1784, almost five years later, was the entire family reunited in Paris. By then Adams had shown himself an unnatural diplomat, exhibiting a level of candor and a confrontational style toward both English and French negotiators that alienated Franklin, who came to regard his colleague as slightly deranged. Adams, for his part, thought Franklin excessively impressed with his own stature as the Gallic version of the American genius and therefore inadequately attuned to the important differences between American and French interests in the peace negotiations. The favorable terms achieved in the Peace of Paris (1783) can be attributed to the effective blend of Franklin's discretion and Adams's bulldog temperament. Adams's reputation for emotional explosions also dates from this period. Recent scholarly studies suggest that he might have suffered from a hyperthyroid condition subsequently known as Graves' disease.

In 1784 Jefferson arrived in Paris to replace Franklin as the American minister at the French court. Over the next few months, Jefferson became an unofficial member of the Adams family, and the bond of friendship between Adams and Jefferson was sealed, a lifelong partnership and rivalry that made the combative New Englander and the elegant Virginian the odd couple of the American Revolution. Jefferson also visited the Adams family in England in 1785, after Adams had assumed his new post as American ambassador in London. The two men also joined forces, though Adams as the senior figure assumed the lead, in negotiating a $400,000 loan from Dutch bankers that allowed the American government to consolidate its European debts.

Political Philosophy of John Adams



John AdamsU.S. Pres. John Adams, oil on wood by Gilbert Stuart, c. 1821; in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Because he was the official embodiment of American independence from the British Empire, Adams was largely ignored and relegated to the periphery of the court during his nearly three years in London. Still brimming with energy, he spent his time studying the history of European politics for patterns and lessons that might assist the fledgling American government in its efforts to achieve what no major European nation had managed to produce—namely, a stable republican form of government.

The result was a massive and motley three-volume collection of quotations, unacknowledged citations, and personal observations entitled *A Defence of the*

Constitutions of Government of the United States of America (1787). A fourth volume, *Discourses on Davila* (1790), was published soon after he returned to the United States. Taken together, these lengthy tomes contained Adams's distinctive insights as a political thinker. The lack of organization, combined with the sprawling style of the *Defence*, however, made its core message difficult to follow or fathom. When read in the context of his voluminous correspondence on political issues, along with the extensive marginalia he recorded in the several thousand books in his personal library, that message became clearer with time.

Adams wished to warn his fellow Americans against all revolutionary manifestos that envisioned a fundamental break with the past and a fundamental transformation in human nature or society that supposedly produced a new age. All such utopian expectations were illusions, he believed, driven by what he called "ideology," the belief that imagined ideals, so real and seductive in theory, were capable of being implemented in the world. The same kind of conflict between different classes that had bedeviled medieval Europe would, albeit in muted forms, also afflict the United States, because the seeds of such competition were planted in human nature itself. Adams blended the psychological insights of New England Puritanism, with its emphasis on the emotional forces throbbing inside all creatures, and the Enlightenment belief that government must contain and control those forces, to construct a political system capable of balancing the ambitions of individuals and competing social classes.

His insistence that elites were unavoidable realities in all societies, however, made him vulnerable to the charge of endorsing aristocratic rule in America, when in fact he was attempting to suggest that the inevitable American elite must be controlled, its ambitions channeled toward public purposes. He also was accused of endorsing monarchical principles because he argued that the chief executive in the American government, like the king in medieval European society, must possess sufficient power to check the ravenous appetites of the propertied classes. Although misunderstood by many of his contemporaries, the realistic perspective Adams proposed—and the skepticism toward utopian schemes he insisted upon—has achieved considerable support in the wake of the failed 20th-century attempts at social transformation in the communist bloc. In Adams's own day, his political analysis enjoyed the satisfaction of correctly predicting that the French Revolution would lead to the Reign of Terror and eventual despotism by a military dictator.

Vice presidency and presidency of John Adams

U.S. Vice Pres. John AdamsJohn Adams during his vice presidency.

Soon after his return to the United States, Adams found himself on the ballot in the presidential election of 1789. Washington was the unanimous selection of all electors, while Adams finished second, signaling that his standing as a leading member of the revolutionary generation was superseded only by that of Washington himself. Under the electoral rules established in the recent ratified Constitution, Adams was duly elected America's first vice president.

This meant that Adams was the first American statesman to experience the paradox of being a heartbeat away from maximum power while languishing in the political version of a cul-de-sac. Adams himself described the vice presidency as "the most insignificant office that ever the Invention of man contrived or his Imagination conceived." His main duty was to serve as president of the Senate, casting a vote only to break a tie. During his eight years in office, Adams cast between 31 and 38 such votes, more than any subsequent vice president in American history. He steadfastly supported all the major initiatives of the Washington administration, including the financial plan of Alexander Hamilton, the Neutrality Proclamation (1793), which effectively ended the Franco-American Alliance of 1778, the forceful suppression of an insurrection in

western Pennsylvania called the Whiskey Rebellion (1794), and the Jay Treaty (1795), a highly controversial effort to avoid war with England by accepting British hegemony on the high seas. When Washington announced his decision not to seek a third term in 1796, Adams was the logical choice to succeed him.

In the first contested presidential election in American history, Adams won a narrow electoral majority (71–68) over Jefferson, who thereby became vice president. Adams made an initial effort to bring Jefferson into the cabinet and involve him in shaping foreign policy, but Jefferson declined the offer, preferring to retain his independence. This burdened the Adams presidency with a vice president who was the acknowledged head of the rival political party, the Republicans (subsequently the Democratic-Republicans). Additional burdens included: inheritance of Washington's cabinet, whom Adams unwisely decided to retain, and whose highest loyalty was to Washington's memory as embodied in Hamilton; a raging naval conflict with the French in the Caribbean dubbed the "quasi-war"; and the impossible task of succeeding—no one could replace—the greatest hero of the revolutionary era.

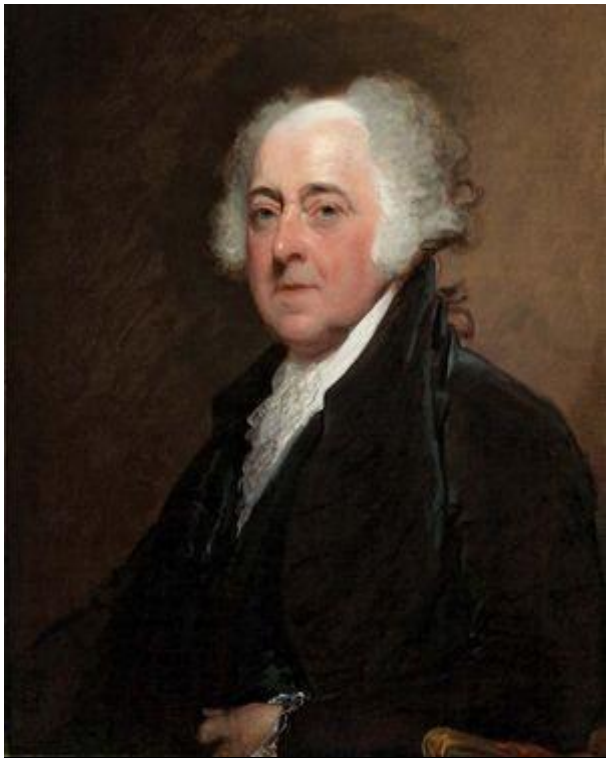
Despite Washington's plea for a bipartisan foreign policy in his farewell address (1796), the "quasi-war" produced a bitter political argument between Federalists, who preferred war with France to alienating Britain, and Democratic-Republicans, who viewed France as America's only European ally and the French Revolution as a continuation of the American Revolution on European soil. Adams attempted to steer a middle course between these partisan camps, which left him vulnerable to political attacks from both sides. In 1797 he sent a peace delegation to Paris to negotiate an end to hostilities, but when the French directory demanded bribes before any negotiations could begin, Adams ordered the delegates home and began a naval buildup in preparation for outright war. The Federalist-dominated Congress called for raising a 30,000-man army, which Adams agreed to reluctantly. If Adams had requested a declaration of war in 1798, he would have enjoyed widespread popularity and virtually certain reelection two years later. Instead, he acted with characteristic independence by sending yet another, and this time successful, peace delegation to France against the advice of his cabinet and his Federalist supporters. The move ruined him politically but avoided a costly war that the infant American republic was ill-prepared to fight. It was a vintage Adams performance, reminiscent of his defense of British soldiers after the Boston Massacre, which was also principled and unpopular.

If ending the "quasi-war" with France was Adams's major foreign policy triumph, his chief domestic failure was passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), which permitted the government to deport foreign-born residents and indict newspaper editors or writers who published "false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States." A total of 14 indictments were brought against the Republican press under the sedition act, but the crudely partisan

prosecutions quickly became infamous persecutions that backfired on the Federalists. Although Adams had signed the Alien and Sedition Acts under pressure from the Federalists in Congress, he shouldered most of the blame both at the time and in the history books. He came to regard the sedition act as the biggest political blunder of his life.

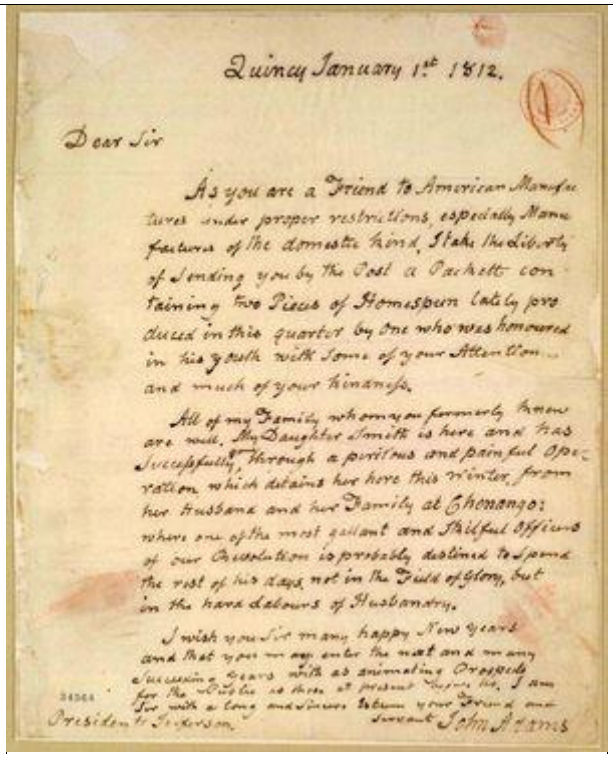
The election of 1800 again pitted Adams against Jefferson. Adams ran ahead of the Federalist candidates for Congress, who were swept from office in a Republican landslide. However, thanks to the deft maneuvering of Aaron Burr, all 12 of New York's electoral votes went to Jefferson, giving the tandem of Jefferson and Burr the electoral victory (73–65). Jefferson was eventually elected president by the House of Representatives, which chose him over Burr on the 36th ballot. In his last weeks in office, Adams made several Federalist appointments to the judiciary, including John Marshall as chief justice of the United States. These "midnight judges" offended Jefferson, who resented the encroachment on his own presidential prerogatives. Adams, the first president to reside in the presidential mansion (later called the White House) in Washington, D.C., was also the first—and one of the very few—presidents not to attend the inauguration of his successor. On March 4, 1801, he was already on the road back to Quincy.

Retirement



U.S. Pres. John AdamsJohn Adams, oil on canvas by Gilbert Stuart, c. 1800–15; in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 73.7 × 61 cm.

At age 65 Adams did not anticipate a long retirement. The fates proved more generous than he expected, providing him with another quarter century to brood about his career and life, add to the extensive marginalia in his books, settle old scores in his memoirs, watch with pride when John Quincy assumed the presidency, and add to his already vast and voluminous correspondence. In an extensive exchange of letters with Benjamin Rush, the Philadelphia physician and patriotic gadfly, Adams revealed his preoccupation with fame and developed his own theory of the role ambition plays in motivating man to public service. Along the way he placed on the record his own candid and often critical portraits of the other vanguard members of the revolutionary generation.



Quincy January 1st 1812.

Dear Sir

As you are a Friend to American Manufactures under proper restrictions, especially Manufactures of the domestic kind, I take the liberty of sending you by the Post a Packett containing two Pieces of Homespun lately produced in this quarter by one who was honoured in his youth with some of your Attention and much of your kindness.

All of my Family, whom you formerly knew are well. My Daughter Smith is here and has successfully, through a perilous and painful Operation which detains her here this winter, from her Husband and her Family at Chenango; where one of the most gallant and Skilful Officers of our Revolution is probably destined to spend the rest of his days, not in the Field of Glory, but in the hard labours of Husbandry.

I wish you Sir many happy New years and that you may enter the next and as many succeeding years with as animating Prospects for the Public as those at present before us. I am Sir with a long and sincere Attachment your Friend and Servant John Adams

President Jefferson.

Adams, John: letter to Thomas JeffersonLetter from John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, January 1, 1812.

In 1812, thanks in part to prodding from Rush, he overcame his bitterness toward Jefferson and initiated a correspondence with his former friend and rival that totaled 158 letters. Generally regarded as the most intellectually impressive correspondence between American statesmen in all of American history, the dialogue between Adams and Jefferson touched on a host of timely and timeless subjects: the role of religion in history, the aging process, the emergence of an American language, the French Revolution, and the party battles of the 1790s. Adams put it most poignantly to Jefferson: "You and I ought not to die, before We have explained ourselves to each other."

PeacefieldThe Old House, or Peacefield, in Quincy, Massachusetts, home to the Adams family from 1788 to 1927.

More than the elegiac tone of the letters, the correspondence dramatized the contradictory impulses generated by the American Revolution and symbolized by the two aging patriarchs. Adams was the realist, the skeptic, the principled pessimist. Jefferson was the idealist, the romantic, the pragmatic optimist. As if according to a script written by Providence, the "Sage of Quincy" and the "Sage of Monticello" died within hours of each other on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary to the day of the Declaration of Independence.

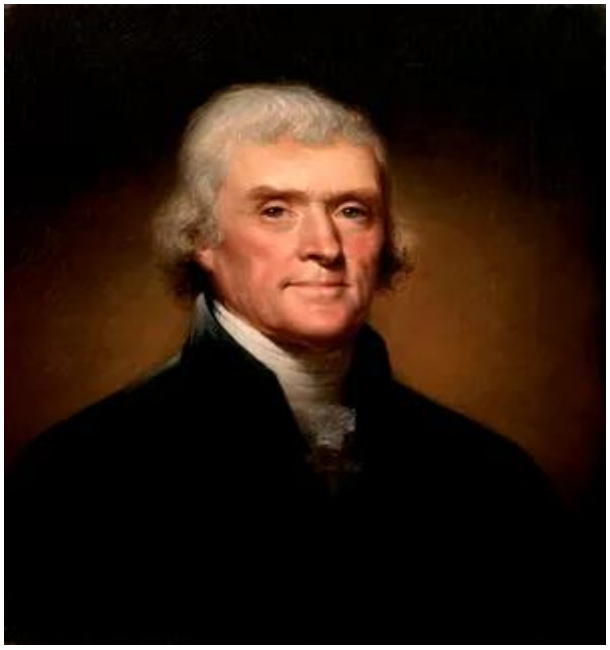
Cabinet of President John Adams

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President John Adams.

Cabinet of President John Adams	
March 4, 1797–March 3, 1801	
*Newly created department.	
State	Timothy Pickering
	John Marshall (from June 6, 1800)

Cabinet of President John Adams

March 4, 1797–March 3, 1801	
Treasury	Oliver Wolcott, Jr.
	Samuel Dexter (from January 1, 1801)
War	James McHenry
	Samuel Dexter (from June 12, 1800)
Navy*	Benjamin Stoddert (from June 18, 1798)
Attorney General	Charles Lee



Thomas Jefferson

3rd President of the United States

[4 May 30 1801 <::> 3 March 1809]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/thomas-jefferson/

02] https://millercenter.org/president/jefferson

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Jefferson/Slavery-and-racism

04] Thomas Jefferson - 3rd President of the United States Documentary [Video] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z_FFaltWIE8 [1:07:19]

Thomas Jefferson (born April 2 [April 13, New Style], 1743, Shadwell, Virginia [U.S.]—died July 4, 1826, Monticello, Virginia, U.S.) was the draftsman of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the nation's first secretary of state (1789–94) and second vice president (1797–1801) and, as the third president (1801–09), the statesman responsible for the Louisiana Purchase. An early advocate of total separation of church and state, he also was the founder and architect of the University of Virginia and the most eloquent American proponent of individual freedom as the core meaning of the American Revolution.

Jefferson Memorial Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Long regarded as America's most distinguished "apostle of liberty," Jefferson has come under increasingly critical scrutiny within the scholarly world. At the popular level, both in the United States and abroad, he remains an incandescent icon, an inspirational symbol for both major U.S. political parties, as well as for dissenters in communist China, liberal reformers in central and eastern Europe, and aspiring democrats in Africa and Latin America. His image has suffered, however, as the focus on racial equality has prompted a more negative reappraisal of his dependence upon slavery and his conviction that American society remain a white man's domain. Especially disturbing to many were the DNA results of the 1998 study revealing that Jefferson had almost certainly fathered a child with Sally Hemings, an enslaved woman thirty years his junior and owned by him. (For more on this story, see "Tom and Sally": The Jefferson - Hemings paternity debate.) The huge gap between his lyrical expression of liberal ideals and the more attenuated reality of his own life has transformed Jefferson into America's

most problematic and paradoxical hero. The Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., was dedicated to him on April 13, 1943, the 200th anniversary of his birth.

Early years

Albermarle county, where Jefferson was born, lay in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in what was then regarded as a western province of the Old Dominion. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a self-educated surveyor who amassed a tidy estate that included 60 enslaved people. According to family lore, Jefferson's earliest memory was as a three-year-old boy "being carried on a pillow by a mounted slave" when the family moved from Shadwell to Tuckahoe. His mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson, was descended from one of the most prominent families in Virginia. She raised two sons, of whom Jefferson was the eldest, and six daughters. There is reason to believe that Jefferson's relationship with his mother was strained, especially after his father died in 1757, because he did everything he could to escape her supervision and had almost nothing to say about her in his memoirs. He boarded with the local schoolmaster to learn his Latin and Greek until 1760, when he entered the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg.

By all accounts he was an obsessive student, often spending 15 hours of the day with his books, 3 hours practicing his violin, and the remaining 6 hours eating and sleeping. The two chief influences on his learning were William Small, a Scottish-born teacher of mathematics and science, and George Wythe, the leading legal scholar in Virginia. From them Jefferson learned a keen appreciation of supportive mentors, a concept he later institutionalized at the University of Virginia. He read law with Wythe from 1762 to 1767, then left Williamsburg to practice, mostly representing small-scale planters from the western counties in cases involving land claims and titles. Although he handled no landmark cases and came across as a nervous and somewhat indifferent speaker before the bench, he earned a reputation as a formidable legal scholar. He was a shy and extremely serious young man.

MonticelloMonticello, near Charlottesville, Virginia.

In 1768 he made two important decisions: first, to build his own home atop an 867-foot- (264-meter-) high mountain near Shadwell that he eventually named Monticello and, second, to stand as a candidate for the House of Burgesses. These decisions nicely embodied the two competing impulses that would persist throughout his life—namely, to combine an active career in politics with periodic seclusion in his own private haven. His political timing was also impeccable, for he entered the Virginia legislature just as opposition to the taxation policies of the British Parliament was congealing. Although he made few speeches and tended to follow the lead of the Tidewater elite, his support for resolutions opposing Parliament's authority over the colonies was resolute.

In the early 1770s his own character was also congealing. In 1772 he married Martha Wayles Skelton (Martha Jefferson), an attractive and delicate young widow whose dowry more than doubled his holdings in land and enslaved people. In 1774 he wrote *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, which was quickly published, though without his permission, and catapulted him into visibility beyond Virginia as an early advocate of American independence from Parliament's authority; the American colonies were tied to Great Britain, he believed, only by wholly voluntary bonds of loyalty to the king.

His reputation thus enhanced, the Virginia legislature appointed him a delegate to the Second Continental Congress in the spring of 1775. He rode into Philadelphia—and into American history—on June 20, 1775, a tall (slightly above 6 feet 2 inches [1.88 meters]) and gangly young man with reddish blond hair, hazel

eyes, a burnished complexion, and rock-ribbed certainty about the American cause. In retrospect, the central paradox of his life was also on display, for the man who the following year was to craft the most famous manifesto for human equality in world history arrived in an ornate carriage drawn by four handsome horses and accompanied by three enslaved people.

At a Glance

Jefferson Presidency

Declaring independence

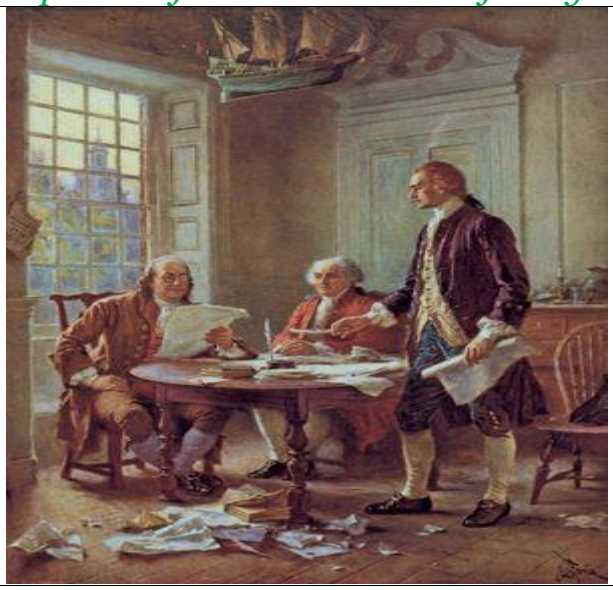
John Trumbull: *Declaration of Independence*Declaration of Independence, oil on canvas by John Trumbull, 1818; in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C.

How the Declaration of Independence was writtenDramatization of events surrounding the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, which was written by Thomas Jefferson and approved by the Continental Congress and signed on July 4, 1776.

See all videos for this article

Jefferson's inveterate shyness prevented him from playing a significant role in the debates within the Congress. John Adams, a leader in those debates, remembered that Jefferson was silent even in committee meetings, though consistently staunch in his support for independence. His chief role was as a draftsman of resolutions. In that capacity, on June 11, 1776, he was appointed to a five-person committee, which also included Adams and Benjamin Franklin, to draft a formal statement of the reasons why a break with Great Britain was justified. Adams asked him to prepare the first draft, which he did within a few days. He later claimed that he was not striving for "originality of principle or sentiment," only seeking to provide "an expression of the American mind"; that is, putting into words those ideas already accepted by a majority of Americans. This accurately describes the longest section of the Declaration of Independence, which lists the grievances against George III. It does not, however, describe the following 55 words, which are generally regarded as the seminal statement of American political culture:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.



Declaration of Independence(From left to right) Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson discussing a draft of the Declaration of Independence, 1776.

On July 3–4 the Congress debated and edited Jefferson's draft, deleting and revising fully one-fifth of the text. But they made no changes whatsoever in this passage, which over succeeding generations became the lyrical sanction for every liberal movement in American history. At the time, Jefferson himself was disconsolate that the Congress had seen fit to make any changes in his language. Nevertheless, he was not regarded by his contemporaries as the author of the Declaration, which was seen as a collective effort by the entire Congress. Indeed, he was not known by most Americans as the principal author until the 1790s.

He returned to Virginia in October 1776 and immediately launched an extensive project for the reform of the state's legal code to bring it in line with the principles of the American Revolution. Three areas of reform suggest the arc of his political vision: first, he sought and secured abolition of primogeniture, entail, and all those remnants of feudalism that discouraged a broad distribution of property; second, he proposed a comprehensive plan of educational reform designed to assure access at the lowest level for all citizens and state support at the higher levels for the most talented; third, he advocated a law prohibiting any religious establishment and requiring complete separation of church and state. The last two proposals were bitterly contested, especially the statute for religious freedom, which was not enacted until 1786.

Taken together, these legal reforms capture the essence of Jefferson's political philosophy, which was less a comprehensive body of thought than a visionary prescription. He regarded the past as a "dead hand" of encrusted privileges and impediments that must be cast off to permit the natural energies of individual citizens to flow freely. The American Revolution, as he saw it, was the first shot in what would eventually became a global battle for human liberation from despotic institutions and all coercive versions of government.

At the end of what was probably the most creative phase of his public career, personal misfortune struck in two successive episodes. Elected governor of Virginia in 1779, he was caught off-guard by a surprise British invasion in 1780 against which the state was defenseless. His flight from approaching British troops was described in the local press, somewhat unfairly, as a cowardly act of abdication. (Critics would recall this awkward moment throughout the remainder of his long career.) Then, in September 1782, his wife died after a difficult

delivery in May of their third daughter. These two disasters caused him to vow that he would never again desert his family for his country.

American in Paris

Listen to Thomas Jefferson muse the differences between the American Revolution and the French Revolution Dramatization of events surrounding Thomas Jefferson's tenure as the U.S. minister to France

The vow was sincere but short-lived. Jefferson agreed, albeit reluctantly, to serve as a delegate to the Continental Congress in December 1782, where his major contribution was to set forth the principle that territories in the West should not be treated as colonies but rather should enter the Union with status equal to the original states once certain conditions were met. Then, in 1784, recognizing the need to escape the memories of Martha that haunted the hallways at Monticello, he agreed to replace Franklin as American minister to France; or, as legend tells the story, he agreed to succeed Franklin, noting that no one could replace him.

During his five-year sojourn in Paris, Jefferson accomplished very little in any official sense. Several intractable conditions rendered his best diplomatic efforts futile: the United States was heavily in debt owing to the recent war, so few European nations were interested in signing treaties of amity and commerce with the infant American republic; the federal government created under the Articles of Confederation was notoriously weak, so clear foreign policy directives proved impossible; Great Britain already enjoyed a monopoly, controlling more than 80 percent of America's foreign trade, so it had no incentive to negotiate commercial treaties on less favorable terms; and France was drifting toward a cataclysmic political crisis of its own, so relations with the upstart new nation across the Atlantic were hardly a high priority.

As a result, Jefferson's diplomatic overtures to establish a market for American tobacco and to reopen French ports to whale oil produced meager results, his efforts to create an alliance of American and European powers to contest the terrorism of the Barbary pirates proved stillborn, and his vision of open markets for all nations, a world without tariffs, seemed excessively visionary. His only significant achievement was the negotiation of a $400,000 loan from Dutch bankers that allowed the American government to consolidate its European debts, but even that piece of diplomacy was conducted primarily by John Adams, then serving as American minister to the Court of St. James's in London.

Thomas Jefferson: memorandum to Mr. Short, 1788Memorandum from Thomas Jefferson to his private secretary, Mr. Short, requesting the purchase of wines and a pasta mold, Paris, 1788.

But the Paris years were important to Jefferson for personal reasons and are important to biographers and historians for the new light they shed on his famously elusive personality. The dominant pattern would seem to be the capacity to live comfortably with contradiction. For example, he immersed himself

wholeheartedly in the art, architecture, wine, and food of Parisian society but warned all prospective American tourists to remain in America so as to avoid the avarice, luxury, and sheer sinfulness of European fleshpots. He made a point of bringing along his elder daughter, Martha (called Patsy as a girl), and later sent for his younger daughter, Maria (called Polly), all as part of his genuine devotion as a single parent. But he then placed both daughters in a convent, wrote them stern lecturelike letters about proper female etiquette, and enforced a patriarchal distance that was in practice completely at odds with his theoretical commitment to intimacy.

With women in general his letters convey a message of conspicuous gallantry, playfully flirtatious in the manner of a male coquette. The most self-revealing letter he ever wrote, "a dialogue between the head and the heart," was sent to Maria Cosway, an Anglo-Italian beauty who left him utterly infatuated. Jefferson and Cosway, who was married to a prominent if somewhat degenerate English miniaturist, spent several months in a romantic haze, touring Parisian gardens, museums, and art shows together, but whether Jefferson's head or heart prevailed, either in the letter or in life, is impossible to know. Meanwhile, there is considerable evidence to suggest, but not to prove conclusively, that Jefferson initiated a sexual liaison with Sally Hemings, a young enslaved woman of mixed ancestry owned by him, in 1788, about the time his torrid affair with Cosway cooled down—this despite his public statements denouncing Black people as biologically inferior and sexual relations between the races as taboo.

During the latter stages of Jefferson's stay in Paris, Louis XVI, the French king, was forced to convene the Assembly of Notables in Versailles to deal with France's deep financial crisis. Jefferson initially regarded the assembly as a French version of the Constitutional Convention, then meeting in Philadelphia. Much influenced by moderate leaders such as the Marquis de Lafayette, he expected the French Revolution to remain a bloodless affair that would culminate in a revised French government, probably a constitutional monarchy along English lines. He remained oblivious to the resentments and volatile energies pent up within French society that were about to explode in the Reign of Terror, mostly because he thought the French Revolution would follow the American model. He was fortunate to depart France late in 1789, just at the onset of mob violence.

Slavery and racism of Thomas Jefferson

Silhouette of Thomas JeffersonThomas Jefferson, silhouette ink drawing by John Marshal, between 1800 and 1830.

Even before his departure from France, Jefferson had overseen the publication of *Notes on the State of Virginia*. This book, the only one Jefferson ever published, was part travel guide, part scientific treatise, and part philosophical meditation. Jefferson had written it in the fall of 1781 and had agreed to a French edition only after learning that an unauthorized version was already in press. *Notes* contained an extensive discussion of slavery, including a graphic description of its horrific effects on both Black and white people, a strong assertion that it violated the principles on which the American Revolution was based, and an apocalyptic prediction that failure to end slavery would lead to "convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race." It also contained the most explicit assessment that Jefferson ever wrote of what he believed were the biological differences between Black people

and white people, an assessment that exposed the deep-rooted racism that he, like most Americans and almost all Virginians of his day, harbored throughout his life.

How the Whitney Plantation teaches the history of slaveryMuseum director Ashley Rogers explains how the Whitney Plantation became the only former plantation site in Louisiana with an exclusive focus on slavery.

To his critics in later generations, Jefferson's views on race seemed particularly virulent because of his purported relationship with Sally Hemings, who bore several children obviously fathered by a white man and some of whom had features resembling those of Jefferson. The public assertion of this relationship was originally made in 1802 by a disreputable journalist interested in injuring Jefferson's political career. His claim was corroborated, however, by one of Hemings's children in an 1873 newspaper interview and then again in a 1968 book by Winthrop Jordan revealing that Hemings became pregnant only when Jefferson was present at Monticello. Finally, in 1998, DNA samples were gathered from living descendants of Jefferson and Hemings. Tests revealed that Jefferson was almost certainly the father of some of Hemings's children. What remained unclear was the character of the relationship—consensual or coercive, a matter of love or rape, or a mutually satisfactory arrangement. Jefferson's admirers preferred to consider it a love affair and to see Jefferson and Hemings as America's preeminent biracial couple. His critics, on the other hand,

considered Jefferson a sexual predator whose eloquent statements about human freedom and equality were hypocritical.

In any case, coming as it did at the midpoint of Jefferson's career, the publication of *Notes* affords the opportunity to review Jefferson's previous and subsequent positions on the most volatile and therefore most forbidden topic in the revolutionary era. Early in his career Jefferson had taken a leadership role in pushing slavery onto the political agenda in the Virginia assembly and the federal Congress. In the 1760s and '70s, like most Virginia planters, he endorsed the end of the slave trade. (Virginia's plantations were already well stocked with enslaved people, so ending the slave trade posed no economic threat and even enhanced the value of the existent enslaved population.) In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he included a passage, subsequently deleted by the Continental Congress, blaming both the slave trade and slavery itself on George III. Unlike most of his fellow Virginians, Jefferson was prepared to acknowledge that slavery was an anomaly in the American republic established in 1776. His two most practical proposals came in the early 1780s: a gradual emancipation scheme by which all enslaved people born after 1800 would be freed and their owners compensated, and a prohibition of slavery in all the territories of the West as a condition for admission to the Union. By the time of the publication of *Notes*, then, Jefferson's record on slavery placed him among the most progressive elements of southern society. Rather than ask how he could possibly tolerate the persistence of slavery, it is more historically correct to wonder how this member of Virginia's planter class had managed to develop such liberal convictions.

Dating the onset of a long silence is inevitably an imprecise business, but by the time of his return to the United States in 1789 Jefferson had backed away from a leadership position on slavery. The ringing denunciations of slavery presented in *Notes* had generated controversy, especially within the planter class of Virginia, and Jefferson's deep aversion to controversy made him withdraw from the cutting edge of the antislavery movement once he experienced the sharp feelings it aroused. Moreover, the very logic of his argument in *Notes* exposed the inherent intractability of his position. Although he believed that slavery was a gross violation of the principles celebrated in the Declaration of Independence, he also believed that people of African descent were biologically inferior to whites and could never live alongside whites in peace and harmony. They would

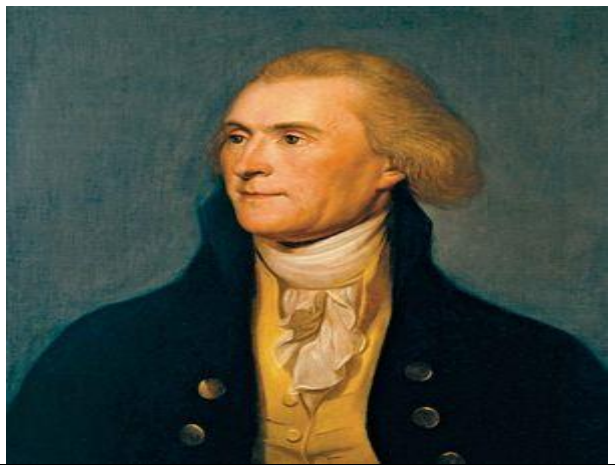
have to be transported elsewhere, back to Africa or perhaps the Caribbean, after emancipation. Because such a massive deportation was a logistical and economic impossibility, the unavoidable conclusion was that, though slavery was wrong, ending it, at least at present, was inconceivable. That became Jefferson's public position throughout the remainder of his life.

(Read mathematician and almanac-maker Benjamin Banneker's 1791 letter to Thomas Jefferson. Banneker was the only Black man to directly challenge Jefferson's views on Black intellect during Jefferson's lifetime.)

It also shaped his personal posture as a slave owner. Jefferson owned, on average, about 200 enslaved people at any point in time, and slightly over 600 over his lifetime. To protect himself from facing the reality of his problematic status as plantation master, he constructed a paternalistic self-image as a benevolent father caring for what he called "my family." Believing that he and his slaves were the victims of history's failure to proceed along the enlightened path, he saw himself as the steward for those entrusted to his care until a better future arrived for them all. In the meantime, his own lavish lifestyle and all the incessant and expensive renovations of his Monticello mansion were wholly dependent on slave labor. Whatever silent thoughts he might have harbored about freeing his slaves never found their way into the record. (He freed only five enslaved people, all members of the Hemings family.) His mounting indebtedness rendered all such thoughts superfluous toward the end, because his slaves, like all his possessions, were mortgaged to his creditors and therefore not really his to free.

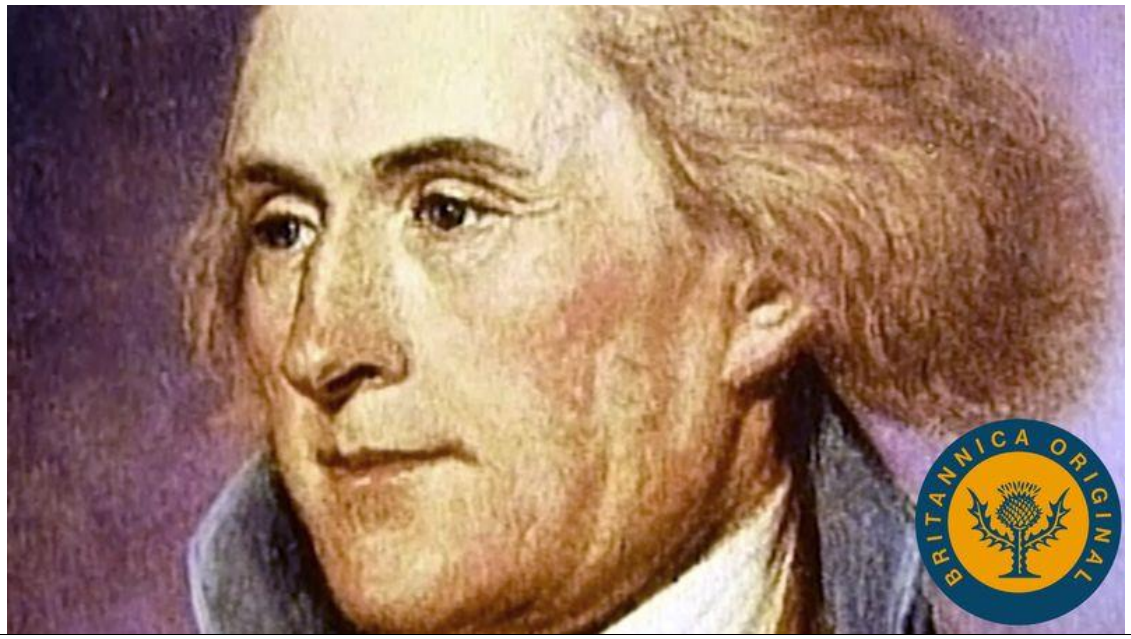
Party Politics of Thomas Jefferson

Party Politics of Thomas Jefferson



Thomas JeffersonPortrait of Thomas Jefferson, oil on canvas by Charles Willson Peale, 1790s.

Jefferson returned to the United States in 1789 to serve as the first secretary of state under President George Washington. He was entering the most uncharted waters in American history. There had never been an enduring republican government in a nation as large as the United States, and no one was sure if it was possible or how it would work. The Constitution ratified in 1788 was still a work-in-progress, less a blueprint that provided answers than a framework for arguing about the salient questions. And because Jefferson had been serving in France when the constitutional battles of 1787–88 were waged in Philadelphia and then in the state ratifying conventions, he entered the volatile debates of the 1790s without a clear track record of his constitutional convictions. In truth, unlike his friend and disciple James Madison, Jefferson did not think primarily in constitutional categories. His major concern about the new Constitution was the absence of any bill of rights. He was less interested in defining the powers of government than in identifying those regions where government could not intrude.



Explore Thomas Jefferson's feuds with Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton and John AdamsDramatization of the disagreement between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton regarding U.S. foreign policy during the French Revolution

During his tenure as secretary of state (1790–93), foreign policy was his chief responsibility. Within the cabinet a three-pronged division soon emerged over American policy toward the European powers. While all parties embraced some version of the neutrality doctrine, the specific choices posed by the ongoing competition for supremacy in Europe between England and France produced a bitter conflict. Washington and Adams, who was serving as vice president,

insisted on complete neutrality, which in practice meant tacking back and forth between the two dominant world powers of the moment. Alexander Hamilton pushed for a pro-English version of neutrality—chiefly commercial ties with the most potent mercantile power in the world. Jefferson favored a pro-French version of neutrality, arguing that the Franco-American treaty of 1778 obliged the United States to honor past French support during the war for independence, and that the French Revolution embodied the "spirit of '76" on European soil. Even when the French Revolution spun out of control and began to devour its own partisans, Jefferson insisted that these bloody convulsions were only temporary excesses justified by the larger ideological issues at stake.

This remained his unwavering position throughout the decade. Even after he retired from office late in 1793, he issued directives from Monticello opposing the Neutrality Act (1793) and the Jay Treaty (1795) as pacts with the British harlot and betrayals of our French brethren. Serving as vice president during the Adams presidency (1797–1801), Jefferson worked behind the scenes to undermine Adams's efforts to sustain strict neutrality and blamed the outbreak of the "quasi-war" with France in 1797–98 on what he called "our American Anglophiles" rather than the French Directory. His foreign-policy vision was resolutely moralistic and highly ideological, dominated by a dichotomous view of England as a corrupt and degenerate engine of despotism and France as the enlightened wave of the future.

Jefferson's position on domestic policy during the 1790s was a variation on the same ideological dichotomy. As Hamilton began to construct his extensive financial program—to include funding the national debt, assuming the state debts, and creating a national bank—Jefferson came to regard the consolidation of power at the federal level as a diabolical plot to subvert the true meaning of the American Revolution. As Jefferson saw it, the entire Federalist commitment to an energetic central government with broad powers over the domestic economy replicated the arbitrary policies of Parliament and George III, which the American Revolution had supposedly repudiated as monarchical and aristocratic practices, incompatible with the principles of republicanism. Jefferson sincerely believed that the "principles of '76" were being betrayed by a Federalist version of the "court party," whose covert scheme was to install monarchy and a pseudo-aristocracy of bankers and "monocrats" to rule over the American yeomanry.

All the major events of the decade—the creation of a national bank, the debate over the location of a national capital, the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania, the passage of the Jay Treaty, and, most notoriously, the enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts—were viewed through this ideological lens. By the middle years of the decade two distinctive political camps had emerged, calling themselves Federalists and Republicans (later Democratic-Republicans). Not that modern-day political parties, with their mechanisms for raising money, selecting candidates, and waging election campaigns, were fully formed at this stage. (Full-blooded political parties date from the 1830s and '40s.) But an embryonic version of the party structure was congealing, and Jefferson, assisted and advised by Madison, established the rudiments of the first opposition party in American politics under the Republican banner.

The partnership between Jefferson and Madison, labeled by subsequent historians as "the great collaboration," deserves special attention. John Quincy Adams put it nicely when he observed that "the mutual influence of these two mighty minds on each other is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world." Because the notion of a legitimate opposition to the elected government did not yet exist, and because the term *party* remained an epithet that was synonymous with *faction*, meaning an organized effort to undermine the public interest, Jefferson and Madison were labeled as traitors by the Federalist press. They were, in effect, inventing a modern form of political behavior before there was any neutral vocabulary for talking about it. Jefferson's own capacity to live comfortably with contradictions served him well in this context, since he was creating and leading a political party while insisting that parties were evil agents. In 1796 he ran for the presidency against Adams, all the while claiming not to know that he was even a candidate. Most negative assessments of Jefferson's character date from this period, especially the charge of hypocrisy and duplicity.

The highly combustible political culture of the early republic reached a crescendo in the election of 1800, one of the most fiercely contested campaigns in American history. The Federalist press described Jefferson as a pagan and atheist, a treasonable conspirator against the duly elected administrations of Washington and Adams, a utopian dreamer with anarchistic tendencies toward the role of government, and a cunning behind-the-scenes

manipulator of Republican propaganda. All these charges were gross exaggerations, save the last. Always operating through intermediaries, Jefferson paid several journalists to libel Adams, his old friend but current political enemy, and offered the vice presidency to Aaron Burr in return for delivering the electoral votes of New York. In the final tally the 12 New York votes made the difference, with the tandem of Jefferson and Burr winning 73 to 65. A quirk in the Constitution, subsequently corrected in the Twelfth Amendment, prevented electors from distinguishing between their choice of president and vice president, so Jefferson and Burr tied for the top spot, even though voter preference for Jefferson was incontestable. The decision was thrown into the House of Representatives where, after several weeks of debate and backroom wheeling and dealing, Jefferson was elected on the 36th ballot.

Presidency of Thomas Jefferson

There was a good deal of nervous speculation whether the new American nation could survive a Jefferson presidency. The entire thrust of Jefferson's political position throughout the 1790s had been defiantly negative, rejecting as excessive the powers vested in the national government by the Federalists. In his Virginia Resolutions of 1798, written in protest of the Alien and Sedition Acts, he had described any projection of federal authority over the domestic policy of the states as a violation of "the spirit of '76" and therefore a justification for secession from the Union. (This became the position of the Confederacy in 1861.) His Federalist critics wondered how he could take an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States if his primary goal as president was to dismantle the federal institutions created by that very document. As he rose to deliver his inaugural address on March 4, 1801, in the still-unfinished Capitol of the equally unfinished national capital on the Potomac, the mood was apprehensive. The most rabid alarmists had already been proved wrong, since the first transfer of power from one political regime to another had occurred peacefully, even routinely. But it was still very much an open question whether, as Lincoln later put it, "any nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure" in the absence of a central government along Federalist lines.

The major message of Jefferson's inaugural address was conciliatory. Its most famous line ("We are all republicans—we are all federalists") suggested that the scatological party battles of the previous decade must cease. He described his election as a recovery of the original intentions of the American Revolution, this after the hostile takeover of those "ancient and sacred truths" by the Federalists, who had erroneously assumed that a stable American nation required a powerful central government. In Jefferson's truly distinctive and original formulation, the coherence of the American republic did not require the mechanisms of a powerful state to survive or flourish. Indeed, the health of the emerging American nation was inversely proportional to the power of the federal government, for in the end the sovereign source of republican government was voluntary popular opinion, "the people," and the latent energies these liberated individuals released when unburdened by government restrictions.

In 1804 Jefferson was easily reelected over Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, winning 162 electoral votes to Pinckney's 14. Initially, at least, his policies as president reflected his desire for decentralization, which meant dismantling the embryonic federal government, the army and navy, and all federal taxation programs, as well as placing the national debt, which stood at $112 million, on the road to extinction. These reforms enjoyed considerable success for two reasons. First, the temporary cessation of the war between England and France for European supremacy permitted American merchants to trade with both sides and produced unprecedented national prosperity. Second, in selecting Albert Gallatin as secretary of the Treasury, Jefferson placed one of the most capable managers of fiscal policy in the most strategic location. Gallatin, a Swiss-born prodigy with impeccable Republican credentials, dominated the cabinet discussions alongside Madison, the ever-loyal Jefferson disciple who served as secretary of state.

Actually there were very few cabinet discussions because Jefferson preferred to do the bulk of business within the executive branch in writing. Crafting language on the page was his most obvious talent, and he required all cabinet officers to submit drafts of their recommendations, which he then edited and returned for their comments. The same textual approach applied to his dealings with Congress. All of his annual messages were delivered in writing rather than in person. Indeed, apart from his two inaugural addresses, there is no record of

Jefferson delivering any public speeches whatsoever. In part this was a function of his notoriously inadequate abilities as an orator, but it also reflected his desire to make the office of the presidency almost invisible. His one gesture at visibility was to schedule weekly dinners when Congress was in session, which became famous for the quality of the wine, the pell-mell seating arrangements, and informal approach to etiquette—a clear defiance of European-style decorum.

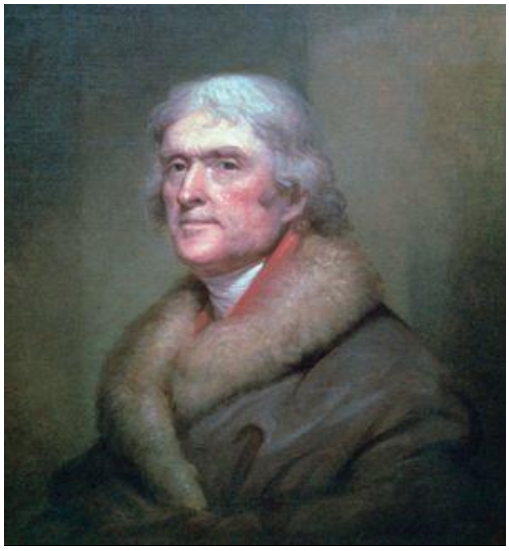
The major achievement of his first term was also an act of defiance, though this time it involved defying his own principles. In 1803 Napoleon decided to consolidate his resources for a new round of the conflict with England by selling the vast Louisiana region, which stretched from the Mississippi Valley to the Rocky Mountains. Although the asking price, $15 million, was a stupendous bargain, assuming the cost meant substantially increasing the national debt. More significantly, what became known as the Louisiana Purchase violated Jefferson's constitutional scruples. Indeed, many historians regard it as the boldest executive action in American history. But Jefferson never wavered, reasoning that the opportunity to double the national domain was too good to miss. The American West always triggered Jefferson's most visionary energies, seeing it, as he did, as America's future, the place where the simple republican principles could be constantly renewed. In one fell swoop he removed the threat of a major European power from America's borders and extended the life span of the uncluttered agrarian values he so cherished. Even before news that the purchase was approved reached the United States in July 1803, Jefferson dispatched his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to lead an expedition to explore the new acquisition and the lands beyond, all the way to the Pacific.

If the Louisiana Purchase was the crowning achievement of Jefferson's presidency, it also proved to be the high point from which events moved steadily in the other direction. Although the Federalist Party was dead as a national force, pockets of Federalist opposition still survived, especially in New England. Despite his eloquent testimonials to the need for a free press, Jefferson was outraged by the persistent attacks on his policies and character from those quarters, and he instructed the attorneys general in the recalcitrant states to seek indictments, in clear violation of his principled commitment to freedom of expression. He was equally heavy-handed in his treatment of Aaron Burr, who was tried for treason after leading a mysterious expedition into the American

Southwest allegedly designed to detach that region from the United States with Burr crowned as its benevolent dictator. The charges were never proved, but Jefferson demanded Burr's conviction despite the lack of evidence. He was overruled in the end by Chief Justice John Marshall, who sat as the judge in the trial.

But Jefferson's major disappointment had its origins in Europe with the resumption of the Napoleonic Wars, which resulted in naval blockades in the Atlantic and Caribbean that severely curtailed American trade and pressured the U.S. government to take sides in the conflict. Jefferson's response was the Embargo Act (1807), which essentially closed American ports to all foreign imports and American exports. The embargo assumed that the loss of American trade would force England and France to alter their policies, but this fond hope was always an illusion, since the embryonic American economy lacked the size to generate such influence and was itself wrecked by Jefferson's action. Moreover, the enforcement of the Embargo Act required the exercise of precisely those coercive powers by the federal government that Jefferson had previously opposed. By the time he left office in March 1809, Jefferson was a tired and beaten man, anxious to escape the consequences of his futile efforts to preserve American neutrality and eager to embrace the two-term precedent established by Washington.

Retirement of Thomas Jefferson



Rembrandt Peale: portrait of Thomas JeffersonThomas Jefferson, oil on linen by Rembrandt Peale, 1805; in the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

During the last 17 years of his life Jefferson maintained a crowded and active schedule. He rose with the dawn each day, bathed his feet in cold water, then spent the morning on his correspondence (one year he counted writing 1,268 letters) and working in his garden. Each afternoon he took a two-hour ride around his grounds. Dinner, served in the late afternoon, was usually an occasion to gather his daughter Martha and her 12 children, along with the inevitable visitors. Monticello became a veritable hotel during these years, on occasion housing 50 guests. The lack of privacy caused Jefferson to build a separate house on his Bedford estate about 90 miles (140 km) from Monticello, where he periodically fled for seclusion.

Thomas Jefferson's Monticello estate*View of the West Front of Monticello and Garden,* depicting Thomas Jefferson's grandchildren at Monticello, watercolor on paper by Jane Braddick Peticolas, 1825; at Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Three architectural projects claimed a considerable share of his attention. Throughout his life Monticello remained a work-in-progress that had the appearance of a construction site. Even during his retirement years, Jefferson's intensive efforts at completing the renovations never quite produced the masterpiece of neoclassical design he wanted to achieve and that modern-day visitors to Monticello find so compelling. A smaller but more architecturally distinctive mansion at Bedford, called Poplar Forest, was completed on schedule. It too embodied neoclassical principles but was shaped as a perfect octagon. Finally there was the campus of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, which Jefferson called his "academical village." Jefferson surveyed the site, which he could view in the distance from his mountaintop, and chose the Pantheon of Rome as the model for the rotunda, the centrepiece flanked by

two rows of living quarters for students and faculty. In 1976 the American Institute of Architects voted it "the proudest achievement of American architecture in the past 200 years." Even the "interior" design of the University of Virginia embodied Jeffersonian principles, in that he selected all the books for the library, defined the curriculum, picked the faculty, and chaired the Board of Visitors. Unlike every other American college at the time, "Mr. Jefferson's university" had no religious affiliation and imposed no religious requirement on its students. As befitted an institution shaped by a believer in wholly voluntary and consensual networks of governance, there were no curricular requirements, no mandatory code of conduct except the self-enforced honor system, no president or administration. Every aspect of life at the University of Virginia reflected Jefferson's belief that the only legitimate form of governance was self-governance.

In 1812 his vast correspondence began to include an exchange with his former friend and more recent rival John Adams. The reconciliation between the two patriarchs was arranged by their mutual friend Benjamin Rush, who described them as "the North and South poles of the American Revolution." That description suggested more than merely geographic symbolism, since Adams and Jefferson effectively, even dramatically, embodied the twin impulses of the revolutionary generation. As the "Sage of Monticello," Jefferson represented the Revolution as a clean break with the past, the rejection of all European versions of political discipline as feudal vestiges, the ingrained hostility toward all mechanisms of governmental authority that originated in faraway places. As the "Sage of Quincy (Massachusetts)," Adams resembled an American version of Edmund Burke, which meant that he attributed the success of the American Revolution to its linkage with past practices, most especially the tradition of representative government established in the colonial assemblies. He regarded the constitutional settlement of 1787–88 as a shrewd compromise with the political necessities of a nation-state exercising jurisdiction over an extensive, eventually continental, empire, not as a betrayal of the American Revolution but an evolutionary fulfillment of its promise.

These genuine differences of opinion made Adams and Jefferson the odd couple of the American Revolution and were the primary reasons why they had drifted to different sides of the divide during the party wars of the 1790s. The exchange

of 158 letters between 1812 and 1826 permitted the two sages to pose as philosopher-kings and create what is arguably the most intellectually impressive correspondence between statesmen in all of American history. Beyond the elegiac tone and almost sculpted serenity of the letters, the correspondence exposed the fundamental contradictions that the American Revolution managed to contain. As Adams so poignantly put it, "You and I ought not to die before we have explained ourselves to each other." And because of Adams's incessant prodding, Jefferson was frequently forced to clarify his mature position on the most salient issues of the era.

One issue that even Adams and Jefferson could not discuss candidly was slavery. Jefferson's mature position on that forbidden subject represented a further retreat from any leadership role in ending the "peculiar institution." In 1819, during the debate in Congress over the Missouri Compromise, he endorsed the expansion of slavery into all the western territories, precisely the opposite of the position he had taken in the 1780s. Though he continued to insist that slavery was a massive anomaly, he insisted even more strongly that it was wrong for the federal government to attempt any effort at emancipation. In fact he described any federal intrusion in the matter as a despotic act analogous to George III's imperial interference in colonial affairs or Hamilton's corrupt scheme to establish a disguised form of monarchy in the early republic. His letters to fellow Virginians during his last years reflect a conspiratorial mentality toward the national government and a clear preference for secession if threatened with any mandatory plan for abolition.

Apart from slavery, the other shadow that darkened Monticello during Jefferson's twilight years was debt. Jefferson was chronically in debt throughout most of his life, in part because of obligations inherited from his father-in-law in his wife's dowry, mostly because of his own lavish lifestyle, which never came to terms with the proverbial bottom line despite careful entries in his account books that provided him with only the illusion of control. In truth, by the 1820s the interest on his debt was compounding at a faster rate than any repayment schedule could meet. By the end, he was more than $100,000—in modern terms several million dollars—in debt. An exception was made in Virginia law to permit a lottery that Jefferson hoped would allow his heirs to retain at least a portion of his property. But the massiveness of his debt

overwhelmed all such hopes. Monticello, including land, mansion, furnishings, and the vast bulk of the enslaved population, was auctioned off the year after his death, and his surviving daughter, Martha, was forced to accept charitable contributions to sustain her family.

Before that ignominious end, which Jefferson never lived to see, he managed to sound one last triumphant note that projected his most enduring and attractive message to posterity. In late June 1826 Jefferson was asked to join the Independence Day celebrations in Washington, D.C., on the 50th anniversary of the defining event in his and the nation's life. He declined, explaining that he was in no condition to leave his mountaintop. But he mustered up one final surge of energy to draft a statement that would be read in his absence at the ceremony. He clearly intended it as his final testament. Though some of the language, like the language of the Declaration itself, was borrowed from others, here was the vintage Jeffersonian vision:

May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all,) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government.... All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of men. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others; for ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them.

Even as these words were being read in Washington, Jefferson went to his maker in his bed at Monticello at about half past noon on July 4, 1826. His last conscious words, uttered the preceding evening, were "Is it the Fourth?" Always a man given to Herculean feats of self-control, he somehow managed to time his own death to coincide with history. More remarkably, up in Quincy on that same day his old rival and friend also managed to die on schedule. John Adams passed away later in the afternoon. His last words—"Thomas Jefferson still lives"—were wrong at the moment but right for the future, since Jefferson's complex legacy was destined to become the most resonant and controversial touchstone in all of American history.

Cabinet of President Thomas Jefferson

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Thomas Jefferson.

Cabinet of President Thomas Jefferson

March 4, 1801–March 3, 1805 (Term 1)	
State	James Madison
Treasury	Samuel Dexter
	Albert Gallatin (from May 14, 1801)
War	Henry Dearborn
Navy	Benjamin Stoddert
	Robert Smith (from July 27, 1801)
Attorney General	Levi Lincoln
March 4, 1805–March 3, 1809 (Term 2)	
State	James Madison
Treasury	Albert Gallatin
War	Henry Dearborn
Navy	Robert Smith
Attorney General	John Breckinridge
	Caesar Augustus Rodney (from January 20, 1807)

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Thomas Jefferson (born April 2 [April 13, New Style], 1743, Shadwell, Virginia [U.S.]—died July 4, 1826, Monticello, Virginia, U.S.) was the draftsman of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the nation's first secretary of state (1789–94) and second vice president (1797–1801) and, as the third president (1801–09), the statesman responsible for the Louisiana Purchase. An early advocate of total separation of church and state, he also was the founder and architect of the University of Virginia and the most eloquent American proponent of individual freedom as the core meaning of the American Revolution.

Jefferson Memorial Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Long regarded as America's most distinguished "apostle of liberty," Jefferson has come under increasingly critical scrutiny within the scholarly world. At the popular level, both in the United States and abroad, he remains an incandescent icon, an inspirational symbol for both major U.S. political parties, as well as for dissenters in communist China, liberal reformers in central and eastern Europe, and aspiring democrats in Africa and Latin America. His image has suffered, however, as the focus on racial equality has prompted a more negative reappraisal of his dependence upon slavery and his conviction that American society remain a white man's domain. Especially disturbing to many were the DNA results of the 1998 study revealing that Jefferson had almost certainly fathered a child with Sally Hemings, an enslaved woman thirty years his junior and owned by him. (For more on this story, see "Tom and Sally": The Jefferson - Hemings paternity debate.) The huge gap between his lyrical expression of liberal ideals and the more attenuated reality of his own life has transformed Jefferson into America's

most problematic and paradoxical hero. The Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., was dedicated to him on April 13, 1943, the 200th anniversary of his birth.

Early years

Albermarle county, where Jefferson was born, lay in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in what was then regarded as a western province of the Old Dominion. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a self-educated surveyor who amassed a tidy estate that included 60 enslaved people. According to family lore, Jefferson's earliest memory was as a three-year-old boy "being carried on a pillow by a mounted slave" when the family moved from Shadwell to Tuckahoe. His mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson, was descended from one of the most prominent families in Virginia. She raised two sons, of whom Jefferson was the eldest, and six daughters. There is reason to believe that Jefferson's relationship with his mother was strained, especially after his father died in 1757, because he did everything he could to escape her supervision and had almost nothing to say about her in his memoirs. He boarded with the local schoolmaster to learn his Latin and Greek until 1760, when he entered the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg.

By all accounts he was an obsessive student, often spending 15 hours of the day with his books, 3 hours practicing his violin, and the remaining 6 hours eating and sleeping. The two chief influences on his learning were William Small, a Scottish-born teacher of mathematics and science, and George Wythe, the leading legal scholar in Virginia. From them Jefferson learned a keen appreciation of supportive mentors, a concept he later institutionalized at the University of Virginia. He read law with Wythe from 1762 to 1767, then left Williamsburg to practice, mostly representing small-scale planters from the western counties in cases involving land claims and titles. Although he handled no landmark cases and came across as a nervous and somewhat indifferent speaker before the bench, he earned a reputation as a formidable legal scholar. He was a shy and extremely serious young man.

MonticelloMonticello, near Charlottesville, Virginia.

In 1768 he made two important decisions: first, to build his own home atop an 867-foot- (264-meter-) high mountain near Shadwell that he eventually named Monticello and, second, to stand as a candidate for the House of Burgesses. These decisions nicely embodied the two competing impulses that would persist throughout his life—namely, to combine an active career in politics with periodic seclusion in his own private haven. His political timing was also impeccable, for he entered the Virginia legislature just as opposition to the taxation policies of the British Parliament was congealing. Although he made few speeches and tended to follow the lead of the Tidewater elite, his support for resolutions opposing Parliament's authority over the colonies was resolute.

In the early 1770s his own character was also congealing. In 1772 he married Martha Wayles Skelton (Martha Jefferson), an attractive and delicate young widow whose dowry more than doubled his holdings in land and enslaved people. In 1774 he wrote *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, which was quickly published, though without his permission, and catapulted him into visibility beyond Virginia as an early advocate of American independence from Parliament's authority; the American colonies were tied to Great Britain, he believed, only by wholly voluntary bonds of loyalty to the king.

His reputation thus enhanced, the Virginia legislature appointed him a delegate to the Second Continental Congress in the spring of 1775. He rode into Philadelphia—and into American history—on June 20, 1775, a tall (slightly above 6 feet 2 inches [1.88 meters]) and gangly young man with reddish blond hair, hazel

eyes, a burnished complexion, and rock-ribbed certainty about the American cause. In retrospect, the central paradox of his life was also on display, for the man who the following year was to craft the most famous manifesto for human equality in world history arrived in an ornate carriage drawn by four handsome horses and accompanied by three enslaved people.

At a Glance

Jefferson Presidency

Declaring independence

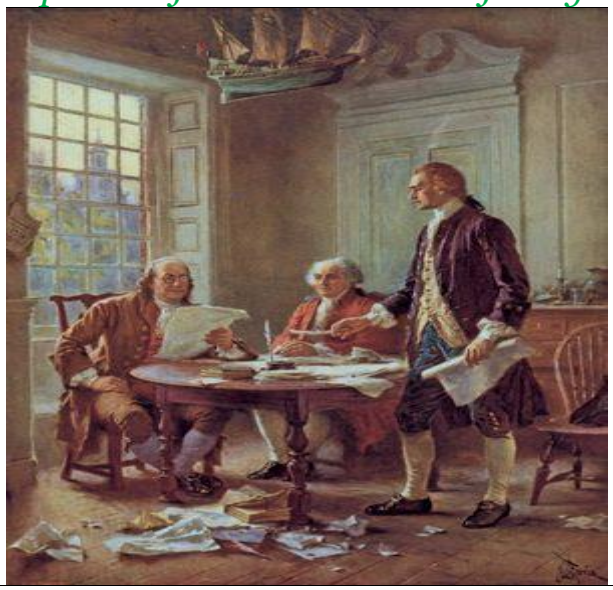
John Trumbull: *Declaration of Independence*Declaration of Independence, oil on canvas by John Trumbull, 1818; in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C.

How the Declaration of Independence was writtenDramatization of events surrounding the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, which was written by Thomas Jefferson and approved by the Continental Congress and signed on July 4, 1776.

See all videos for this article

Jefferson's inveterate shyness prevented him from playing a significant role in the debates within the Congress. John Adams, a leader in those debates, remembered that Jefferson was silent even in committee meetings, though consistently staunch in his support for independence. His chief role was as a draftsman of resolutions. In that capacity, on June 11, 1776, he was appointed to a five-person committee, which also included Adams and Benjamin Franklin, to draft a formal statement of the reasons why a break with Great Britain was justified. Adams asked him to prepare the first draft, which he did within a few days. He later claimed that he was not striving for "originality of principle or sentiment," only seeking to provide "an expression of the American mind"; that is, putting into words those ideas already accepted by a majority of Americans. This accurately describes the longest section of the Declaration of Independence, which lists the grievances against George III. It does not, however, describe the following 55 words, which are generally regarded as the seminal statement of American political culture:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.



Declaration of Independence(From left to right) Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson discussing a draft of the Declaration of Independence, 1776.

On July 3–4 the Congress debated and edited Jefferson's draft, deleting and revising fully one-fifth of the text. But they made no changes whatsoever in this passage, which over succeeding generations became the lyrical sanction for every liberal movement in American history. At the time, Jefferson himself was disconsolate that the Congress had seen fit to make any changes in his language. Nevertheless, he was not regarded by his contemporaries as the author of the Declaration, which was seen as a collective effort by the entire Congress. Indeed, he was not known by most Americans as the principal author until the 1790s.

He returned to Virginia in October 1776 and immediately launched an extensive project for the reform of the state's legal code to bring it in line with the principles of the American Revolution. Three areas of reform suggest the arc of his political vision: first, he sought and secured abolition of primogeniture, entail, and all those remnants of feudalism that discouraged a broad distribution of property; second, he proposed a comprehensive plan of educational reform designed to assure access at the lowest level for all citizens and state support at the higher levels for the most talented; third, he advocated a law prohibiting any religious establishment and requiring complete separation of church and state. The last two proposals were bitterly contested, especially the statute for religious freedom, which was not enacted until 1786.

Taken together, these legal reforms capture the essence of Jefferson's political philosophy, which was less a comprehensive body of thought than a visionary prescription. He regarded the past as a "dead hand" of encrusted privileges and impediments that must be cast off to permit the natural energies of individual citizens to flow freely. The American Revolution, as he saw it, was the first shot in what would eventually became a global battle for human liberation from despotic institutions and all coercive versions of government.

At the end of what was probably the most creative phase of his public career, personal misfortune struck in two successive episodes. Elected governor of Virginia in 1779, he was caught off-guard by a surprise British invasion in 1780 against which the state was defenseless. His flight from approaching British troops was described in the local press, somewhat unfairly, as a cowardly act of abdication. (Critics would recall this awkward moment throughout the remainder of his long career.) Then, in September 1782, his wife died after a difficult

delivery in May of their third daughter. These two disasters caused him to vow that he would never again desert his family for his country.

American in Paris

Listen to Thomas Jefferson muse the differences between the American Revolution and the French Revolution Dramatization of events surrounding Thomas Jefferson's tenure as the U.S. minister to France

The vow was sincere but short-lived. Jefferson agreed, albeit reluctantly, to serve as a delegate to the Continental Congress in December 1782, where his major contribution was to set forth the principle that territories in the West should not be treated as colonies but rather should enter the Union with status equal to the original states once certain conditions were met. Then, in 1784, recognizing the need to escape the memories of Martha that haunted the hallways at Monticello, he agreed to replace Franklin as American minister to France; or, as legend tells the story, he agreed to succeed Franklin, noting that no one could replace him.

During his five-year sojourn in Paris, Jefferson accomplished very little in any official sense. Several intractable conditions rendered his best diplomatic efforts futile: the United States was heavily in debt owing to the recent war, so few European nations were interested in signing treaties of amity and commerce with the infant American republic; the federal government created under the Articles of Confederation was notoriously weak, so clear foreign policy directives proved impossible; Great Britain already enjoyed a monopoly, controlling more than 80 percent of America's foreign trade, so it had no incentive to negotiate commercial treaties on less favorable terms; and France was drifting toward a cataclysmic political crisis of its own, so relations with the upstart new nation across the Atlantic were hardly a high priority.

As a result, Jefferson's diplomatic overtures to establish a market for American tobacco and to reopen French ports to whale oil produced meager results, his efforts to create an alliance of American and European powers to contest the terrorism of the Barbary pirates proved stillborn, and his vision of open markets for all nations, a world without tariffs, seemed excessively visionary. His only significant achievement was the negotiation of a $400,000 loan from Dutch bankers that allowed the American government to consolidate its European debts, but even that piece of diplomacy was conducted primarily by John Adams, then serving as American minister to the Court of St. James's in London.

Thomas Jefferson: memorandum to Mr. Short, 1788Memorandum from Thomas Jefferson to his private secretary, Mr. Short, requesting the purchase of wines and a pasta mold, Paris, 1788.

But the Paris years were important to Jefferson for personal reasons and are important to biographers and historians for the new light they shed on his famously elusive personality. The dominant pattern would seem to be the capacity to live comfortably with contradiction. For example, he immersed himself

wholeheartedly in the art, architecture, wine, and food of Parisian society but warned all prospective American tourists to remain in America so as to avoid the avarice, luxury, and sheer sinfulness of European fleshpots. He made a point of bringing along his elder daughter, Martha (called Patsy as a girl), and later sent for his younger daughter, Maria (called Polly), all as part of his genuine devotion as a single parent. But he then placed both daughters in a convent, wrote them stern lecturelike letters about proper female etiquette, and enforced a patriarchal distance that was in practice completely at odds with his theoretical commitment to intimacy.

With women in general his letters convey a message of conspicuous gallantry, playfully flirtatious in the manner of a male coquette. The most self-revealing letter he ever wrote, "a dialogue between the head and the heart," was sent to Maria Cosway, an Anglo-Italian beauty who left him utterly infatuated. Jefferson and Cosway, who was married to a prominent if somewhat degenerate English miniaturist, spent several months in a romantic haze, touring Parisian gardens, museums, and art shows together, but whether Jefferson's head or heart prevailed, either in the letter or in life, is impossible to know. Meanwhile, there is considerable evidence to suggest, but not to prove conclusively, that Jefferson initiated a sexual liaison with Sally Hemings, a young enslaved woman of mixed ancestry owned by him, in 1788, about the time his torrid affair with Cosway cooled down—this despite his public statements denouncing Black people as biologically inferior and sexual relations between the races as taboo.

During the latter stages of Jefferson's stay in Paris, Louis XVI, the French king, was forced to convene the Assembly of Notables in Versailles to deal with France's deep financial crisis. Jefferson initially regarded the assembly as a French version of the Constitutional Convention, then meeting in Philadelphia. Much influenced by moderate leaders such as the Marquis de Lafayette, he expected the French Revolution to remain a bloodless affair that would culminate in a revised French government, probably a constitutional monarchy along English lines. He remained oblivious to the resentments and volatile energies pent up within French society that were about to explode in the Reign of Terror, mostly because he thought the French Revolution would follow the American model. He was fortunate to depart France late in 1789, just at the onset of mob violence.

Slavery and racism of Thomas Jefferson

Silhouette of Thomas JeffersonThomas Jefferson, silhouette ink drawing by John Marshal, between 1800 and 1830.

Even before his departure from France, Jefferson had overseen the publication of *Notes on the State of Virginia*. This book, the only one Jefferson ever published, was part travel guide, part scientific treatise, and part philosophical meditation. Jefferson had written it in the fall of 1781 and had agreed to a French edition only after learning that an unauthorized version was already in press. *Notes* contained an extensive discussion of slavery, including a graphic description of its horrific effects on both Black and white people, a strong assertion that it violated the principles on which the American Revolution was based, and an apocalyptic prediction that failure to end slavery would lead to "convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race." It also contained the most explicit assessment that Jefferson ever wrote of what he believed were the biological differences between Black people

and white people, an assessment that exposed the deep-rooted racism that he, like most Americans and almost all Virginians of his day, harbored throughout his life.

How the Whitney Plantation teaches the history of slaveryMuseum director Ashley Rogers explains how the Whitney Plantation became the only former plantation site in Louisiana with an exclusive focus on slavery.

To his critics in later generations, Jefferson's views on race seemed particularly virulent because of his purported relationship with Sally Hemings, who bore several children obviously fathered by a white man and some of whom had features resembling those of Jefferson. The public assertion of this relationship was originally made in 1802 by a disreputable journalist interested in injuring Jefferson's political career. His claim was corroborated, however, by one of Hemings's children in an 1873 newspaper interview and then again in a 1968 book by Winthrop Jordan revealing that Hemings became pregnant only when Jefferson was present at Monticello. Finally, in 1998, DNA samples were gathered from living descendants of Jefferson and Hemings. Tests revealed that Jefferson was almost certainly the father of some of Hemings's children. What remained unclear was the character of the relationship—consensual or coercive, a matter of love or rape, or a mutually satisfactory arrangement. Jefferson's admirers preferred to consider it a love affair and to see Jefferson and Hemings as America's preeminent biracial couple. His critics, on the other hand,

considered Jefferson a sexual predator whose eloquent statements about human freedom and equality were hypocritical.

In any case, coming as it did at the midpoint of Jefferson's career, the publication of *Notes* affords the opportunity to review Jefferson's previous and subsequent positions on the most volatile and therefore most forbidden topic in the revolutionary era. Early in his career Jefferson had taken a leadership role in pushing slavery onto the political agenda in the Virginia assembly and the federal Congress. In the 1760s and '70s, like most Virginia planters, he endorsed the end of the slave trade. (Virginia's plantations were already well stocked with enslaved people, so ending the slave trade posed no economic threat and even enhanced the value of the existent enslaved population.) In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he included a passage, subsequently deleted by the Continental Congress, blaming both the slave trade and slavery itself on George III. Unlike most of his fellow Virginians, Jefferson was prepared to acknowledge that slavery was an anomaly in the American republic established in 1776. His two most practical proposals came in the early 1780s: a gradual emancipation scheme by which all enslaved people born after 1800 would be freed and their owners compensated, and a prohibition of slavery in all the territories of the West as a condition for admission to the Union. By the time of the publication of *Notes*, then, Jefferson's record on slavery placed him among the most progressive elements of southern society. Rather than ask how he could possibly tolerate the persistence of slavery, it is more historically correct to wonder how this member of Virginia's planter class had managed to develop such liberal convictions.

Dating the onset of a long silence is inevitably an imprecise business, but by the time of his return to the United States in 1789 Jefferson had backed away from a leadership position on slavery. The ringing denunciations of slavery presented in *Notes* had generated controversy, especially within the planter class of Virginia, and Jefferson's deep aversion to controversy made him withdraw from the cutting edge of the antislavery movement once he experienced the sharp feelings it aroused. Moreover, the very logic of his argument in *Notes* exposed the inherent intractability of his position. Although he believed that slavery was a gross violation of the principles celebrated in the Declaration of Independence, he also believed that people of African descent were biologically inferior to whites and could never live alongside whites in peace and harmony. They would

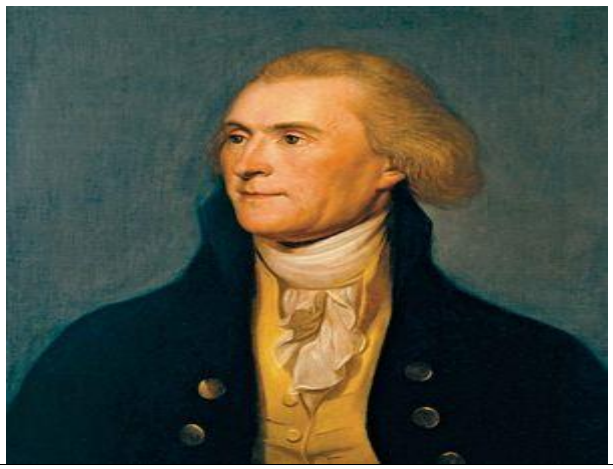
have to be transported elsewhere, back to Africa or perhaps the Caribbean, after emancipation. Because such a massive deportation was a logistical and economic impossibility, the unavoidable conclusion was that, though slavery was wrong, ending it, at least at present, was inconceivable. That became Jefferson's public position throughout the remainder of his life.

(Read mathematician and almanac-maker Benjamin Banneker's 1791 letter to Thomas Jefferson. Banneker was the only Black man to directly challenge Jefferson's views on Black intellect during Jefferson's lifetime.)

It also shaped his personal posture as a slave owner. Jefferson owned, on average, about 200 enslaved people at any point in time, and slightly over 600 over his lifetime. To protect himself from facing the reality of his problematic status as plantation master, he constructed a paternalistic self-image as a benevolent father caring for what he called "my family." Believing that he and his slaves were the victims of history's failure to proceed along the enlightened path, he saw himself as the steward for those entrusted to his care until a better future arrived for them all. In the meantime, his own lavish lifestyle and all the incessant and expensive renovations of his Monticello mansion were wholly dependent on slave labor. Whatever silent thoughts he might have harbored about freeing his slaves never found their way into the record. (He freed only five enslaved people, all members of the Hemings family.) His mounting indebtedness rendered all such thoughts superfluous toward the end, because his slaves, like all his possessions, were mortgaged to his creditors and therefore not really his to free.

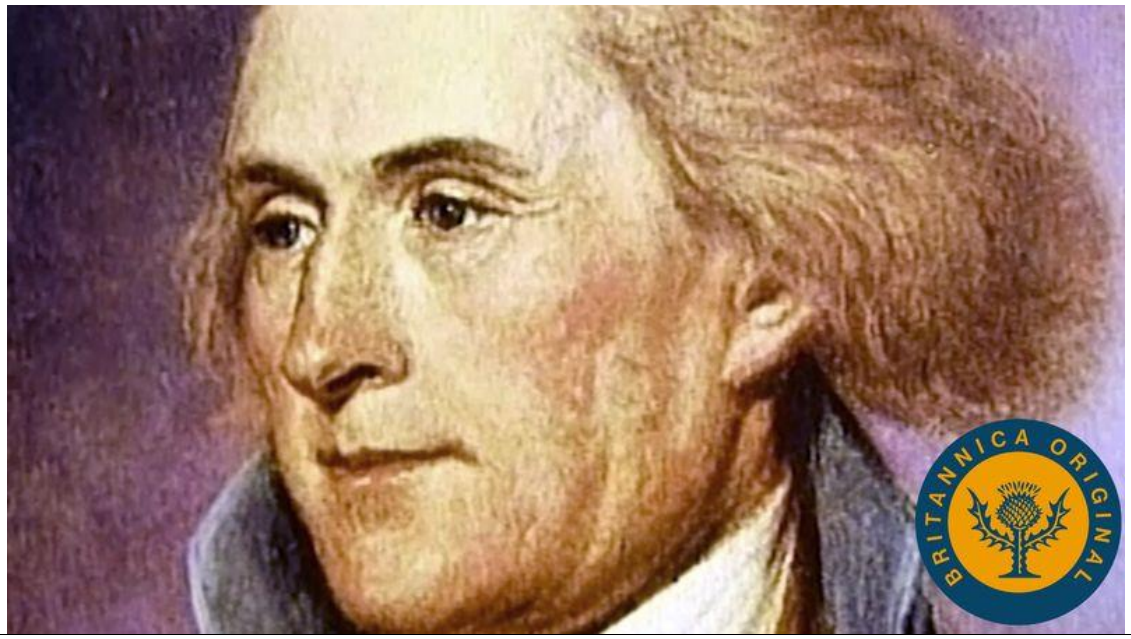
Party Politics of Thomas Jefferson

Party Politics of Thomas Jefferson



Thomas JeffersonPortrait of Thomas Jefferson, oil on canvas by Charles Willson Peale, 1790s.

Jefferson returned to the United States in 1789 to serve as the first secretary of state under President George Washington. He was entering the most uncharted waters in American history. There had never been an enduring republican government in a nation as large as the United States, and no one was sure if it was possible or how it would work. The Constitution ratified in 1788 was still a work-in-progress, less a blueprint that provided answers than a framework for arguing about the salient questions. And because Jefferson had been serving in France when the constitutional battles of 1787–88 were waged in Philadelphia and then in the state ratifying conventions, he entered the volatile debates of the 1790s without a clear track record of his constitutional convictions. In truth, unlike his friend and disciple James Madison, Jefferson did not think primarily in constitutional categories. His major concern about the new Constitution was the absence of any bill of rights. He was less interested in defining the powers of government than in identifying those regions where government could not intrude.



Explore Thomas Jefferson's feuds with Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton and John AdamsDramatization of the disagreement between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton regarding U.S. foreign policy during the French Revolution

During his tenure as secretary of state (1790–93), foreign policy was his chief responsibility. Within the cabinet a three-pronged division soon emerged over American policy toward the European powers. While all parties embraced some version of the neutrality doctrine, the specific choices posed by the ongoing competition for supremacy in Europe between England and France produced a bitter conflict. Washington and Adams, who was serving as vice president,

insisted on complete neutrality, which in practice meant tacking back and forth between the two dominant world powers of the moment. Alexander Hamilton pushed for a pro-English version of neutrality—chiefly commercial ties with the most potent mercantile power in the world. Jefferson favored a pro-French version of neutrality, arguing that the Franco-American treaty of 1778 obliged the United States to honor past French support during the war for independence, and that the French Revolution embodied the "spirit of '76" on European soil. Even when the French Revolution spun out of control and began to devour its own partisans, Jefferson insisted that these bloody convulsions were only temporary excesses justified by the larger ideological issues at stake.

This remained his unwavering position throughout the decade. Even after he retired from office late in 1793, he issued directives from Monticello opposing the Neutrality Act (1793) and the Jay Treaty (1795) as pacts with the British harlot and betrayals of our French brethren. Serving as vice president during the Adams presidency (1797–1801), Jefferson worked behind the scenes to undermine Adams's efforts to sustain strict neutrality and blamed the outbreak of the "quasi-war" with France in 1797–98 on what he called "our American Anglophiles" rather than the French Directory. His foreign-policy vision was resolutely moralistic and highly ideological, dominated by a dichotomous view of England as a corrupt and degenerate engine of despotism and France as the enlightened wave of the future.

Jefferson's position on domestic policy during the 1790s was a variation on the same ideological dichotomy. As Hamilton began to construct his extensive financial program—to include funding the national debt, assuming the state debts, and creating a national bank—Jefferson came to regard the consolidation of power at the federal level as a diabolical plot to subvert the true meaning of the American Revolution. As Jefferson saw it, the entire Federalist commitment to an energetic central government with broad powers over the domestic economy replicated the arbitrary policies of Parliament and George III, which the American Revolution had supposedly repudiated as monarchical and aristocratic practices, incompatible with the principles of republicanism. Jefferson sincerely believed that the "principles of '76" were being betrayed by a Federalist version of the "court party," whose covert scheme was to install monarchy and a pseudo-aristocracy of bankers and "monocrats" to rule over the American yeomanry.

All the major events of the decade—the creation of a national bank, the debate over the location of a national capital, the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania, the passage of the Jay Treaty, and, most notoriously, the enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts—were viewed through this ideological lens. By the middle years of the decade two distinctive political camps had emerged, calling themselves Federalists and Republicans (later Democratic-Republicans). Not that modern-day political parties, with their mechanisms for raising money, selecting candidates, and waging election campaigns, were fully formed at this stage. (Full-blooded political parties date from the 1830s and '40s.) But an embryonic version of the party structure was congealing, and Jefferson, assisted and advised by Madison, established the rudiments of the first opposition party in American politics under the Republican banner.

The partnership between Jefferson and Madison, labeled by subsequent historians as "the great collaboration," deserves special attention. John Quincy Adams put it nicely when he observed that "the mutual influence of these two mighty minds on each other is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world." Because the notion of a legitimate opposition to the elected government did not yet exist, and because the term *party* remained an epithet that was synonymous with *faction*, meaning an organized effort to undermine the public interest, Jefferson and Madison were labeled as traitors by the Federalist press. They were, in effect, inventing a modern form of political behavior before there was any neutral vocabulary for talking about it. Jefferson's own capacity to live comfortably with contradictions served him well in this context, since he was creating and leading a political party while insisting that parties were evil agents. In 1796 he ran for the presidency against Adams, all the while claiming not to know that he was even a candidate. Most negative assessments of Jefferson's character date from this period, especially the charge of hypocrisy and duplicity.

The highly combustible political culture of the early republic reached a crescendo in the election of 1800, one of the most fiercely contested campaigns in American history. The Federalist press described Jefferson as a pagan and atheist, a treasonable conspirator against the duly elected administrations of Washington and Adams, a utopian dreamer with anarchistic tendencies toward the role of government, and a cunning behind-the-scenes

manipulator of Republican propaganda. All these charges were gross exaggerations, save the last. Always operating through intermediaries, Jefferson paid several journalists to libel Adams, his old friend but current political enemy, and offered the vice presidency to Aaron Burr in return for delivering the electoral votes of New York. In the final tally the 12 New York votes made the difference, with the tandem of Jefferson and Burr winning 73 to 65. A quirk in the Constitution, subsequently corrected in the Twelfth Amendment, prevented electors from distinguishing between their choice of president and vice president, so Jefferson and Burr tied for the top spot, even though voter preference for Jefferson was incontestable. The decision was thrown into the House of Representatives where, after several weeks of debate and backroom wheeling and dealing, Jefferson was elected on the 36th ballot.

Presidency of Thomas Jefferson

There was a good deal of nervous speculation whether the new American nation could survive a Jefferson presidency. The entire thrust of Jefferson's political position throughout the 1790s had been defiantly negative, rejecting as excessive the powers vested in the national government by the Federalists. In his Virginia Resolutions of 1798, written in protest of the Alien and Sedition Acts, he had described any projection of federal authority over the domestic policy of the states as a violation of "the spirit of '76" and therefore a justification for secession from the Union. (This became the position of the Confederacy in 1861.) His Federalist critics wondered how he could take an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States if his primary goal as president was to dismantle the federal institutions created by that very document. As he rose to deliver his inaugural address on March 4, 1801, in the still-unfinished Capitol of the equally unfinished national capital on the Potomac, the mood was apprehensive. The most rabid alarmists had already been proved wrong, since the first transfer of power from one political regime to another had occurred peacefully, even routinely. But it was still very much an open question whether, as Lincoln later put it, "any nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure" in the absence of a central government along Federalist lines.

The major message of Jefferson's inaugural address was conciliatory. Its most famous line ("We are all republicans—we are all federalists") suggested that the scatological party battles of the previous decade must cease. He described his election as a recovery of the original intentions of the American Revolution, this after the hostile takeover of those "ancient and sacred truths" by the Federalists, who had erroneously assumed that a stable American nation required a powerful central government. In Jefferson's truly distinctive and original formulation, the coherence of the American republic did not require the mechanisms of a powerful state to survive or flourish. Indeed, the health of the emerging American nation was inversely proportional to the power of the federal government, for in the end the sovereign source of republican government was voluntary popular opinion, "the people," and the latent energies these liberated individuals released when unburdened by government restrictions.

In 1804 Jefferson was easily reelected over Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, winning 162 electoral votes to Pinckney's 14. Initially, at least, his policies as president reflected his desire for decentralization, which meant dismantling the embryonic federal government, the army and navy, and all federal taxation programs, as well as placing the national debt, which stood at $112 million, on the road to extinction. These reforms enjoyed considerable success for two reasons. First, the temporary cessation of the war between England and France for European supremacy permitted American merchants to trade with both sides and produced unprecedented national prosperity. Second, in selecting Albert Gallatin as secretary of the Treasury, Jefferson placed one of the most capable managers of fiscal policy in the most strategic location. Gallatin, a Swiss-born prodigy with impeccable Republican credentials, dominated the cabinet discussions alongside Madison, the ever-loyal Jefferson disciple who served as secretary of state.

Actually there were very few cabinet discussions because Jefferson preferred to do the bulk of business within the executive branch in writing. Crafting language on the page was his most obvious talent, and he required all cabinet officers to submit drafts of their recommendations, which he then edited and returned for their comments. The same textual approach applied to his dealings with Congress. All of his annual messages were delivered in writing rather than in person. Indeed, apart from his two inaugural addresses, there is no record of

Jefferson delivering any public speeches whatsoever. In part this was a function of his notoriously inadequate abilities as an orator, but it also reflected his desire to make the office of the presidency almost invisible. His one gesture at visibility was to schedule weekly dinners when Congress was in session, which became famous for the quality of the wine, the pell-mell seating arrangements, and informal approach to etiquette—a clear defiance of European-style decorum.

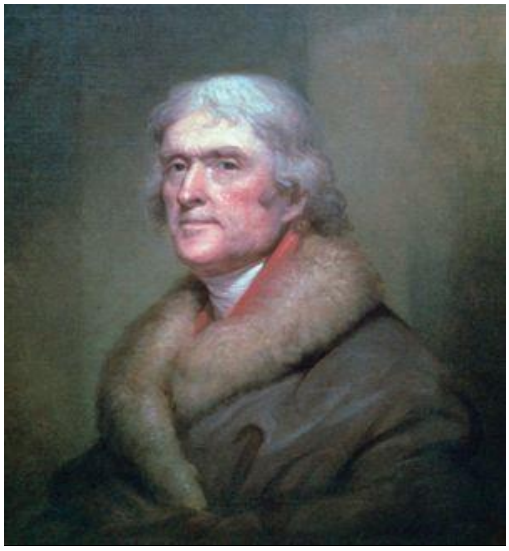
The major achievement of his first term was also an act of defiance, though this time it involved defying his own principles. In 1803 Napoleon decided to consolidate his resources for a new round of the conflict with England by selling the vast Louisiana region, which stretched from the Mississippi Valley to the Rocky Mountains. Although the asking price, $15 million, was a stupendous bargain, assuming the cost meant substantially increasing the national debt. More significantly, what became known as the Louisiana Purchase violated Jefferson's constitutional scruples. Indeed, many historians regard it as the boldest executive action in American history. But Jefferson never wavered, reasoning that the opportunity to double the national domain was too good to miss. The American West always triggered Jefferson's most visionary energies, seeing it, as he did, as America's future, the place where the simple republican principles could be constantly renewed. In one fell swoop he removed the threat of a major European power from America's borders and extended the life span of the uncluttered agrarian values he so cherished. Even before news that the purchase was approved reached the United States in July 1803, Jefferson dispatched his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to lead an expedition to explore the new acquisition and the lands beyond, all the way to the Pacific.

If the Louisiana Purchase was the crowning achievement of Jefferson's presidency, it also proved to be the high point from which events moved steadily in the other direction. Although the Federalist Party was dead as a national force, pockets of Federalist opposition still survived, especially in New England. Despite his eloquent testimonials to the need for a free press, Jefferson was outraged by the persistent attacks on his policies and character from those quarters, and he instructed the attorneys general in the recalcitrant states to seek indictments, in clear violation of his principled commitment to freedom of expression. He was equally heavy-handed in his treatment of Aaron Burr, who was tried for treason after leading a mysterious expedition into the American

Southwest allegedly designed to detach that region from the United States with Burr crowned as its benevolent dictator. The charges were never proved, but Jefferson demanded Burr's conviction despite the lack of evidence. He was overruled in the end by Chief Justice John Marshall, who sat as the judge in the trial.

But Jefferson's major disappointment had its origins in Europe with the resumption of the Napoleonic Wars, which resulted in naval blockades in the Atlantic and Caribbean that severely curtailed American trade and pressured the U.S. government to take sides in the conflict. Jefferson's response was the Embargo Act (1807), which essentially closed American ports to all foreign imports and American exports. The embargo assumed that the loss of American trade would force England and France to alter their policies, but this fond hope was always an illusion, since the embryonic American economy lacked the size to generate such influence and was itself wrecked by Jefferson's action. Moreover, the enforcement of the Embargo Act required the exercise of precisely those coercive powers by the federal government that Jefferson had previously opposed. By the time he left office in March 1809, Jefferson was a tired and beaten man, anxious to escape the consequences of his futile efforts to preserve American neutrality and eager to embrace the two-term precedent established by Washington.

Retirement of Thomas Jefferson



Rembrandt Peale: portrait of Thomas JeffersonThomas Jefferson, oil on linen by Rembrandt Peale, 1805; in the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

During the last 17 years of his life Jefferson maintained a crowded and active schedule. He rose with the dawn each day, bathed his feet in cold water, then spent the morning on his correspondence (one year he counted writing 1,268 letters) and working in his garden. Each afternoon he took a two-hour ride around his grounds. Dinner, served in the late afternoon, was usually an occasion to gather his daughter Martha and her 12 children, along with the inevitable visitors. Monticello became a veritable hotel during these years, on occasion housing 50 guests. The lack of privacy caused Jefferson to build a separate house on his Bedford estate about 90 miles (140 km) from Monticello, where he periodically fled for seclusion.

Thomas Jefferson's Monticello estate*View of the West Front of Monticello and Garden,* depicting Thomas Jefferson's grandchildren at Monticello, watercolor on paper by Jane Braddick Peticolas, 1825; at Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Three architectural projects claimed a considerable share of his attention. Throughout his life Monticello remained a work-in-progress that had the appearance of a construction site. Even during his retirement years, Jefferson's intensive efforts at completing the renovations never quite produced the masterpiece of neoclassical design he wanted to achieve and that modern-day visitors to Monticello find so compelling. A smaller but more architecturally distinctive mansion at Bedford, called Poplar Forest, was completed on schedule. It too embodied neoclassical principles but was shaped as a perfect octagon. Finally there was the campus of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, which Jefferson called his "academical village." Jefferson surveyed the site, which he could view in the distance from his mountaintop, and chose the Pantheon of Rome as the model for the rotunda, the centrepiece flanked by

two rows of living quarters for students and faculty. In 1976 the American Institute of Architects voted it "the proudest achievement of American architecture in the past 200 years." Even the "interior" design of the University of Virginia embodied Jeffersonian principles, in that he selected all the books for the library, defined the curriculum, picked the faculty, and chaired the Board of Visitors. Unlike every other American college at the time, "Mr. Jefferson's university" had no religious affiliation and imposed no religious requirement on its students. As befitted an institution shaped by a believer in wholly voluntary and consensual networks of governance, there were no curricular requirements, no mandatory code of conduct except the self-enforced honor system, no president or administration. Every aspect of life at the University of Virginia reflected Jefferson's belief that the only legitimate form of governance was self-governance.

In 1812 his vast correspondence began to include an exchange with his former friend and more recent rival John Adams. The reconciliation between the two patriarchs was arranged by their mutual friend Benjamin Rush, who described them as "the North and South poles of the American Revolution." That description suggested more than merely geographic symbolism, since Adams and Jefferson effectively, even dramatically, embodied the twin impulses of the revolutionary generation. As the "Sage of Monticello," Jefferson represented the Revolution as a clean break with the past, the rejection of all European versions of political discipline as feudal vestiges, the ingrained hostility toward all mechanisms of governmental authority that originated in faraway places. As the "Sage of Quincy (Massachusetts)," Adams resembled an American version of Edmund Burke, which meant that he attributed the success of the American Revolution to its linkage with past practices, most especially the tradition of representative government established in the colonial assemblies. He regarded the constitutional settlement of 1787–88 as a shrewd compromise with the political necessities of a nation-state exercising jurisdiction over an extensive, eventually continental, empire, not as a betrayal of the American Revolution but an evolutionary fulfillment of its promise.

These genuine differences of opinion made Adams and Jefferson the odd couple of the American Revolution and were the primary reasons why they had drifted to different sides of the divide during the party wars of the 1790s. The exchange

of 158 letters between 1812 and 1826 permitted the two sages to pose as philosopher-kings and create what is arguably the most intellectually impressive correspondence between statesmen in all of American history. Beyond the elegiac tone and almost sculpted serenity of the letters, the correspondence exposed the fundamental contradictions that the American Revolution managed to contain. As Adams so poignantly put it, "You and I ought not to die before we have explained ourselves to each other." And because of Adams's incessant prodding, Jefferson was frequently forced to clarify his mature position on the most salient issues of the era.

One issue that even Adams and Jefferson could not discuss candidly was slavery. Jefferson's mature position on that forbidden subject represented a further retreat from any leadership role in ending the "peculiar institution." In 1819, during the debate in Congress over the Missouri Compromise, he endorsed the expansion of slavery into all the western territories, precisely the opposite of the position he had taken in the 1780s. Though he continued to insist that slavery was a massive anomaly, he insisted even more strongly that it was wrong for the federal government to attempt any effort at emancipation. In fact he described any federal intrusion in the matter as a despotic act analogous to George III's imperial interference in colonial affairs or Hamilton's corrupt scheme to establish a disguised form of monarchy in the early republic. His letters to fellow Virginians during his last years reflect a conspiratorial mentality toward the national government and a clear preference for secession if threatened with any mandatory plan for abolition.

Apart from slavery, the other shadow that darkened Monticello during Jefferson's twilight years was debt. Jefferson was chronically in debt throughout most of his life, in part because of obligations inherited from his father-in-law in his wife's dowry, mostly because of his own lavish lifestyle, which never came to terms with the proverbial bottom line despite careful entries in his account books that provided him with only the illusion of control. In truth, by the 1820s the interest on his debt was compounding at a faster rate than any repayment schedule could meet. By the end, he was more than $100,000—in modern terms several million dollars—in debt. An exception was made in Virginia law to permit a lottery that Jefferson hoped would allow his heirs to retain at least a portion of his property. But the massiveness of his debt

overwhelmed all such hopes. Monticello, including land, mansion, furnishings, and the vast bulk of the enslaved population, was auctioned off the year after his death, and his surviving daughter, Martha, was forced to accept charitable contributions to sustain her family.

Before that ignominious end, which Jefferson never lived to see, he managed to sound one last triumphant note that projected his most enduring and attractive message to posterity. In late June 1826 Jefferson was asked to join the Independence Day celebrations in Washington, D.C., on the 50th anniversary of the defining event in his and the nation's life. He declined, explaining that he was in no condition to leave his mountaintop. But he mustered up one final surge of energy to draft a statement that would be read in his absence at the ceremony. He clearly intended it as his final testament. Though some of the language, like the language of the Declaration itself, was borrowed from others, here was the vintage Jeffersonian vision:

May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all,) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government.... All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of men. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others; for ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them.

Even as these words were being read in Washington, Jefferson went to his maker in his bed at Monticello at about half past noon on July 4, 1826. His last conscious words, uttered the preceding evening, were "Is it the Fourth?" Always a man given to Herculean feats of self-control, he somehow managed to time his own death to coincide with history. More remarkably, up in Quincy on that same day his old rival and friend also managed to die on schedule. John Adams passed away later in the afternoon. His last words—"Thomas Jefferson still lives"—were wrong at the moment but right for the future, since Jefferson's complex legacy was destined to become the most resonant and controversial touchstone in all of American history.

Cabinet of President Thomas Jefferson

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Thomas Jefferson.

Cabinet of President Thomas Jefferson

March 4, 1801–March 3, 1805 (Term 1)	
State	James Madison
Treasury	Samuel Dexter
	Albert Gallatin (from May 14, 1801)
War	Henry Dearborn
Navy	Benjamin Stoddert
	Robert Smith (from July 27, 1801)
Attorney General	Levi Lincoln
March 4, 1805–March 3, 1809 (Term 2)	
State	James Madison
Treasury	Albert Gallatin
War	Henry Dearborn
Navy	Robert Smith
Attorney General	John Breckinridge
	Caesar Augustus Rodney (from January 20, 1807)

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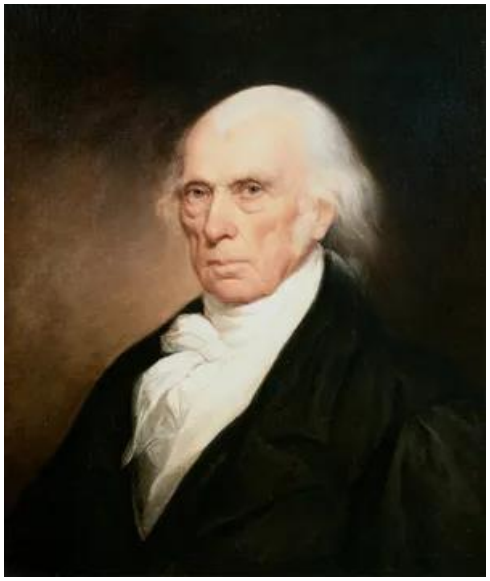


James Madison

4th President of the United States

[4 March 1809 <::> 4 March 1817]

Please visit:

01] https://millercenter.org/president/madison

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/james-madison/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-Madison

04] James Madison: The Genius Who Built America | Full Documentary [Video] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy7ATwtdilM [2:08:01]

James Madison (born March 16 [March 5, Old Style], 1751, Port Conway, Virginia [U.S.]—died June 28, 1836, Montpelier, Virginia, U.S.) was the fourth president of the United States (1809–17) and one of the Founding Fathers of his country. At the Constitutional Convention (1787), he influenced the planning and ratification of the U.S. Constitution and collaborated with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in the publication of the Federalist papers. As a member of the new House of Representatives, he sponsored the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, commonly called the Bill of Rights. He was secretary of state under President Thomas Jefferson when the Louisiana Territory was purchased from France. The War of 1812 was fought during his presidency.

Early life and political activities

Charles Willson Peale: portrait of James Madison James Madison, watercolor on ivory by Charles Willson Peale, 1783.

Madison, James: home in Montpelier, Virginia James Madison's home in Montpelier, Virginia.

Madison was born at the home of his maternal grandmother. The son and namesake of a leading Orange county landowner and squire, he maintained his lifelong home in Virginia at Montpelier, near the Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1769 he rode horseback to the College of New Jersey (Princeton University), selected for its hostility to episcopacy. He completed the four-year course in two years, finding time also to demonstrate against England and to lampoon members of a rival literary society in ribald verse. Overwork produced several years of epileptoid hysteria and premonitions of early death, which thwarted military training but did not prevent home study of public law, mixed with early advocacy of independence (1774) and furious denunciation of the imprisonment of nearby Dissenters from the established Anglican church. Madison never became a church member, but in maturity he expressed a preference for Unitarianism.

His health improved, and he was elected to Virginia's 1776 Revolutionary convention, where he drafted the state's guarantee of religious freedom. In the convention-turned-legislature he helped Thomas Jefferson disestablish the church but lost reelection by refusing to furnish the electors with free whiskey. After two years on the governor's council, he was sent to the Continental Congress in March 1780.

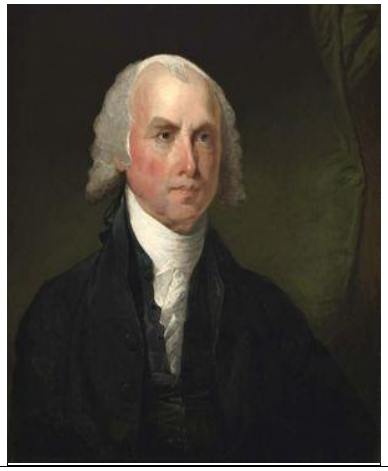
Five feet four inches tall and weighing about 100 pounds, small boned, boyish in appearance, and weak of voice, he waited six months before taking the floor, but strong actions belied his mild demeanor. He rose quickly to leadership against the devotees of state sovereignty and enemies of Franco-U.S. collaboration in peace negotiations, contending

also for the establishment of the Mississippi as a western territorial boundary and the right to navigate that river through its Spanish-held delta. Defending Virginia's charter title to the vast Northwest against states that had no claim to western territories and whose major motive was to validate barrel-of-rum purchases from Indian tribes, Madison defeated the land speculators by persuading Virginia to cede the western lands to Congress as a national heritage.

Following the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, Madison undertook to strengthen the Union by asserting implied power in Congress to enforce financial requisitions upon the states by military coercion. This move failing, he worked unceasingly for an amendment conferring power to raise revenue and wrote an eloquent address adjuring the states to avert national disintegration by ratifying the submitted article. The chevalier de la Luzerne, French minister to the United States, wrote that Madison was "regarded as the man of the soundest judgment in Congress."

At a glance: the Madison presidency

The father of the Constitution



James MadisonJames Madison, oil on wood by Gilbert Stuart, c. 1821; in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 65.3 × 54.3 cm.

Reentering the Virginia legislature in 1784, Madison defeated Patrick Henry's bill to give financial support to "teachers of the Christian religion." To avoid the political effect of his extreme nationalism, he persuaded the states-rights advocate John Tyler to sponsor the calling of the Annapolis Convention of 1786, which, aided by Madison's influence, produced the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

There his Virginia, or large-state, Plan, put forward through Governor Edmund Randolph, furnished the basic framework and guiding principles of the Constitution, earning him the title of father of the Constitution. Madison believed keenly in the value of a strong government in which power was well controlled because it was well balanced among the branches. Delegate William Pierce of Georgia wrote that, in the management of every great question, Madison "always comes forward the best informed Man of any point in debate." Pierce called him "a Gentleman of great modesty—with a remarkable sweet temper. He is easy and unreserved among his acquaintances, and has a most agreeable style of conversation."

New-York, Nov. 22.

*The Federalist**The Federalist*, written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, helped secure passage of the U.S. Constitution.

Madison took day-by-day notes of debates at the Constitutional Convention, which furnish the only comprehensive history of the proceedings. To promote ratification he collaborated with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in newspaper publication of the Federalist papers (Madison wrote 29 out of 85), which became the standard commentary on the Constitution. His influence produced ratification by Virginia and led John Marshall to say that, if

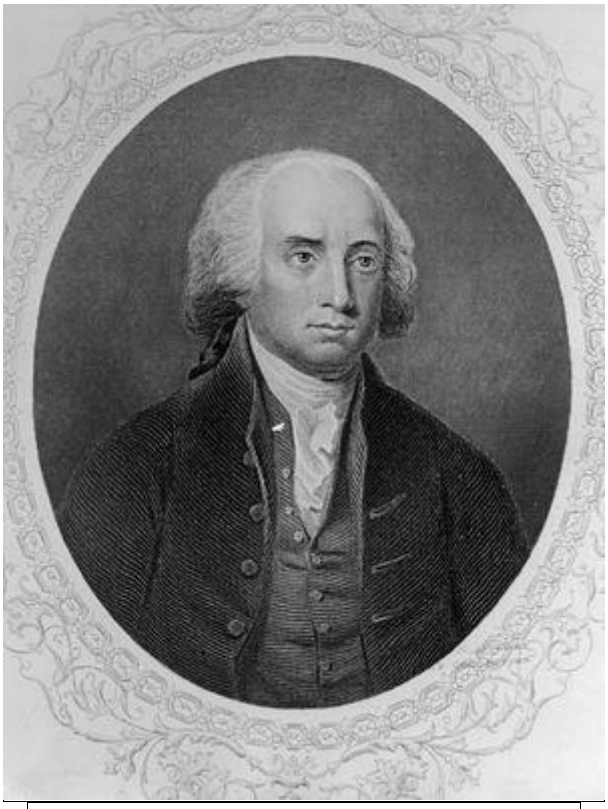
eloquence included "persuasion by convincing, Mr. Madison was the most eloquent man I ever heard."

Elected to the new House of Representatives, Madison sponsored the first 10 amendments to the Constitution—the Bill of Rights—placing emphasis in debate on freedom of religion, speech, and press. His leadership in the House, which caused the Massachusetts congressman Fisher Ames to call him "our first man," came to an end when he split with Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton over methods of funding the war debts. Hamilton's aim was to strengthen the national government by cementing men of wealth to it; Madison sought to protect the interests of Revolutionary veterans.

Hamilton's victory turned Madison into a strict constructionist of the congressional power to appropriate for the general welfare. He denied the existence of implied power to establish a national bank to aid the Treasury. Later, as president, he asked for and obtained a bank as "almost [a] necessity" for that purpose, but he contended that it was constitutional only because Hamilton's bank had gone without constitutional challenge. Unwillingness to admit error was a lifelong characteristic. The break over funding split Congress into Madisonian and Hamiltonian factions, with Fisher Ames now calling Madison a "desperate party leader" who enforced a discipline "as severe as the Prussian." (Madisonians turned into Jeffersonians after Jefferson, having returned from France, became secretary of state.)

First lady Dolley MadisonDolley Madison, engraving from a painting by Gilbert Stuart.

In 1794 Madison married a widow, Dolley Payne Todd (Dolley Madison), a handsome, buxom, vivacious Quaker 17 years his junior, who rejected church discipline and loved social activities. Her first husband had died in the yellow fever epidemic the previous year. She periodically served as official hostess for President Jefferson, who was a widower. As Madison's wife, she became a fixture at soirées, usually wearing a colorful feathered turban and an elegant dress ornamented with jewelry and furs. She may be said to have created the role of first lady as a political partner of the president, although that label did not come into use until much later. An unpretentious woman, she ate heartily, gambled, rouged her face lavishly, and took snuff. The "Wednesday drawing rooms" that she instituted for the public added to her popularity. She earned the nation's undying gratitude for rescuing a Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington in 1814 just ahead of the British troops who put the torch to the White House in the War of 1812.



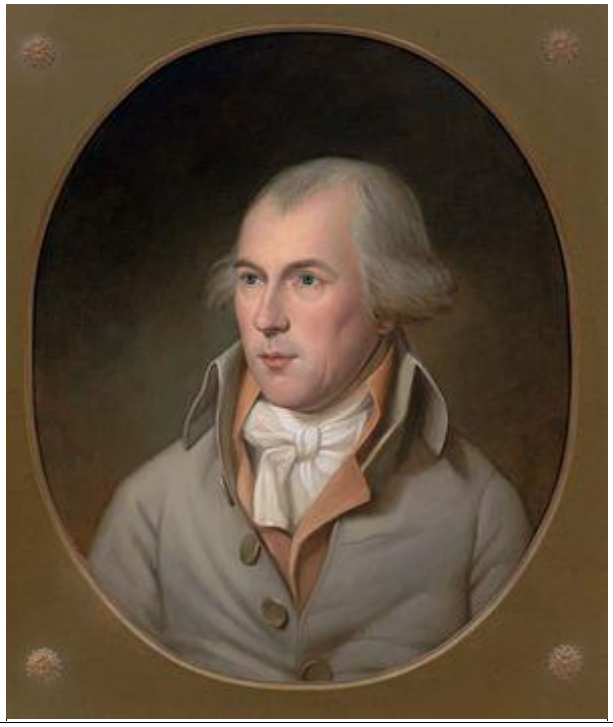
James MadisonU.S. Pres. James Madison.

Madison left Congress in 1797, disgusted by John Jay's treaty with England, which frustrated his program of commercial retaliation against the wartime oppression of U.S. maritime commerce. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 inspired him to draft the Virginia Resolutions of that year, denouncing those statutes as violations of the First Amendment of the Constitution and affirming the right and duty of the states "to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil." Carefully worded to mean less legally than they seemed to threaten, they forced him to spend his octogenarian years combating South Carolina's interpretation of them as a sanction of state power to nullify federal law.

During eight years as Jefferson's secretary of state (1801–09), Madison used the words "The President has decided" so regularly that his own role can be discovered only in foreign archives. British diplomats dealing with Madison encountered "asperity of temper and fluency of expression."

Senators John Adair and Nicholas Gilman agreed in 1806 that he "governed the President," an opinion held also by French minister Louis-Marie Turreau.

Madison's Presidency



James MadisonU.S. Pres. James Madison, oil on canvas by Bradley Stevens after Charles Willson Peale, 2002; in the Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Although he was accused of weakness in dealing with France and England, Madison won the presidency in 1808 by publishing his vigorous diplomatic dispatches. Faced with a senatorial cabal on taking office, he made a senator's lackluster brother, Robert Smith, secretary of state and wrote all important diplomatic letters for two years before replacing him with James Monroe. Although he had fully supported Jefferson's wartime shipping embargo, Madison reversed his predecessor's policy two weeks after assuming the presidency by secretly notifying both Great Britain and France, then at war, that, in his opinion, if the country addressed should

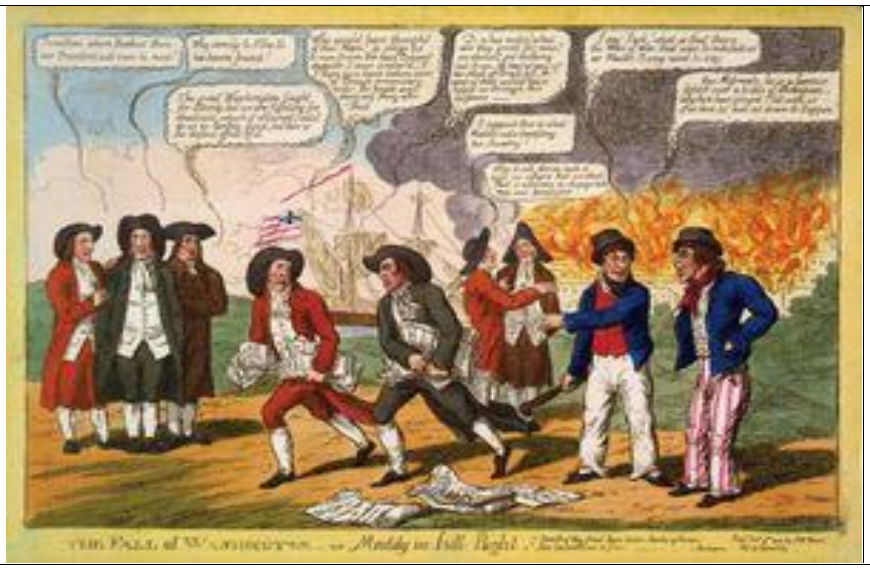
stop interfering with U.S. commerce and the other belligerent continued to do so, "Congress will, at the next ensuing session, authorize acts of hostility…against the other."

An agreement with England providing for repeal of its Orders in Council, which limited trade by neutral nations with France, collapsed because the British minister violated his instructions; he concealed the requirements that the United States continue its trade embargo against France, renounce wartime trade with Britain's enemies, and authorize England to capture any U.S. vessel attempting to trade with France. Madison expelled the minister's successor for charging, falsely, that the president had been aware of the violation.

Believing that England was bent on permanent suppression of American commerce, Madison proclaimed nonintercourse with England on November 2, 1810, and notified France on the same day that this would "necessarily lead to war" unless England stopped its impressment of American seamen and seizure of American goods and vessels. One week earlier, unknown to Congress (in recess) or the public, he had taken armed possession of the Spanish province of West Florida, claimed as part of the Louisiana Purchase. He was reelected in 1812, despite strong opposition and the vigorous candidacy of DeWitt Clinton.

With his actions buried in secrecy, Federalists and politicians pictured Madison as a timorous pacifist dragged into the War of 1812 (1812–15) by congressional War Hawks, and they denounced the conflict as "Mr. Madison's War." In fact, the president had sought peace but accepted war

as inevitable. As wartime commander in chief, he was hampered by the refusal of Congress to heed pleas for naval and military development and made the initial error of entrusting army command to aging veterans of the Revolution. The small U.S. Navy sparkled, but on land defeat followed defeat.



War of 1812 political cartoonCartoon showing Pres. James Madison fleeing from Washington, D.C., which is being burned by the British, during the War of 1812.

By 1814, however, Madison had lowered the average age of generals from 60 to 36 years, and victories resulted, ending a war the principal cause of which had been removed by revocation of the Orders in Council the day before the conflict began. Contemporary public opinion in the United States, Canada, England, and continental Europe proclaimed the result a U.S. triumph. Still, the country would never forget the ignominy of the president and his wife having to flee in the face of advancing British troops bent on laying waste Washington, D.C., including setting afire the Executive Mansion, the Capitol, and other public buildings.

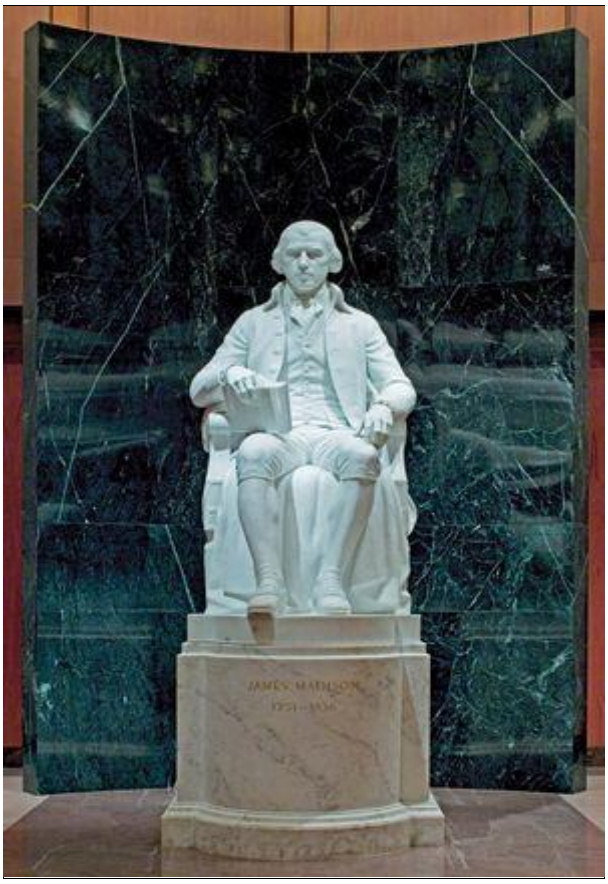
The Federalist Party was killed by its opposition to the war, and the president was lifted to a pinnacle of popularity. Madison's greatest fault was delay in discharging incompetent subordinates, including Secretary

of War John Armstrong, who had scoffed at the president's repeated warnings of a coming British attack on Washington and ignored presidential orders for its defense.

On leaving the presidency, Madison was eulogized at a Washington mass meeting for having won national power and glory "without infringing a political, civil, or religious right." Even in the face of sabotage of war operations by New England Federalists, he had lived up to the maxim he laid down in 1793 when he had said:

If we advert to the nature of republican government we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the government, and not in the government over the people.

Later life



U.S. Pres. James Madison James Madison, statue by Walker Hancock; in the Library of Congress's James Madison Memorial Building, Washington, D.C.

Never again leaving Virginia, Madison managed his 5,000-acre (2,000-hectare) farm for 19 years, cultivating the land by methods regarded today as modern innovations. As president of the Albemarle Agricultural Society, he warned that human life might be wiped out by upsetting the balance of nature, including invisible organisms. He hated slavery, which held him in its economic chains, and worked to abolish it through government purchase of enslaved people and their resettlement in Liberia, financed by sale of public lands. When his personal valet ran away in 1792 and was recaptured—a situation that usually meant sale into the yellow-fever-infested West Indies—Madison set him free and hired him. Another enslaved individual managed one-third of the Montpelier farmlands during Madison's years in federal office.

Madison participated in Jefferson's creation of the University of Virginia (1819) and later served as its rector. Excessive hospitality, chronic agricultural depression, the care of aged enslaved people, and the squandering of $40,000 by and on a wayward stepson made him land-poor in old age. His last years were spent in bed; he was barely able to bend his rheumatic fingers, which nevertheless turned out an endless succession of letters and articles combating nullification and secession—the theme of his final "Advice to My Country." Henry Clay called him, after George Washington, "our greatest statesman."

Cabinet of President James Madison

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President James Madison.

Cabinet of President James Madison

March 4, 1809–March 3, 1813 (Term 1)	
State	Robert Smith
Treasury	Albert Gallatin
War	**John Smith**
	William Eustis (from April 8, 1809)
	John Armstrong (from February 5, 1813)
Navy	**Robert Smith**
	Paul Hamilton (from May 15, 1809)
	William Jones (from January 19, 1813)
Attorney General	**Caesar Augustus Rodney**
	William Pinkney (from January 6, 1812)
March 4, 1813–March 3, 1817 (Term 2)	
State	James Monroe
Treasury	Albert Gallatin
	George Washington Campbell (from February 9, 1814)
	Alexander James Dallas (from October 14, 1814)
	William H. Crawford (from October 22, 1816)
War	John Armstrong
	James Monroe (from October 1, 1814)

Cabinet of President James Madison

March 4, 1809–March 3, 1813 (Term 1)	
	William H. Crawford (from August 8, 1815)
Navy	
	William Jones
	Benjamin Williams Crowninshield (from January 16, 1815)
Attorney General	
	William Pinkney
	Richard Rush (from February 11, 1814)

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James Manroe

5th President of the United States

[4 March 1817 <::> 4 March 1825]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/james-monroe/

02]https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/monroe-james

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-Monroe

04] James Monroe: The Last Founding Father and the Monroe Doctrine | Full Documentary [Video]

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MsxR2Uyl3c [2:05:35]

James Monroe (born April 28, 1758, Westmoreland county, Virginia [U.S.]—died July 4, 1831, New York, New York, U.S.) was the fifth president of the United States (1817–25), who issued an important contribution to U.S. foreign policy in the Monroe Doctrine, a warning to European nations against intervening in the Western Hemisphere. The period of his administration has been called the Era of Good Feelings.

Early life and career

Monroe's father, Spence Monroe, was of Scottish descent, and his mother, Elizabeth Jones Monroe, of Welsh descent. The family were owners of a modest 600 acres (240 hectares) in Virginia. At age 16 Monroe entered the College of William and Mary but in 1776 left to fight in the American Revolution. As a lieutenant he crossed the Delaware with General George Washington for what became the Battle of Trenton. Suffering a near fatal wound in the shoulder, Monroe was carried from the field. Upon recovering, he was promoted to captain for heroism, and he took part in the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Advanced to major, he became aide-de-camp to General William Alexander (Lord Stirling) and with him shared the suffering of the troops at Valley Forge in the cruel winter of 1777–78. Monroe was a scout for Washington at the Battle of Monmouth and served as Lord Stirling's adjutant general.
In 1780, having resigned his commission in the army, he began the study of law under Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, and between the two men there developed an intimacy and a sympathy that had a

powerful influence upon Monroe's later career. Jefferson also fostered a friendship between Monroe and James Madison.

Elizabeth MonroeFirst lady Elizabeth Monroe, illustration from *Presiding Ladies of the White House*, published 1903.

Monroe was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1782 and was chosen a member of the governor's council. From 1783 to 1786 he served in the Congress under the Articles of Confederation, the first constitution of the new nation. During his term he vigorously insisted on the right of the United States to navigate the Mississippi River, then controlled by the Spanish, and attempted, in 1785, to secure for the weak Congress the power to regulate commerce, thereby removing one of the great defects in the existing central government. In 1786 Monroe, 27 years old, and Elizabeth Kortright of New York, 17 years old, were married. They had two daughters, Eliza Kortright and Maria Hester, and a son who died in infancy. Eliza often was at her father's side as official hostess when he was president, substituting for her ailing mother. Maria's marriage to a

cousin, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in 1820 was the first wedding performed in the President's House, as the White House was then called.

Retiring from Congress in 1786, Monroe began practicing law at Fredericksburg, Virginia. He was chosen a member of the Virginia House of Delegates in 1787 and in 1788 a member of the state convention at which Virginia ratified the new federal Constitution. In 1790 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he vigorously opposed President George Washington's administration. Nevertheless, in 1794 Washington nominated him as minister to France.

At a glance: the Monroe presidency

Minister to France

It was the hope of the administration that Monroe's well-known French sympathies would secure for him a favorable reception and that his appointment would also conciliate France's friends in the United States. His warm welcome in France and his enthusiasm for the French Revolution, which he regarded as a natural successor to the American Revolution, displeased the Federalists (the party of Alexander Hamilton, which encouraged close ties not to France but to England) at home. Monroe did nothing, moreover, to reconcile the French to the Jay Treaty, which regulated commerce and navigation between the United States and Great Britain during the French Revolutionary wars.

Without real justification, the French regarded the treaty as a violation of the French-American treaty of commerce and amity of 1778 and as a

possible cause for war. Monroe led the French government to believe that the Jay Treaty would never be ratified by the United States, that the administration of George Washington would be overthrown as a result of the obnoxious treaty, and that better things might be expected after the election in 1796 of a new president, perhaps Thomas Jefferson. Washington, though he did not know of this intrigue, sensed that Monroe was unable to represent his government properly and, late in 1796, recalled him.

Monroe returned to America in the spring of 1797 and in the following December published a defense of his course in a pamphlet of 500 pages entitled *A View of the Conduct of the Executive, in the Foreign Affairs of the United States*. Washington seems never to have forgiven Monroe for this stratagem, though Monroe's opinion of Washington and Jay underwent a change in his later years. In 1799 Monroe was chosen governor of Virginia and was twice reelected, serving until 1802.

The Louisiana Purchase

Louisiana Purchase*Cession of Louisiana* by Constantino Brumidi. François, marquis de Barbé-Marbois (standing), French minister of the treasury, showing a map to U.S. minister Robert Livingston (right) and U.S. minister plenipotentiary James Monroe (center).

There was much uneasiness in the United States when Spain restored Louisiana to France by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in October 1800 (confirmed March 1801). The Spanish district administrator's subsequent withdrawal of the United States' "right of deposit" at New Orleans—the privilege of storing goods there for later reshipment—greatly increased this feeling and led to much talk of war. Resolved to settle the matter by peaceful measures, President Jefferson in January 1803 appointed Monroe envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to France to aid Robert R. Livingston, the resident minister, in purchasing the territory at the mouth of the Mississippi—including the island of New Orleans—authorizing him at the same time to cooperate with Charles Pinckney, the minister at Madrid, in securing from Spain the cession of East and West Florida. On April 18 Monroe was further commissioned as the regular minister to Great Britain.

Monroe joined Livingston in Paris on April 12, after the latter's negotiations were well under way, and the two ministers, on finding Napoleon willing to dispose of the entire province of Louisiana, decided to exceed their instructions and effect its purchase. Accordingly, on May 2, 1803, they signed a treaty and two conventions (antedated to April 30) whereby France sold Louisiana to the United States (*see* Louisiana Purchase). The fact that Monroe signed the treaty along with Livingston did not hurt his political career at home, but he is not entitled to much credit for the diplomatic achievement.

In July 1803 Monroe left Paris and entered upon his duties in London, and in the autumn of 1804 he proceeded to Madrid to assist Pinckney in his efforts to define the Louisiana boundaries and acquire the Floridas. After negotiating until May 1805 without success, Monroe returned to London

and resumed his negotiations concerning the impressment of American seamen and the seizure of American vessels. As the British ministry was reluctant to discuss these vexing questions, little progress was made, and in May 1806 Jefferson ordered William Pinkney of Maryland to assist Monroe.

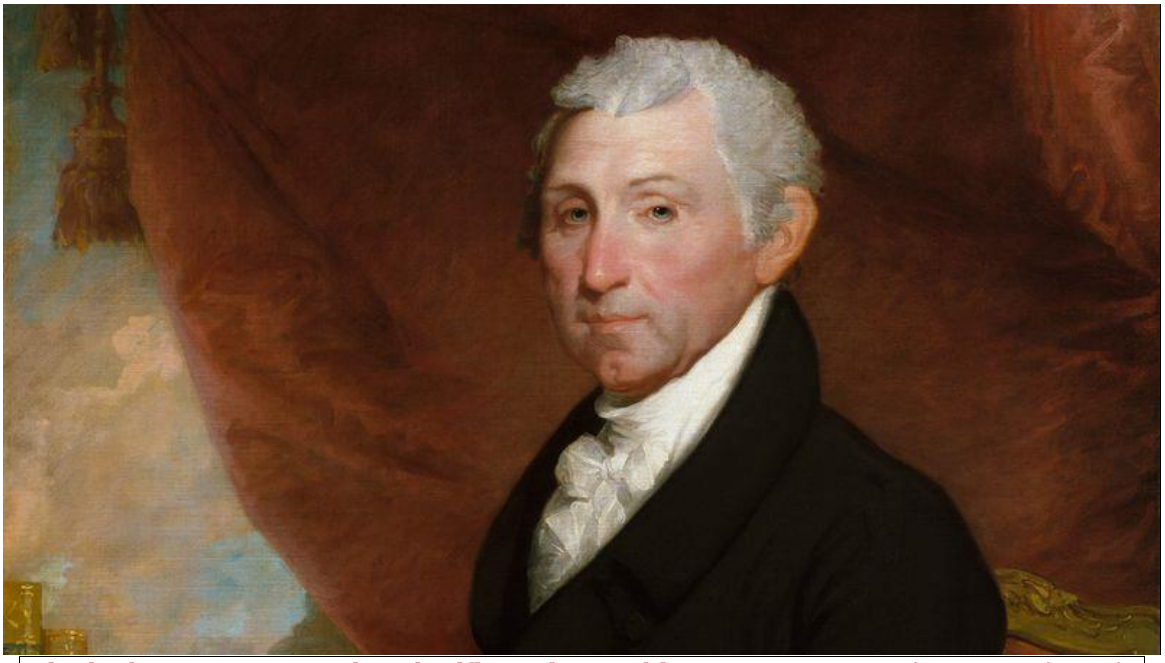
The result of the deliberations was a treaty signed on December 31, 1806, which contained no provision against impressments and provided no indemnity for the seizure of goods and vessels. Accompanying its signature was a British reservation maintaining freedom of action to retaliate against imminent French maritime decrees. In passing over these matters Monroe and Pinkney had disregarded their instructions, and Jefferson was so displeased with the treaty that he returned it to England for revision.

Monroe returned to the United States in December 1807. He was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in the spring of 1810. In the following winter he was again chosen governor, serving from January to November 1811, when he resigned to become secretary of state under James Madison, a position he held until March 1817. The direction of foreign affairs in the troubled period immediately preceding and during the War of 1812, with Great Britain, thus fell upon him. On September 27, 1814, after the capture of Washington, D.C., by the British, he was appointed secretary of war and discharged the duties of this office, in addition to those of the Department of State, until March 1815.

Presidency

James MonroeJames Monroe, oil on wood by Gilbert Stuart, c. 1817; in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

In 1816 Monroe was elected president of the United States as the Republican candidate, defeating Rufus King, the Federalist candidate; Monroe received 183 electoral votes and King 34. By 1820, when he was reelected, receiving all the electoral votes but one, the Federalists had ceased to function as a party. The chief events of his calm and prosperous administration, which has been called the Era of Good Feelings, were the First Seminole War (1817–18); the acquisition of the Floridas from Spain (1819–21); the Missouri Compromise (1820), by which the first conflict over slavery under the Constitution was peacefully settled; recognition of the new Latin American states, former Spanish colonies, in Central and South America (1822); and—most intimately connected with Monroe's name—the enunciation, in the presidential message of December 2, 1823, of the Monroe Doctrine, which has profoundly influenced the foreign policy of the United States.



Why is the Monroe Doctrine significant in U.S. history?Questions and answers about the Monroe Doctrine.

Not until 1848 when James K. Polk was president did the first reference to Monroe's statement as a "Doctrine" appear. The phrase Monroe Doctrine came into common use in the 1850s. The "principles of President Monroe," as the message was referred to in Congress, consisted of three openly proclaimed dicta: no further European colonization in the New World, abstention of the United States from the political affairs of Europe, and nonintervention of Europe in the governments of the American hemisphere. In the diplomatic correspondence preceding the proclamation of these principles in the president's message was a fourth dictum not publicly associated with the doctrine until 1869: the United States opposed the transfer of any existing European colonies from one European sovereign to another.

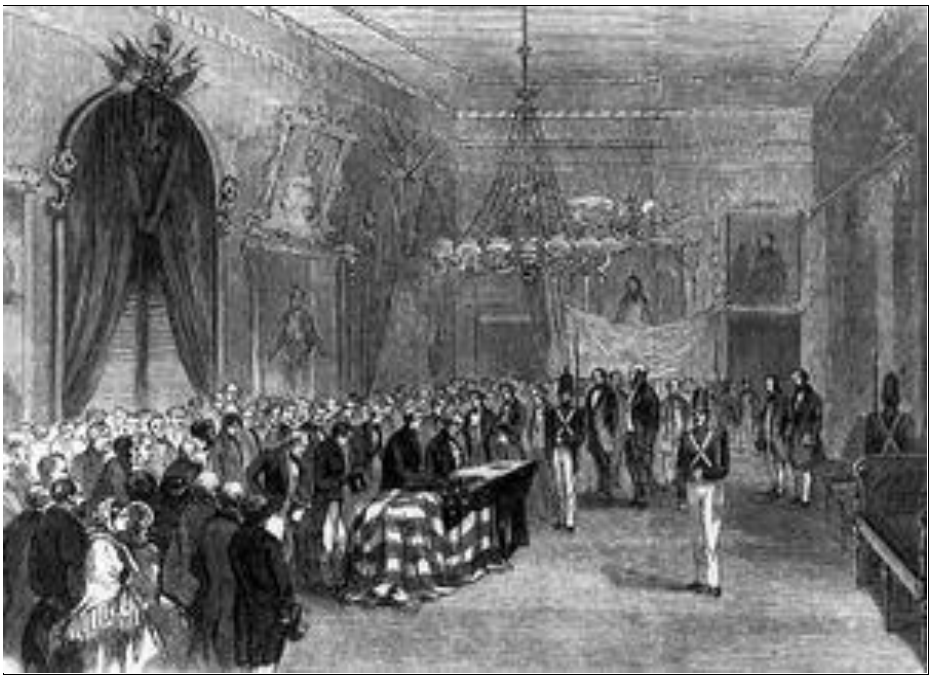
It is generally concluded that Secretary of State John Quincy Adams was the sole author of the noncolonization principle of the doctrine; the principle of abstention from European wars and politics was common to all the fathers of American independence, inherited and expressed by the

younger Adams all his professional life; in cabinet meetings, Adams also urged the dictum of nonintervention in the affairs of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. But Adams had no idea of proclaiming these dicta to the world. Monroe took responsibility for embodying them in a presidential message that he drafted himself. Modern historical judgment considers the Monroe Doctrine to be appropriately named.

President Monroe and his wife remained smitten by France after their sojourn there and with their daughters often spoke French together when they were in the White House. Elizabeth Monroe clothed herself in Paris creations and insisted on French etiquette and French cuisine at her table. Given the opportunity to refurnish the Executive Mansion when it was rebuilt after its destruction in 1814, the Monroes spent lavishly on gilded furniture, silverware, and various objets d'art imported from France. Some items that the president had purchased from impoverished French noble families while he was minister he now lent or sold to the government for use in the Executive Mansion at prices some considered suspiciously high, although Monroe was later cleared of impropriety.

The first lady, who was always in fragile health, suffered from an unidentified malady. She was often away from Washington for months at a time visiting her married daughters. To the considerable irritation of Washington society, she discontinued Dolley Madison's practice of paying courtesy calls on Washington hostesses. Still, Elizabeth Monroe was not without ardor. Shortly after her arrival in France, during the Reign of Terror, she helped to rescue Madame Lafayette, wife of the marquis de Lafayette, from prison and perhaps saved her from the guillotine.

Later years and assessment of James Monroe



James Monroe lying in stateWood engraving of Pres. James Monroe lying in state at City Hall, New York City, 1858, before being reinterred at Richmond, Virginia.

James Monroe's Oak Hill estateOak Hill, James Monroe's estate in northern Virginia.

On the expiration of his second term, Monroe retired to his home, an estate called Oak Hill in northern Virginia. In 1826 he became a regent of the University of Virginia and in 1829 was a member of the convention called to amend the state constitution. Having neglected his private affairs and incurred large expenditures during his missions to Europe and his presidency, he was deeply in debt and felt compelled to ask Congress to reimburse him. In 1826 Congress finally authorized the payment to him of $30,000. Almost immediately, adding additional claims, he went back to Congress seeking more money. Congress paid him another $30,000 in 1831, but he still did not feel satisfied. After his death Congress appropriated a small amount for the purchase of his papers from his heirs. Monroe died in 1831—like Jefferson and Adams before him on the Fourth of July—in New York City at the home of his daughter, Maria, with whom he was living after the death of his wife the year before. In 1858, the centennial year of his birth, his remains were reinterred with impressive ceremonies at Richmond, Virginia. After Liberia was created in 1821 as a haven for freed slaves, its capital city was named Monrovia in honor of the American president, who had supported the repatriation of Black people to Africa.

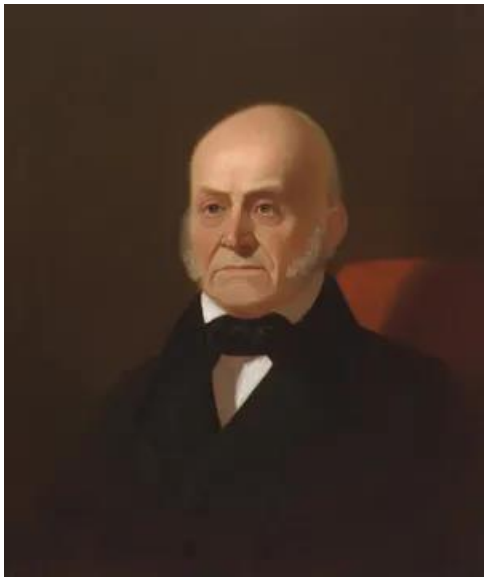
Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, and many other prominent statesmen of Monroe's time all spoke loudly in his praise, but he suffers by comparison with the greater men of his time. Possessing none of their brilliance, he had, nevertheless, to use the words of John Quincy Adams, "a mind…sound in its ultimate judgments, and firm in its final conclusions." Some of Monroe's popularity undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that he was the last of the Revolutionary War generation, and he reminded people of those heady times when the struggle for

independence was in the balance. Tall and stately in appearance, he still wore the knee britches, silk stockings, and cocked hat of those days, and many of his admirers said that he resembled George Washington.

Cabinet of President James Monroe

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President James Monroe.

Cabinet of President James Monroe	
March 4, 1817–March 3, 1821 (Term 1)	
State	John Quincy Adams
Treasury	William H. Crawford
War	John C. Calhoun
Navy	Benjamin Williams Crowninshield Smith Thompson (from January 1, 1819)
Attorney General	Richard Rush William Wirt (from November 15, 1817)
March 4, 1821–March 3, 1825 (Term 2)	
State	John Quincy Adams
Treasury	William H. Crawford
War	John C. Calhoun
Navy	Smith Thompson Samuel Lewis Southard (from September 16, 1823)
Attorney General	William Wirt



John Quincy Adams

6th President of the United States

[4 March 1825 <::> 4 March 1829]

Please visit:

01] https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/adams-john-quincy

02]https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/johnquincyadams

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Quincy-Adams/Second-career-in-Congress

04] John Quincy Adams - 6th President of the United States Documentary https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oDJLMmWnQds [1:12:05]

John Quincy Adams (born July 11, 1767, Braintree [now Quincy], Massachusetts [U.S.]—died February 23, 1848, Washington, D.C., U.S.) was the sixth president of the United States (1825–29) and eldest son of President John Adams. In his prepresidential years he was one of America's greatest diplomats (formulating, among other things, what came to be called the Monroe Doctrine), and in his postpresidential years (as a U.S. congressman, 1831–48) he conducted a consistent and often dramatic fight against the expansion of slavery.

Early life and career

John Quincy Adams's birthplaceBirthplace of John Quincy Adams, in Quincy (formerly Braintree), Massachusetts, photograph c. 1855.

John Quincy Adams entered the world at the same time that his maternal great-grandfather, John Quincy, for many years a prominent member of

the Massachusetts legislature, was leaving it—hence his name. He grew up as a child of the American Revolution. He watched the Battle of Bunker Hill from Penn's Hill and heard the cannons roar across the Back Bay in Boston. His patriot father, John Adams, at that time a delegate to the Continental Congress, and his patriot mother, Abigail Smith Adams, had a strong molding influence on his education after the war had deprived Braintree of its only schoolmaster. In 1778 and again in 1780 the boy accompanied his father to Europe. He studied at a private school in Paris in 1778–79 and at the University of Leiden, Netherlands, in 1780. Thus, at an early age he acquired an excellent knowledge of the French language and a smattering of Dutch. In 1780, also, he began to keep regularly the diary that forms so conspicuous a record of his doings and those of his contemporaries through the next 60 years of American history. Self-appreciative, like most of the Adams clan, he once declared that, if his diary had been even richer, it might have become "next to the Holy Scriptures, the most precious and valuable book ever written by human hands."

Future U.S. president John Quincy AdamsJohn Quincy Adams at 16 years old, 1783; copy of an engraving after a portrait by Izaak Schmidt, located in the Old House, Adams National Historical Park, Quincy, Massachusetts.

In 1781, at age 14, Adams accompanied Francis Dana, United States envoy to Russia, as his private secretary and interpreter of French. Dana, after lingering for more than a year in St. Petersburg, was not received by the Russian government, so in 1782 Adams, returning by way of Scandinavia, Hanover, and the Netherlands, joined his father in Paris. There he acted, in an informal way, as an additional secretary to the American commissioners in the negotiation of the Peace of Paris that concluded the American Revolution. Instead of remaining in London with his father, who had been appointed United States minister to the Court of St. James's, he chose to return to Massachusetts, where he attended Harvard College, graduating in 1787. He then read law at Newburyport under the tutelage of Theophilus Parsons, and in 1790 he was admitted to the bar association in Boston. While struggling to establish a practice, he wrote a series of articles for the newspapers in which he controverted some of the doctrines in Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791). In another later series he ably supported the neutrality policy of George Washington's administration as it faced the war that broke out between France and England in 1793. These articles were brought to President Washington's attention and resulted in Adams's appointment as U.S. minister to the Netherlands in May 1794.

The Hague was then the best diplomatic listening post in Europe for the War of the First Coalition against Revolutionary France. Young Adams's official dispatches to the secretary of state and his informal letters to his father, who was then the vice president, kept the government well

informed of the diplomatic activities and wars of the distressed Continent and the danger of becoming involved in the European vortex. These letters were also read by President Washington: some of Adams's phrases, in fact, appeared in Washington's Farewell Address of 1796. During the absence of Thomas Pinckney, the regular United States minister to Great Britain, Adams transacted public business in London with the British Foreign Office relating to the exchange of ratifications of the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain. In 1796 Washington, who came to regard young Adams as the ablest officer in the foreign service, appointed him minister to Portugal, but before his departure his father became president and changed the young diplomat's destination to Prussia.

Louisa AdamsFirst lady Louisa Catherine Adams, oil on canvas by Charles Bird King, c. 1824; in the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

John Quincy Adams was married in London in 1797, on the eve of his departure for Berlin, to Louisa Catherine Johnson (Louisa Adams), daughter of the United States consul Joshua Johnson, a Marylander by birth, and his wife, Katherine Nuth, an Englishwoman. Adams had first met her when he was 12 years old and his father was minister to France. Fragile in health, she suffered from migraine headaches and fainting spells. Yet she proved to be a gracious hostess who played the harp and was learned in Greek, French, and English literature. Accompanying her husband on his various missions in Europe, she came to be regarded as one of the most-traveled women of her time.

Johnson was not, however, Adams's first love. When he was 14 years old, he had had a "crush" on an actress he saw perform in France, and for years afterward, he confessed, she was in his dreams. At age 22 he fell deeply in love with one Mary Frazier but was dissuaded from marrying her by his mother, who insisted that he was not able to support a wife. Ultimately, Adams could see that, in marrying a rich heiress like Louisa Johnson, he might be able to enjoy the leisure to pursue a career as a writer, but her family suffered business reverses and declared bankruptcy only a few weeks after the wedding.

The union had many stormy moments. Adams was cold and often depressed, and he admitted that his political adversaries regarded him as a "gloomy misanthropist" and "unsocial savage." His wife is said to have regretted her marriage into the Adams family. The loss of two sons in adulthood—and a daughter in infancy—may have heightened the strains between husband and wife. The eldest son, George Washington Adams, was a gambler, womanizer, and alcoholic whose death by drowning may

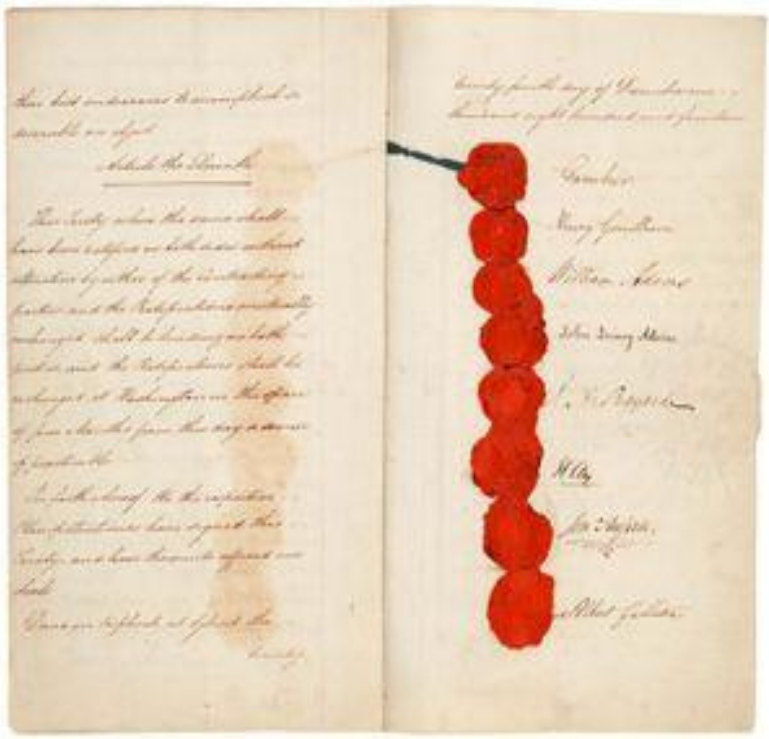
have been suicide. The second son, John Adams II, succumbed to alcohol. He remains the only son of a president who was married in the White House. On that occasion, the president unbent and danced the Virginia reel. A third son, Charles Francis Adams, brought honor to the family name once again, being elected to the House of Representatives and serving as United States minister to England during the American Civil War.

While in Berlin, Adams negotiated (1799) a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia. Recalled from Berlin by President Adams after the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800, the younger Adams reached Boston in 1801 and the next year was elected to the Massachusetts Senate. In 1803 the Massachusetts legislature elected him a member of the Senate of the United States.

At a glance: the Adams presidency
Break with the Federalists of
John Quincy Adams

Up to this time John Quincy Adams was regarded as belonging to the Federalist Party, but he found its general policy displeasing. He was frowned upon as the son of his father by the followers of Alexander Hamilton and by reactionary groups, and he soon found himself practically powerless as an unpopular member of an unpopular minority. Actually he was not then, and indeed never was, a strict party man; all through his life, ever aspiring to higher public service, he considered himself a "man of my whole country." Adams arrived in Washington too late to vote for ratification of the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana,

which had been opposed by the other Federalist senators, but he voted for the appropriations to carry it into effect and announced that he would have voted for the purchase treaty itself. Nevertheless, he joined his Federalist colleagues in voting against a bill to enable the president to place officials of his own appointment in control of the newly acquired territory; such a bill, Adams vainly protested, overstepped the constitutional powers of the presidency, violated the right of self-government, and imposed taxation without representation. In December 1807 he supported President Jefferson's suggestion of an embargo to essentially stop all commerce with other nations (an attempt to gain British recognition of American rights) and vigorously urged instant action, saying: "The President has recommended the measure on his high responsibility. I would not consider, I would not deliberate; I would act!" Within five hours the Senate had passed the embargo bill and had sent it to the House of Representatives. Support of this measure, hated by the Federalists and unpopular in New England because it stifled the region's economy, cost Adams his seat in the Senate. His successor was chosen on June 3, 1808, several months before the usual time of electing a senator for the next term, and five days later Adams resigned. In the same year he attended the Republican congressional caucus, which nominated James Madison for the presidency, and thus he allied himself with that party. From 1806 to 1809 Adams was Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard College.

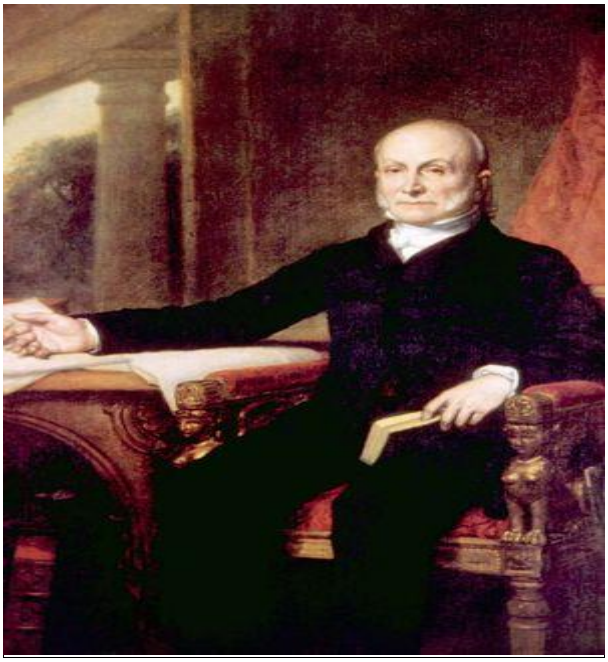


Treaty of GhentThe Treaty of Ghent, signed on December 24, 1814, ended the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States. Signatories: Lord James Gambier, Henry Goulburn, William Adams, John Quincy Adams, James Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin.

In 1809 President Madison sent Adams to Russia to represent the United States at the court of Tsar Alexander I. He arrived at St. Petersburg at the psychologically important moment when the tsar had made up his mind to break with Napoleon. Adams therefore met with a favourable reception and a disposition to further the interests of American commerce in every possible way. From this vantage point he watched and reported Napoleon's invasion of Russia and the final disastrous retreat and dissolution of France's Grand Army. On the outbreak of the war between the United States and England in 1812, he was still in St. Petersburg. That September the Russian government suggested that the tsar was willing to act as mediator between the two belligerents. Madison precipitately accepted this proposition and sent Albert Gallatin and James Bayard to act as commissioners with Adams, but England would have nothing to do

with it. In August 1814, however, these men, with Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, began negotiations with English commissioners that resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24 of that year. Adams then visited Paris, where he witnessed the return of Napoleon from Elba, and next went to London, where, with Clay and Gallatin, he negotiated (1815) a "Convention to Regulate Commerce and Navigation." Soon afterward he became U.S. minister to Great Britain, as his father had been before him, and as his son, Charles Francis Adams, was to be after him. After accomplishing little in London, he returned to the United States in the summer of 1817 to become secretary of state in the cabinet of President James Monroe. This appointment was primarily due to his diplomatic experience but also due to the president's desire to have a sectionally well-balanced cabinet in what came to be known as the Era of Good Feelings.

Secretary of State of John Quincy Adams



John Quincy AdamsJohn Quincy Adams, portrait by Gilbert Stuart, 1818; in the collection of the White House.

As secretary of state, Adams played the leading part in the acquisition of Florida. Ever since the acquisition of Louisiana, successive administrations had sought to include at least a part of Florida in that purchase. In 1819, after long negotiations, Adams succeeded in getting the Spanish minister to agree to a treaty in which Spain would abandon all claims to territory east of the Mississippi River, the United States would relinquish all claims to what is now Texas, and a boundary of the United States would be drawn (for the first time) from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This Transcontinental Treaty was perhaps the greatest victory ever won by a single man in the diplomatic history of the United States. Adams himself was responsible for the idea of extending the country's northern boundary westward from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific—considered a stroke of diplomatic genius. To use his own word, it marked a triumphant "epocha" in U.S. continental expansion. Before the Spanish government ratified the Transcontinental Treaty in 1819, however, Mexico (including Texas) had thrown off allegiance to the mother country, and the United States had occupied Florida by force of arms.

As secretary of state, Adams was also responsible for conclusion of the treaty of 1818 with Great Britain, laying down the northern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods (at the border of what is now Minnesota and Canada) to the Rocky Mountains along the line of latitude 49° N. Years later, as a member of the House of Representatives, he supported latitude 49° N as the boundary of Oregon from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean: "I want that country for our Western

pioneers.” In fact, President James K. Polk’s Oregon treaty of 1846 drew that boundary along the line of 49°. The Monroe Doctrine rightly bears the name of the president who in 1823 assumed the responsibility for its promulgation, but its formulation was the work of John Quincy Adams more than of any other single man.

Presidency and feud with Jackson

As President Monroe’s second term drew to a close in 1824, there was a lack of good feeling among his official advisers, three of whom—Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, and Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford—aspired to succeed him. Henry Clay, speaker of the House, and General Andrew Jackson were also candidates. Calhoun was nominated for the vice presidency. Of the other four, Jackson received 99 electoral votes for the presidency, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37; because no one had a majority, the decision was made by the House of Representatives, which was confined in its choice to the three candidates who had received the largest number of votes. Clay, who had for years assumed a censorious attitude toward Jackson, cast his influence for Adams, whose election was thereby secured on the first ballot. A few days later Adams offered Clay the office of secretary of state, which he accepted. Jackson’s supporters charged a “corrupt bargain” and turned Adams’s term in office into a four-year campaign to win for their man what they regarded as his rightful place, the presidency.

John Quincy AdamsJohn Quincy Adams, oil on canvas by John Singleton Copley, 1796; in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Up to this point Adams's career had been almost uniformly successful, but his presidency (1825–29), during which the country prospered, was in most respects a political failure because of the virulent opposition of the Jacksonians. Adams worked hard, rising between four and six o'clock in the morning and often going for a walk around the city or for a swim in the Potomac River before breakfast. Once he almost drowned as the sleeves of his blouse filled with water and weighed him down. But he knew he was not a man of the people. He had admitted in his inaugural address that he was "less possessed of your confidence…than any of my predecessors." He favoured, among other forward-looking proposals, creating a national university and a national astronomical observatory; he wished the western territories to be held in trust by the federal government and developed only gradually; and he proposed a vast

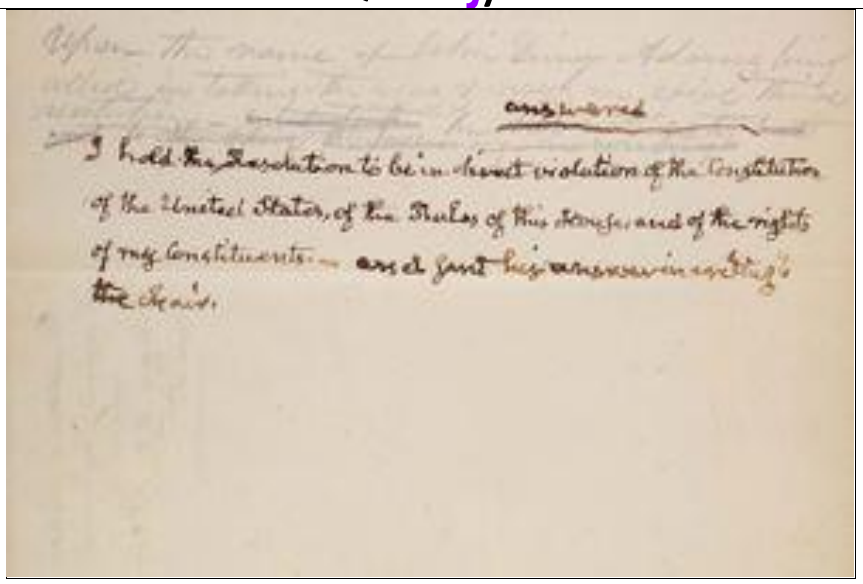
expansion of the country's roads with federal aid. Congress turned a generally deaf ear to his initiatives.

In 1828 Jackson was elected president over Adams, with 178 electoral votes to Adams's 83. It was during Jackson's administration that irreconcilable differences developed between his followers and those of Adams, the latter becoming known as the National Republicans, who, with the Anti-Masons, were the precursors of the Whigs. Adams's intense dislike of Jackson and what he represented remained unabated. When Harvard College in 1833 awarded Jackson an honorary degree, Adams refused to attend the ceremony at his alma mater. He avowed that he would not "be present to witness [Harvard's] disgrace in conferring its highest honors upon a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and could hardly spell his own name."

Adams had retired to private life in 1829 in the Massachusetts town of Quincy, but only for a brief period; in 1830, supported largely by members of the Anti-Masonic movement (a political force formed initially in opposition to Freemasonry), he was elected a member of the national House of Representatives. When it was suggested to him that his acceptance of this position would degrade a former president, Adams replied that no person could be degraded by serving the people as a representative in Congress or a selectman of his town. He served in the House of Representatives from 1831 until his death, in 1848. But he had not abandoned his hopes for a reelection to the presidency—whether as nominee of the Anti-Masonic Party (in which he was very active as long as that party had political possibilities) or of the National Republican Party

or of a union of both or even of the later Whig Party—always in his own mind as a "man of the whole nation." Gradually, these hopes faded.

Second career in Congress of John Quincy Adams


I hold the Resolution to be in direct violation of the Constitution
of the United States, of the Rules of this House, and of the rights
of my Constituents.

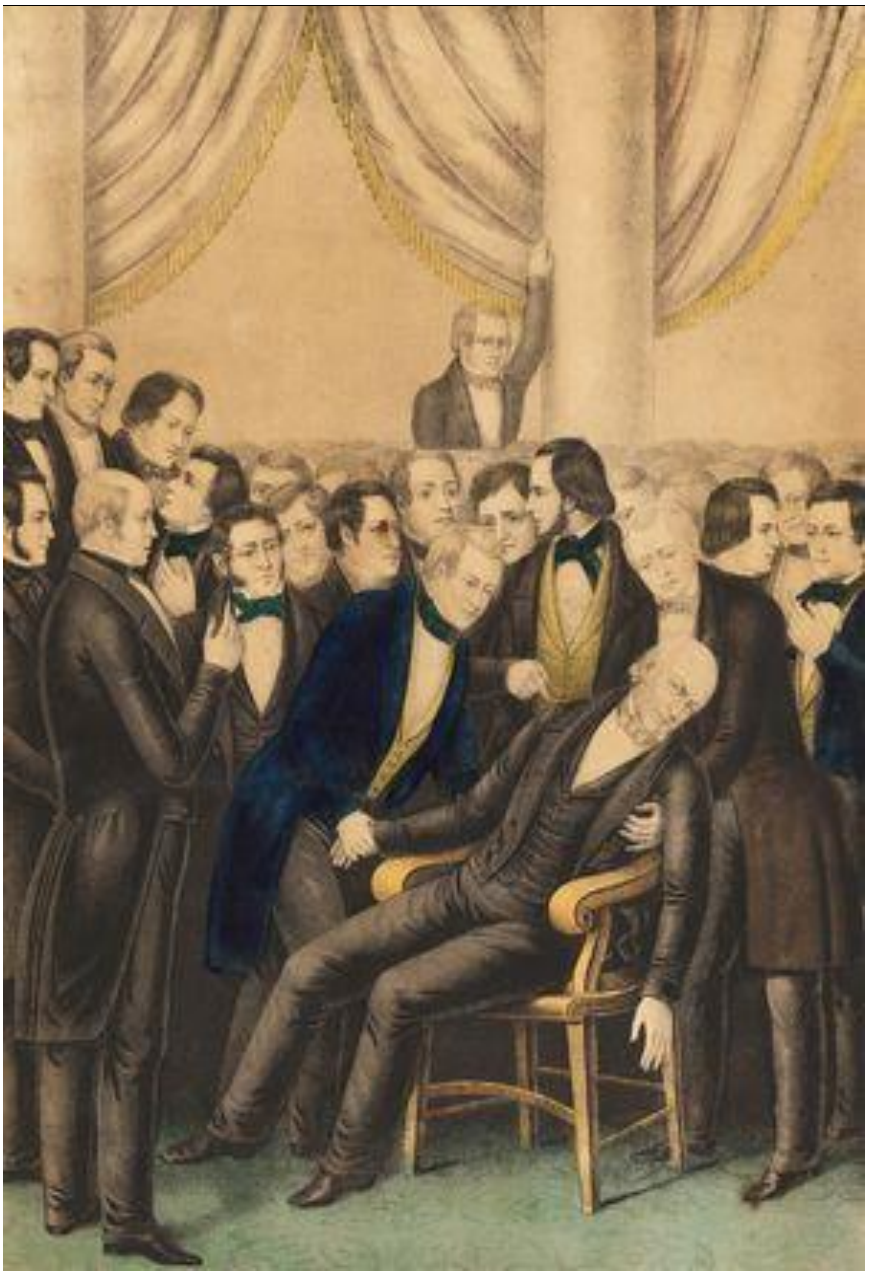
repeal of gag rulesMotion by John Quincy Adams to include his statement on the gag rules in the *House Journal*, dated May 27, 1836. It states, "I hold the resolution to be in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the Rules of this House, and of the rights of my constituents."

Adams's long second career in Congress was at least as important as his earlier career as a diplomat. Throughout, he was conspicuous as an opponent of the expansion of slavery and was at heart an abolitionist, though he never became one in the political sense of the word. In 1839 he presented to the House of Representatives a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing that every child born in the United States after July 4, 1842, should be born free; that, with the exception of Florida, no new state should be admitted into the Union with slavery; and that neither slavery nor the slave trade should exist in the District of Columbia after July 4, 1845. The "gag rules," a resolution passed by

Southern members of Congress against all discussion of slavery in the House of Representatives, effectively blocked any discussion of Adams's proposed amendment. His prolonged fight for the repeal of the gag rules and for the right of petition to Congress for the mitigation or abolition of slavery was one of the most dramatic contests in the history of Congress. These petitions, from individuals and groups of individuals from all over the Northern states, increasingly were sent to Adams, and he dutifully presented them. Adams contended that the gag rules were a direct violation of the First Amendment to the federal Constitution, and he refused to be silenced on the question, fighting indomitably for repeal in spite of the bitter denunciation of his opponents. Each year the number of antislavery petitions received and presented by him grew greatly. Perhaps the climax was in 1837 when Adams presented a petition from 22 enslaved people and, threatened by his opponents with censure, defended himself with remarkable keenness and ability. At each session the majority against him decreased until, in 1844, his motion to repeal the standing 21st (gag) rule of the House was carried by a vote of 108 to 80, and his long battle was over.

Another spectacular contribution by Adams to the antislavery cause was his championing of the cause of Africans arrested aboard the slave ship *Amistad*—enslaved people who had mutinied and escaped from their Spanish owners off the coast of Cuba and had wound up bringing the ship into United States waters near Long Island, New York. Adams defended them as freemen before the Supreme Court in 1841 against efforts of the administration of President Martin Van Buren to return them to their masters and to inevitable death. Adams won their freedom.

As a member of Congress—in fact, throughout his life—Adams supported the improvement of the arts and sciences and the diffusion of knowledge. He did much to conserve the bequest of James Smithson (an eccentric Englishman) to the United States and to create and endow the Smithsonian Institution with the money from Smithson's estate.



The collapse of John Quincy Adams from a fatal stroke on the floor of the U.S. House of RepresentativesJohn Quincy Adams: seized with a fit in the House of Representatives Feby 21st 1848, lithograph by Kelloggs & Comstock, 1848; in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.

John Quincy AdamsDeath of John Quincy Adams, lithograph by Nathaniel Currier, c. 1848.

On his deathbed: John Quincy AdamsJohn Quincy Adams, sketched a few hours before his death by Arthur J. Stansbury, 1848. Lithograph by Sarony & Major.

Perhaps the most dramatic event in Adams's life was its end. On February 21, 1848, in the act of protesting an honorary grant of swords by Congress to the generals who had won what Adams considered a "most unrighteous war" with Mexico, he suffered a cerebral stroke, fell unconscious to the floor of the House, and died two days later in the Capitol building. His obsequies in Washington and in his native Massachusetts assumed the character of a nationwide pageant of mourning. Senator Thomas Hart

Benton, the main eulogist at the service in the Capitol, asked: "Where would death have found him except at the place of duty?"

Personality

Few men in American public life have possessed more independence, more public spirit, and more ability than did Adams. Still, throughout his political career he was handicapped by a certain personal reserve and austerity and coolness of manner that prevented him from appealing to the imaginations and affections of the people. He had few intimate friends, and not many men in American history have been regarded, during their lifetimes, with so much hostility or attacked with so much rancor by their political opponents.

Cabinet of President John Quincy Adams

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President John Quincy Adams.

Cabinet of President John Quincy Adams

March 4, 1825-March 3, 1829	
State	Henry Clay
Treasury	Richard Rush
War	James Barbour
	Peter Buell Porter (from June 21, 1828)
Navy	Samuel Lewis Southard
Attorney General	William Wirt

Andrew Jackson

7th President of the United States

[4 March 1829 <::> 3 March 1837]

Please visit:

01] https://millercenter.org/president/jackson

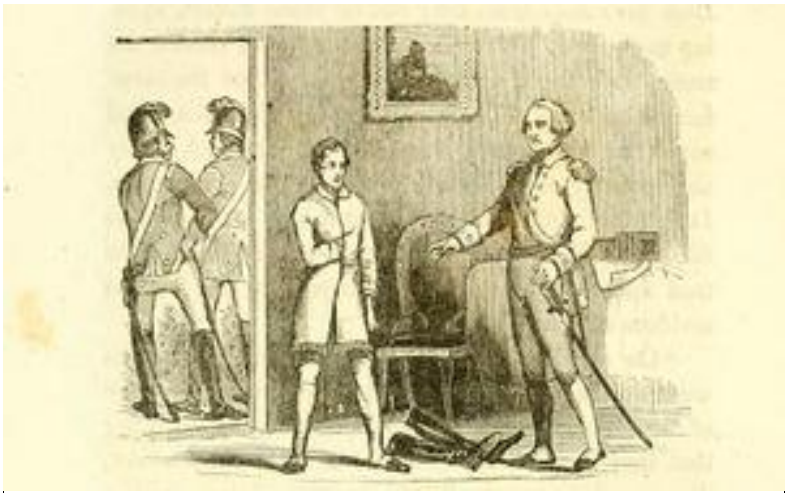
02] https://thehermitage.com/andrew-jackson

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andrew-Jackson

04] Andrew Jackson – 7th President of the United States (1829–1837) | Biography | Documentary
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wAPy7BuonBk [1:22:22]

Andrew Jackson (born March 15, 1767, Waxhaws region, South Carolina [U.S.]—died June 8, 1845, the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.) was a military hero and the seventh president of the United States (1829–37). He was the first U.S. president to come from the area west of the Appalachians and the first to gain office by a direct appeal to the mass of voters. His political movement has since been known as Jacksonian Democracy.

Early life



Jackson, AndrewIllustration from John Frost's *A Pictorial Biography of Andrew Jackson* (1860) depicting 13-year-old Andrew Jackson's refusal to shine the boots of a British officer.

Jackson was born on the western frontier of the Carolinas, an area that was in dispute between North Carolina and South Carolina, and both states have claimed him as a native son. Jackson maintained that he was born in South Carolina, and the weight of evidence supports his assertion. The area offered little opportunity for formal education, and what schooling he received was interrupted by the British invasion of the western Carolinas in 1780–81. In the latter year he was captured by the British. Shortly after being imprisoned, he refused to shine the boots of a

British officer and was struck across the face with a sabre. His mother and two brothers died during the closing years of the war, direct or indirect casualties of the invasion of the Carolinas. This sequence of tragic experiences fixed in Jackson's mind a lifelong hostility toward Great Britain. After the end of the American Revolution, he studied law in an office in Salisbury, North Carolina, and was admitted to the bar of that state in 1787. In 1788 he went to the Cumberland region as prosecuting attorney of the western district of North Carolina—the region west of the Appalachians, soon to become the state of Tennessee.

When Jackson arrived in Nashville, the community was still a frontier settlement. As prosecuting attorney, Jackson was principally occupied with suits for the collection of debts. He was so successful in these litigations that he soon had a thriving private practice and had gained the friendship of landowners and creditors. For almost 30 years Jackson was allied with this group in Tennessee politics. Jackson boarded in the home of Col. John Donelson, where he met and married the colonel's daughter, Rachel Robards (Rachel Jackson).

Tennessee politics

Jackson's interest in public affairs and in politics had always been keen. He had gone to Nashville as a political appointee, and in 1796 he became a member of the convention that drafted a constitution for the new state of Tennessee. In the same year he was elected as the first representative from Tennessee to the U.S. House of Representatives. An undistinguished legislator, he refused to seek reelection and served only until March 4, 1797. Jackson returned to Tennessee, vowing never to enter public life

again, but before the end of the year he was elected to the U.S. Senate. His willingness to accept the office reflects his emergence as an acknowledged leader of one of the two political factions contending for control of the state. Nevertheless, Jackson resigned from the Senate in 1798 after an uneventful year. Soon after his return to Nashville he was elected a judge of the superior court (in effect, the supreme court) of the state and served in that post until 1804. In 1802 Jackson had also been elected major general of the Tennessee militia, a position he still held when the War of 1812 opened the door to a command in the field and a hero's role.

At a glance
the Jackson presidency
Military feats

Andrew JacksonAndrew Jackson with the Tennessee forces at Hickory Grounds, Alabama; hand-colored lithograph, c. 1830–50.

In March 1812, when it appeared that war with Great Britain was imminent, Jackson issued a call for 50,000 volunteers to be ready for an invasion of Canada. After the declaration of war, in June 1812, Jackson offered his services and those of his militia to the United States. The government was slow to accept this offer, and, when Jackson finally was given a command in the field, it was to fight against the Creek Indians, who were allied with the British and who were threatening the southern frontier. In a campaign of about five months, in 1813–14, Jackson crushed the Creeks, the final victory coming in the Battle of Tohopeka (or Horseshoe Bend) in Alabama. The victory was so decisive that the Creeks never again menaced the frontier, and Jackson was established as the hero of the West.

In August 1814, Jackson moved his army south to Mobile. Though he was without specific instructions, his real objective was the Spanish post at Pensacola. The motive was to prepare the way for U.S. occupation of Florida, then a Spanish possession. Jackson's justification for this bold move was that Spain and Great Britain were allies in the wars in Europe. At Mobile, Jackson learned that an army of British regulars had landed at Pensacola. In the first week in November, he led his army into Florida and, on November 7, occupied that city just as the British evacuated it to go by sea to Louisiana.

Battle of New Orleans; Jackson, Andrew *The Battle of New Orleans*, reproduction of an oil painting by E. Percy Moran, c. 1910.

Battle of New Orleans *Battle of New Orleans*, lithograph by Kurz & Allison, c. 1890.

Battle of New Orleans ***Andrew Jackson During the Battle of New Orleans*, illustration by Frederick Coffay Yohn, c. 1922.**

Jackson then marched his army overland to New Orleans, where he arrived early in December. A series of small skirmishes between detachments of the two armies culminated in the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815, in which Jackson's forces inflicted a decisive defeat upon the British army and forced it to withdraw. The news of this victory reached Washington at a time when morale was at a low point. A few days later, news of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent (Belgium) between the United States and Great Britain on December 24, 1814, reached the capital. The twin tidings brought joy and relief to the American people and made Jackson the hero not only of the West but of a substantial part of the country as well.

Andrew Jackson's estate: The HermitageThe Hermitage, Andrew Jackson's estate in Tennessee; chromolithograph by Endicott & Co., 1856.

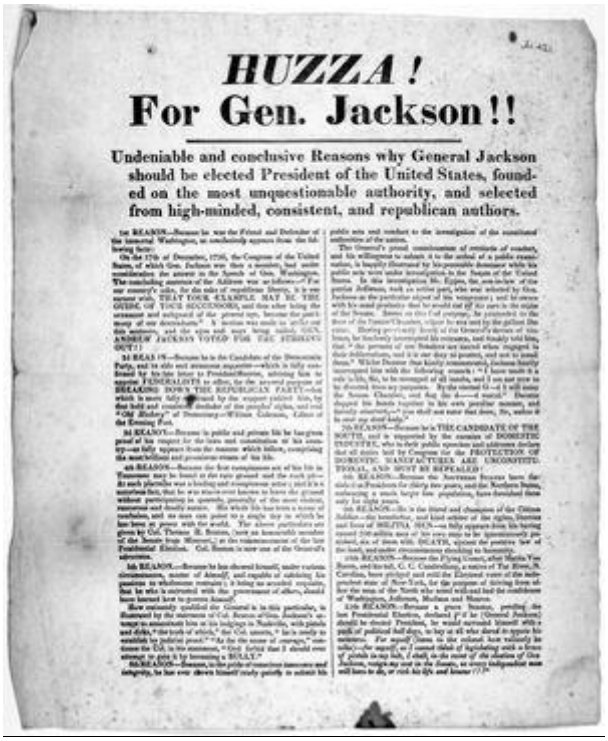
After the close of the war, Jackson was named commander of the southern district. He entrusted the command of the troops in the field to subordinates while he retired to his home at the Hermitage, near Nashville. He was ordered back to active service at the end of December 1817, when unrest along the border appeared to be reaching critical proportions. The instructions given Jackson were vague, and he ordered an invasion of Florida immediately after taking active command. He captured two Spanish posts and appointed one of his subordinates military governor of Florida. These bold actions brought an immediate and sharp protest from Spain and precipitated a cabinet crisis in Washington. The staunch defense of Jackson by Secretary of State John Quincy

Adams saved Jackson from censure and hastened the U.S. acquisition of Florida.

Presidential prospects

Jackson's military triumphs led to suggestions that he become a candidate for president, but he disavowed any interest, and political leaders in Washington assumed that the flurry of support for him would prove transitory. The campaign to make him president, however, was kept alive by his continued popularity and was carefully nurtured by a small group of his friends in Nashville, who combined devotion to the general with a high degree of political astuteness. In 1822 these friends maneuvered the Tennessee legislature into a formal nomination of their hero as a candidate for president. In the following year this same group persuaded the legislature to elect him to the U.S. Senate—a gesture designed to demonstrate the extent of his popularity in his home state.

Jackson, Andrew **A political cartoon from 1824 showing Andrew Jackson ("Old Hickory") under attack from a pack of dogs representing the opposition press.**



HUZZA!
For Gen. Jackson!!

Undeniable and conclusive Reasons why General Jackson should be elected President of the United States, founded on the most unquestionable authority, and selected from high-minded, consistent, and republican authors.

"HUZZA! For Gen. Jackson!!""HUZZA! For Gen. Jackson!!" Broadside advocating the election of Andrew Jackson as president of the United States, 1825.

In the election of 1824 four candidates received electoral votes. Jackson received the highest number (99); the others receiving electoral votes were John Quincy Adams (84), William H. Crawford (41), and Henry Clay (37). Because no one had a majority, the House of Representatives was required to elect a president from the three with the highest number of votes. Crawford was critically ill, so the actual choice was between Jackson and Adams. Clay, as speaker of the House, was in a strategic and perhaps decisive position to determine the outcome, and he threw his support to Adams, who was elected on the first ballot. When Adams appointed Clay secretary of state, it seemed to admirers of Jackson to confirm rumors of a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay. Jackson's friends persuaded him that the popular will had been thwarted by intrigues, and he thereupon determined to vindicate himself and his supporters by becoming a candidate again in 1828.

Rachel JacksonFirst lady Rachel Jackson, engraving by John Chester Buttre, 1883

In the election of 1828 Jackson defeated Adams by an electoral vote of 178 to 83 after a campaign in which personalities and slander played a larger part than in any previous U.S. national election. Jackson and his wife, Rachel, despite their long marriage, had been vilified in campaign pamphlets as adulterers. The basis was that Rachel Jackson was not legally divorced from her first husband at the time she and Jackson were wed. When they discovered their mistake they remarried, but the damage had been done. Jackson's hour of triumph was soon overshadowed by personal tragedy—his wife died at the Hermitage on December 22, 1828. Retiring and religious, she had avoided the public eye, and the scabrous attacks had hurt her deeply. Jackson had these words inscribed on her tombstone: "A being so gentle and yet so virtuous, slander might wound, but could not dishonor." She had dreaded becoming the hostess of

the President's House, saying that she would "rather be a doorkeeper in the House of God than live in that palace."

White House hostess Emily DonelsonEmily Donelson, photograph of oil portrait by Ralph E. W. Earl, 1830; painting in the collection of the White House.

Rachel Jackson's niece, Emily Donelson, the wife of Andrew Jackson Donelson, served as the president's hostess until 1836. At times, Sarah Yorke Jackson, the wife of Andrew Jackson's adopted son, also served as his hostess.

Jacksonian Democracy

White House receptionSatirical drawing of Andrew Jackson's first reception at the White House, from *The Playfair Papers*, 1841.

The election of 1828 is commonly regarded as a turning point in the political history of the United States. Jackson was the first president from the area west of the Appalachians, but it was equally significant that the initiative in launching his candidacy and much of the leadership in the organization of his campaign also came from the West. The victory of Jackson indicated a westward movement of the center of political power. He was also the first man to be elected president through a direct appeal to the mass of the voters rather than through the support of a recognized political organization. Jackson once said: "I know what I am fit for. I can command a body of men in a rough way; but I am not fit to be president." Yet today he is regarded as the maker of the modern presidency.

Andrew JacksonU.S. Pres. Andrew Jackson, engraving, c. 1860.

Jackson was the first president born in poverty. In time he became one of the largest landholders in Tennessee, yet he had retained the frontiersmen's prejudice against people of wealth. He had no well-defined

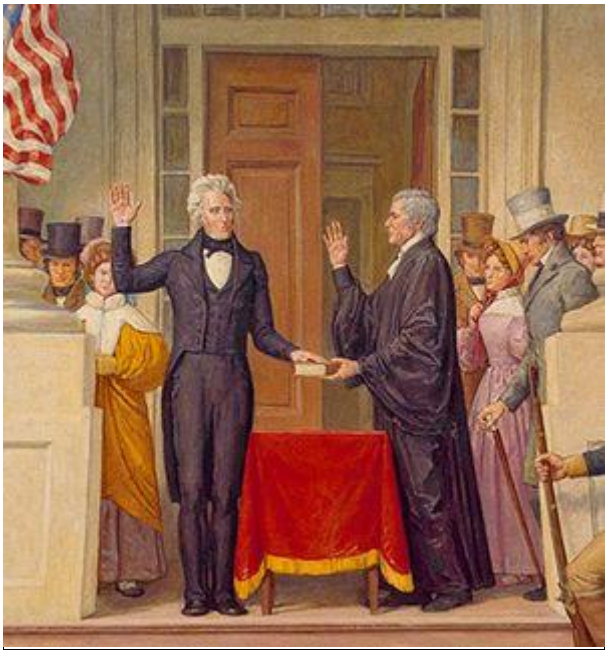
program of action when he entered the presidency. He was the beneficiary of a rising tide of democratic sentiment, a trend that was aided by the admission of six new states to the Union, five of which had manhood suffrage, and by the extension of the suffrage laws by many of the older states. As the power of the older political organizations weakened, the way was opened for the rise of new political leaders skilled in appealing to the mass of voters. Not the least remarkable triumph of the Jacksonian organization was its success in picturing its candidate as the embodiment of democracy, despite the fact that Jackson had been aligned with the conservative faction in Tennessee politics for 30 years and that in the financial crisis that swept the West after 1819 he had vigorously opposed legislation for the relief of debtors.

As the victory of Jackson reflected the emergence of new forces in U.S. politics, so Jackson himself brought to the presidency a new set of personal qualifications that were to become the standard by which presidential candidates would be judged for the remainder of the 19th century. He was the first president since George Washington who had not served a long apprenticeship in public life and had no personal experience in the formulation or conduct of foreign policy. His brief periods of service in Congress provided no clue to his stand on the public issues of the day, except perhaps on the tariff.

"King Andrew the First" Political cartoon accusing Andrew Jackson of monarchical ambitions, 1832.

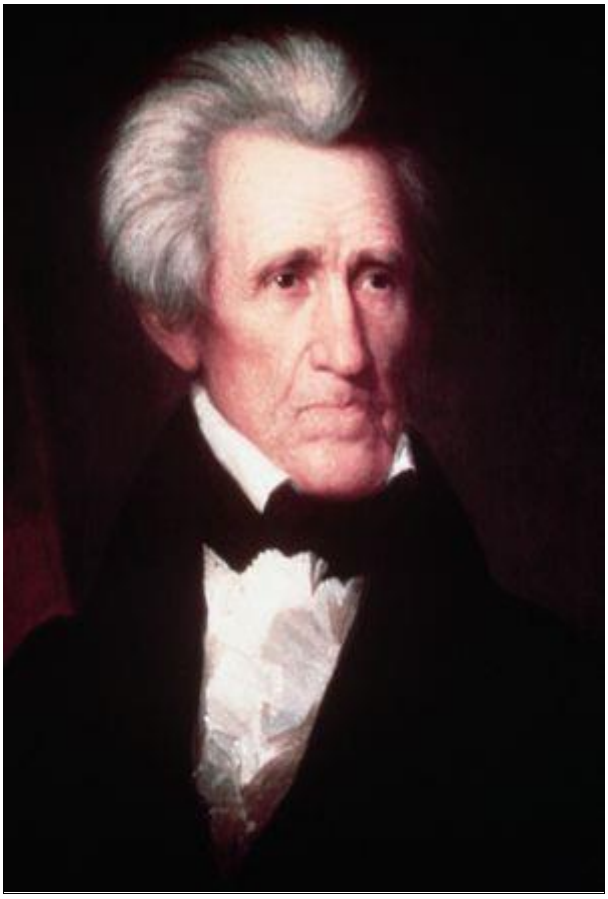
Jackson approached the problems of the presidency as he had approached all other problems in life. He met each issue as it arose, and he exhibited the same vigour and determination in carrying out decisions that had characterized his conduct as commander of an army. He made it clear from the outset that he would be the master of his own administration, and, at times, he was so strong-willed and decisive that his enemies referred to him as "King Andrew I." In making decisions and policy, Jackson relied on an informal group of newspaper editors and politicians who had helped elect him; they came to be known as his "kitchen cabinet."

The first term

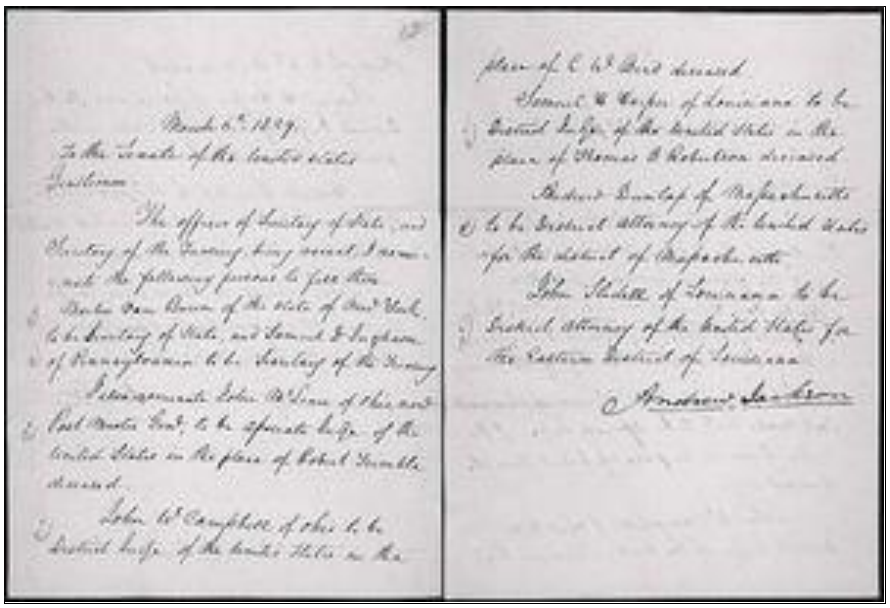


***First Capitol Inauguration, 1829*; Andrew JacksonChief Justice John Marshall administering the oath of office to Pres. Andrew Jackson, *First Capitol Inauguration, 1829*, oil on canvas by Allyn Cox, 1973–74.**

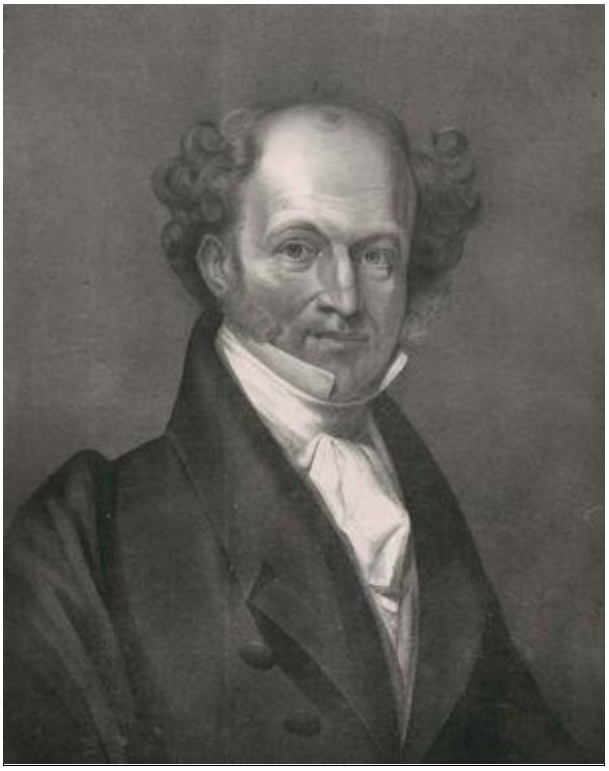
When Jackson was inaugurated on March 4, 1829, it was the first time in more than a quarter of a century that the election of a new president reflected the repudiation of his predecessor. Hundreds who had worked for the election of Jackson hoped this would mean that incumbent officeholders would be replaced by friends of the new president, and within a few weeks the process of removing opponents of Jackson to make way for supporters had begun. Some years later, in the U.S. Senate, William L. Marcy of New York defended the principle of "rotation of office" with the aphorism, "To the victors belong the spoils." The so-called spoils system, however, did not begin with Jackson, nor did he utilize this practice as extensively as was charged. In eight years as president, Jackson removed fewer than one-fifth of all federal officeholders.



U.S. Pres. Andrew JacksonAndrew Jackson, oil on canvas by Asher B. Durand, c. 1800; in the collection of the New-York Historical Society.



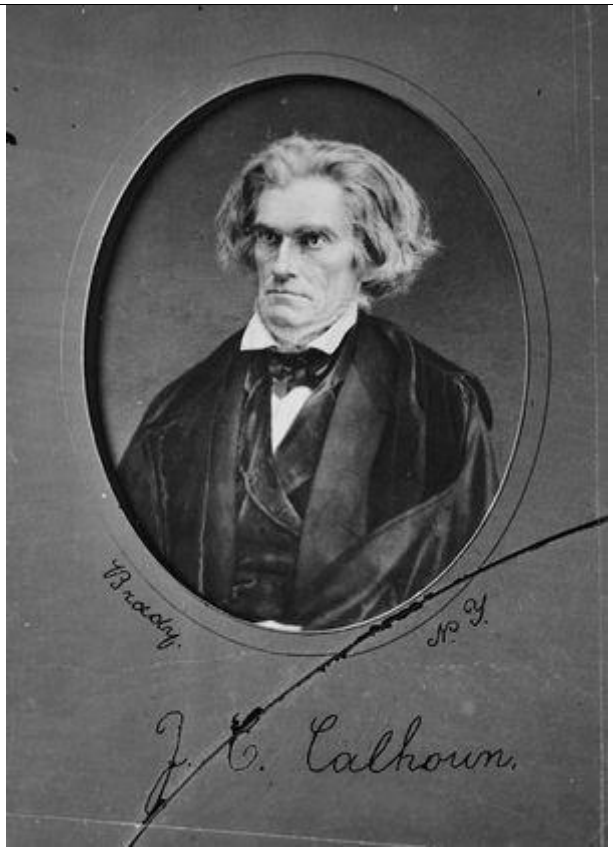
Jackson, Andrew: cabinet nominationPres. Andrew Jackson's message nominating his cabinet, including Martin Van Buren as Secretary of State, March 6, 1829.



Martin Van BurenU.S. Vice Pres. Martin Van Buren, 1835.

Jackson was in poor health when he became president, and few believed that he would have the strength or inclination to seek a second term. The question of the succession was, therefore, certain to attract early attention. One obvious candidate was Vice President John C. Calhoun from Jackson's native state of South Carolina. Another was Martin Van Buren, Jackson's first secretary of state. The harmony of the new administration was marred from the outset by the rivalry between Calhoun and Van Buren. Moreover, Jackson learned in 1830 that during the cabinet debates in 1818 Calhoun had urged that Jackson be censured for his invasion of Florida. In that episode Jackson had captured the Spanish forts at St. Marks, Pensacola, and several other towns, and claimed the surrounding territory for the United States. He had also seized two British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, and hanged them. Jackson, though considered a hero in many

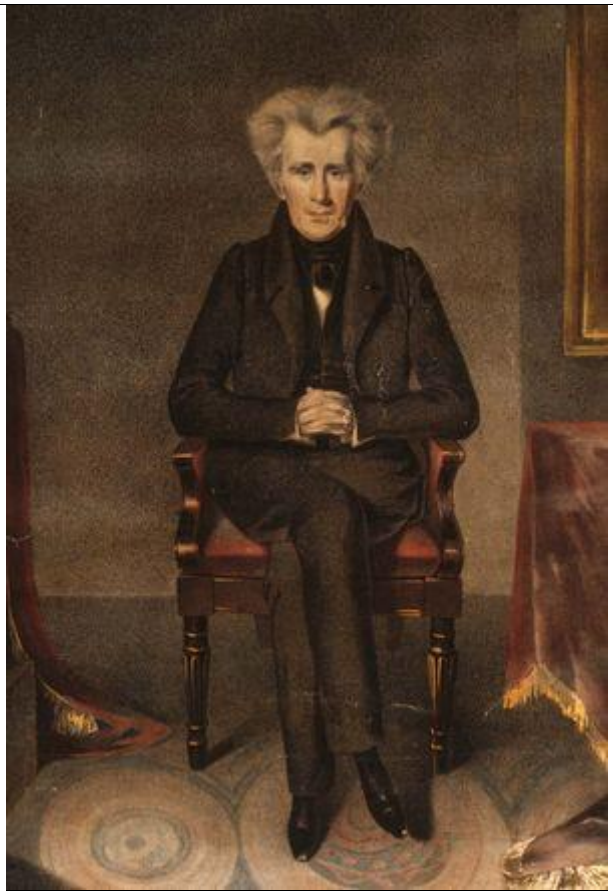
parts of the country for this action, was severely criticized by Congress. Calhoun was the most prominent of these critics, and Jackson concluded that he could no longer trust him. From that time, Van Buren was generally recognized as the probable successor of Jackson as president.



John CalhounJohn Calhoun, detail of a daguerreotype by Mathew Brady, c. 1849.

The feud between Jackson and Calhoun assumed momentous importance in 1830 when Calhoun openly espoused the cause of South Carolina in its opposition to a high protective tariff. Feeling in South Carolina was so intense that there were covert threats that the state would attempt to prevent collection of the tariff within its borders. The issue of the tariff drifted unresolved, however, until 1832, when congressional leaders sought a compromise in the form of a moderate reduction of the tariff. South Carolina was not satisfied and in reply adopted a resolution declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void and prohibiting the

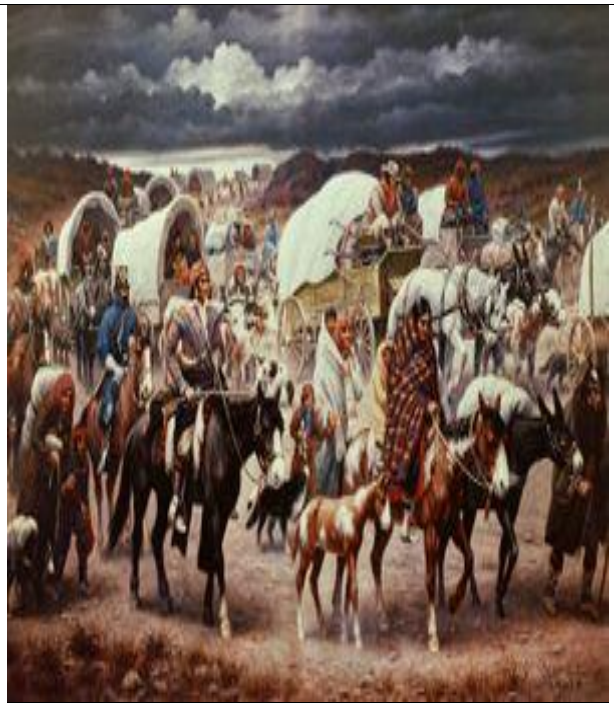
enforcement of either within its boundaries after February 1, 1833. Jackson accepted the challenge, denounced the theory of nullification, and asked Congress for authority to send troops into South Carolina to enforce the law. The president believed the tariff to be too high, however, and urged Congress to reduce the rates it had enacted a few months earlier. On March 1, 1833, Congress sent to the president two companion bills. One reduced tariff duties on many items. The other, commonly called the Force Bill, empowered the president to use the armed forces to enforce federal laws. South Carolina repealed its nullification ordinance, but at the same time it declared the Force Act null and void.



Andrew JacksonU.S. Pres. Andrew Jackson, hand-colored lithograph (1830) from a painting by William James Hubard.

Whatever the motives, Jackson had preserved the integrity of the Union against the most serious threat it had yet faced. In contrast, he was

remarkably complacent when Georgia defied the federal government. In 1829 Georgia extended its jurisdiction to about 9,000,000 acres (4,000,000 hectares) of land that lay within its boundaries but was still occupied by the Cherokee Indians. The Cherokees' title to the land, on which gold had been discovered, having been guaranteed by a treaty with the United States, the Indians appealed to the federal courts. In two separate cases, the Supreme Court ruled against Georgia, but Georgia ignored those decisions and continued to enforce its jurisdiction within the territory claimed by the Cherokees. In contrast to his strong reaction against South Carolina's defiance of federal authority, Jackson made no effort to restrain Georgia, and those close to him felt certain that he sympathized with the position taken by that state. He is said to have declared privately, "John Marshall [the chief justice] has made his decision, now let him enforce it!" Jackson's failure to support the Supreme Court remains an indelible stain on his record.



Robert Lindneux: *The Trail of Tears*The Trail of Tears, oil on canvas by Robert Lindneux, 1942.

The Cherokee, left without a choice, signed another treaty in 1835 giving up their land in exchange for land in the Indian Territory west of Arkansas. Three years later, having been rounded up by Gen. Winfield Scott, some 15,000 Cherokees were forced to wend their way westward, mostly on foot, on a journey that became known as the Trail of Tears. On the way, during the cold and wet of winter, nearly a quarter of them died of starvation, illness, and exposure.

Trail of TearsRoutes, statistics, and notable events of the Trail of Tears.

The plight of the Cherokee was a consequence of the Jackson government's policy toward the Native American peoples who lived east of the Mississippi (especially in the Southeast) on lands that were desired for white settlement. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 authorized Jackson to grant these Indian tribes unsettled western prairie land in exchange for their homelands. When members of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, including the Cherokees, refused to relocate, military coercion was employed to force compliance. Even more reluctant to leave their Florida home were the Seminoles, who would resist resettlement in the Second Seminole War (1835–42)..

Reelection in 1832

In the meantime, Jackson acquiesced to the pressure of friends and sought a second term. As the election of 1832 approached, Jackson's opponents hoped to embarrass him by posing a new dilemma. The charter of the Bank of the United States was due to expire in 1836. The president had not clearly defined his position on the bank, but he was increasingly uneasy about how it was then organized. More significant in an election year was the fact that large blocs of voters who favored Jackson were openly hostile to the bank. In the summer of 1832, Jackson's opponents rushed through Congress a bill to recharter the bank, thus forcing Jackson either to sign the measure and alienate many of his supporters or to veto it and appear to be a foe of sound banking. Jackson's cabinet was divided between friends and critics of the bank, but the obviously political motives of the recharter bill reconciled all of them to the necessity of a veto. The question before Jackson actually was whether the veto message should leave the door open to future compromise.

"New Edition of MacBeth. Bank-oh's! Ghost""New Edition of MacBeth. Bank-oh's! Ghost," political cartoon satirizing the Panic of 1837 and condemning Martin Van Buren's continuation of predecessor Andrew Jackson's "hard-money" policies as the source of the crisis.

Few presidential vetoes have caused as much controversy in their own time or later as the one Jackson sent to Congress on July 10, 1832. The veto of the bill to recharter the bank was the prelude to a conflict over financial policy that continued through Jackson's second term, which he nevertheless won easily. Efforts to persuade Congress to enact legislation limiting the circulation of bank notes failed, but there was one critical point at which Jackson was free to apply his theories. Nearly all purchasers of public lands paid with bank notes, many of which had to be discounted because of doubts as to the continuing solvency of the banks that issued them. Partly to protect federal revenues against loss and partly to advance his concept of a sound currency, Jackson issued the Specie Circular in July 1836, requiring payment in gold or silver for all public lands. This measure created a demand for specie that many of the banks could not meet; banks began to fail, and the effect of bank failures in the West spread to the East. By the spring of 1837 the entire country was gripped by a financial panic. The panic did not come, however, until

after Jackson had had the pleasure of seeing Van Buren inaugurated as president on March 4, 1837.

White HouseView of the east elevation of the White House, including the proposed North and South Porticos, 1807.

During Jackson's time, the President's House underwent noteworthy alterations. The North Portico, which had long been advocated by James Hoban, its architect, was added to the mansion. The appropriation that Jackson obtained for this work included a sum for refurbishing the interior of the building, and the public rooms were refitted on a grand scale. A system of iron pipes was also installed in order to convey water from a well to a small reservoir on the grounds from which it could be pumped to various parts of the building. For the first time, the occupants' needs for water could be met without relying on the time-honored system of filling pails and carrying them where required.

Andrew JacksonU.S. Pres. Andrew Jackson, lithograph by Lafosse after a daguerreotype by Brady, 1856.

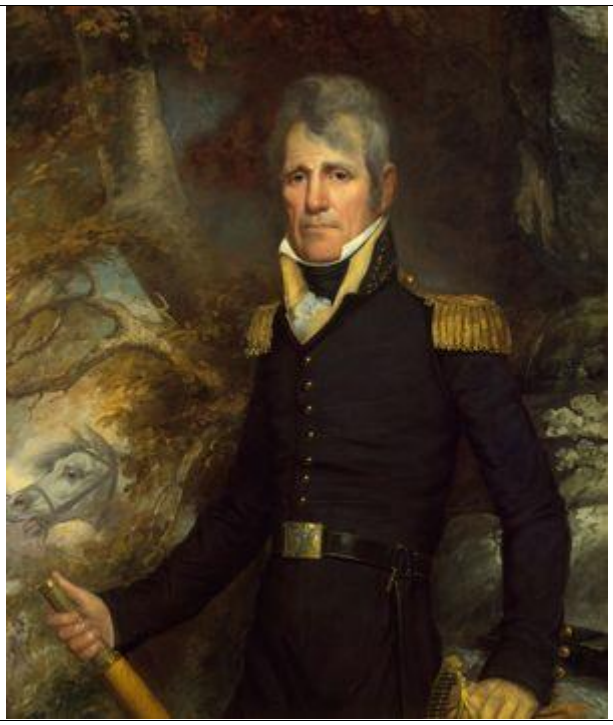
Andrew Jackson's home: the HermitageThe Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson.

"Death of Genl. Andrew Jackson""Death of Genl. Andrew Jackson," hand-colored lithograph by Currier & Ives, 1845.

Jackson retired to his home, the Hermitage. For decades in poor health, he was virtually an invalid during the remaining eight years of his life, but he continued to have a lively interest in public affairs.

Jackson's influence

Jackson had left office more popular than when he entered it. The widespread approval of his actions exercised a profound effect on the character of U.S. politics for half a century. His success appeared to be a vindication of the new democracy. Powerful voices still questioned the wisdom and morality of democracy in 1829; there were few who would question it in 1837. Jackson had likewise established a pattern that future candidates for the presidency attempted to imitate. Birth in humble circumstances, experience on the frontier, evidence of being close to the mass of the people, a devotion to democracy, and, if possible, some military exploits were all valuable assets for any candidate.



Andrew JacksonAndrew Jackson, detail of an oil painting by John Wesley Jarvis, c. 1819.

The intensity of the political struggles from 1825 to 1837 led to the revival of the two-party system. Jackson never thought of himself as a master politician, but he and his associates proved themselves the most skillful political leaders of that generation. When Jackson was elected president in 1828, he was the candidate of a faction rather than of a party. When he retired from the presidency he left a vigorous and well-organized Democratic Party as a legacy.

Cabinet of President Andrew Jackson

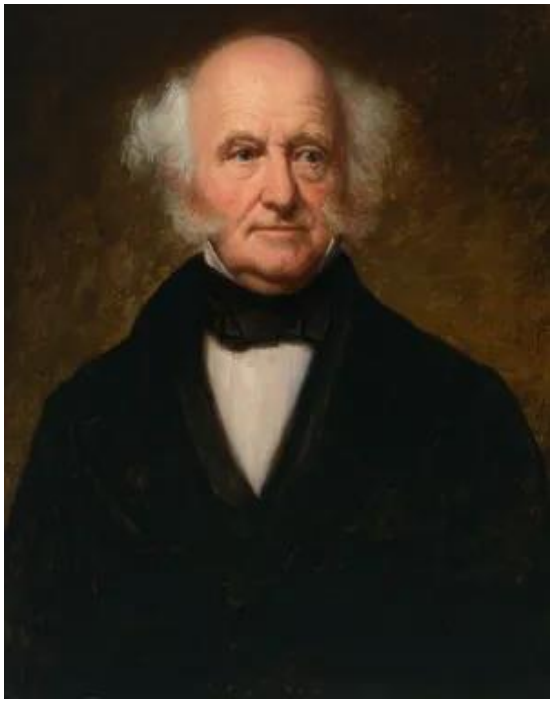
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Andrew Jackson.

Cabinet of President Andrew Jackson

March 4, 1829–March 3, 1833 (Term 1)	
State	Martin Van Buren
	Edward Livingston (from May 24, 1831)
Treasury	Samuel Delucenna Ingham
	Louis McLane (from August 8, 1831)
War	John Henry Eaton
	Lewis Cass (from August 8, 1831)
Navy	John Branch
	Levi Woodbury (from May 23, 1831)
Attorney General	John Macpherson Berrien
	Roger Brooke Taney (from July 20, 1831)

Cabinet of President Andrew Jackson

March 4, 1829–March 3, 1833 (Term 1)	
March 4, 1833–March 3, 1837 (Term 2)	
State	Edward Livingston
	Louis McLane (from May 29, 1833)
	John Forsyth (from July 1, 1834)
Treasury	Louis McLane
	William John Duane (from June 1, 1833)
	Roger Brooke Taney (from September 23, 1833)
	Levi Woodbury (from July 1, 1834)
War	Lewis Cass
Navy	Levi Woodbury
	Mahlon Dickerson (from June 30, 1834)
Attorney General	Roger Brooke Taney
	Benjamin Franklin Butler (from November 18, 1833)



Martin Van Buren

8th President of the United States

[4 March 1837 <::> 3 March 1841]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/martin-van-buren

02] https://millercenter.org/president/vanburen

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Martin-Van-Buren

04] The Life and Presidency of Martin Van Buren: A Dialogue with James M. Bradley
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y1EZmO3dyYY [1:25:48]

Martin Van Buren (born December 5, 1782, Kinderhook, New York, U.S.—died July 24, 1862, Kinderhook) was the eighth president of the United States (1837–41) and one of the founders of the Democratic Party. He was known as the "Little Magician" to his friends (and the "Sly Fox" to his enemies) in recognition of his reputed cunning and skill as a politician.

Early life

Hannah Van BurenFirst lady Hannah Van Buren; in the collection of the Martin Van Buren National Historic Site.

Van Buren was the third of five children born to Abraham Van Buren, a farmer and tavern keeper, and Maria Hoes Van Alen, both of Dutch descent; he also had one half sister and two half brothers on his mother's side from her previous marriage. Martin, whose childhood nickname was "Little Mat," began his education at the village school and later attended the Kinderhook Academy. After classes, he often helped in his father's tavern, which was frequented by prominent lawyers and politicians, including Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. In 1796 he was apprenticed to the lawyer Francis Silvester, and at age 15 he participated in his first court case, which he won. After completing his legal studies in New York City, Van Buren returned to Kinderhook, where he opened a practice with his half-brother James Van Alen in 1803. In

1807 he married his cousin Hannah Hoes (Hannah Van Buren), with whom he had four children; Hannah died in 1819, and Van Buren never remarried.

Political career

Senate and vice presidency

In 1812 Van Buren ran for a seat in the New York Senate; on the campaign trail, he opposed the Bank of the United States and supported the impending war with Great Britain over maritime rights. He was narrowly elected and served two terms (1812–20). During his tenure he was also appointed state attorney general, holding that post from 1815 to 1819.

Van Buren developed a reputation as a gifted politician, and his skill was apparent when he created the Albany Regency, an informal political organization in New York

state that was a prototype of the modern political machine. It became a powerful force in state politics and helped ensure Van Buren's election to the U.S. Senate in 1821. Van Buren, who regarded himself as a disciple of Thomas Jefferson, was a member of the Jeffersonian faction of the Republican Party. He supported the doctrine of states' rights, opposed a strong federal government, and disapproved of federally sponsored internal improvements. After John Quincy Adams was elected president in 1824, Van Buren brought together a diverse coalition of Jeffersonian Republicans, including followers of Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford, and John C. Calhoun, to found a new political party, which was soon named the Democratic Party.

In 1828 Van Buren resigned his Senate seat and successfully ran for governor of New York. However, he

gave up the governorship within 12 weeks to become Pres. Andrew Jackson's secretary of state. In this role he was criticized for expanding the system of political patronage, though some later historians considered the criticism unfair. Resigning as secretary of state in 1831 to permit reorganization of the cabinet, he served briefly as minister to Great Britain.

In 1832 Van Buren was nominated for the vice presidency by the first national convention of the Democratic Party; he replaced John C. Calhoun as Pres. Jackson's running mate. The two men ran on a platform that opposed the continued operation of the Bank of the United States. They easily defeated the National Republican ticket of Henry Clay and John Sergeant.

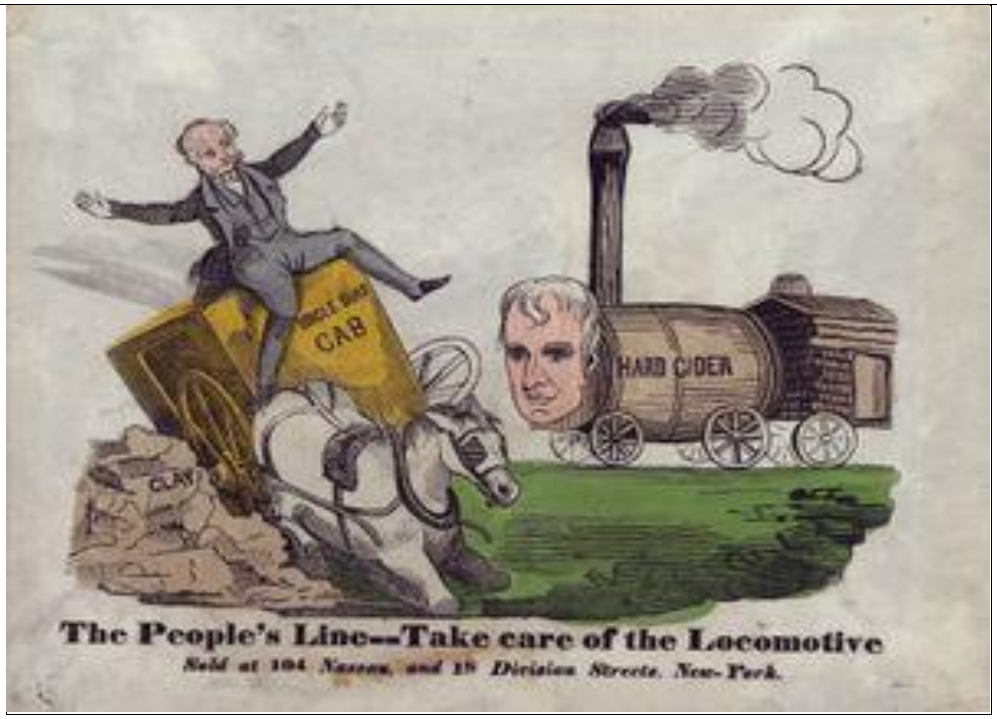
At a glance: the Van Buren presidency

Presidency

With Jackson's endorsement, Van Buren was unanimously nominated for president in May 1835. In the election the following year, Van Buren defeated three candidates fielded by the splintered Whig Party, collecting 170 electoral votes to his opponents' 124. A deadlock in the electoral college over the vice president ended with Jackson nominating Richard M. Johnson.

When Van Buren took office in 1837, he became the first president who was born as a U.S. citizen. Almost immediately he faced a national financial panic brought about in part by the transfer of federal funds from the Bank of the United States to state banks during Jackson's second term. In 1840 Van Buren's proposal to move federal funds from state banks to an "independent

treasury" was passed by Congress after a bitter struggle in which many conservative Democrats deserted to the new Whig Party.



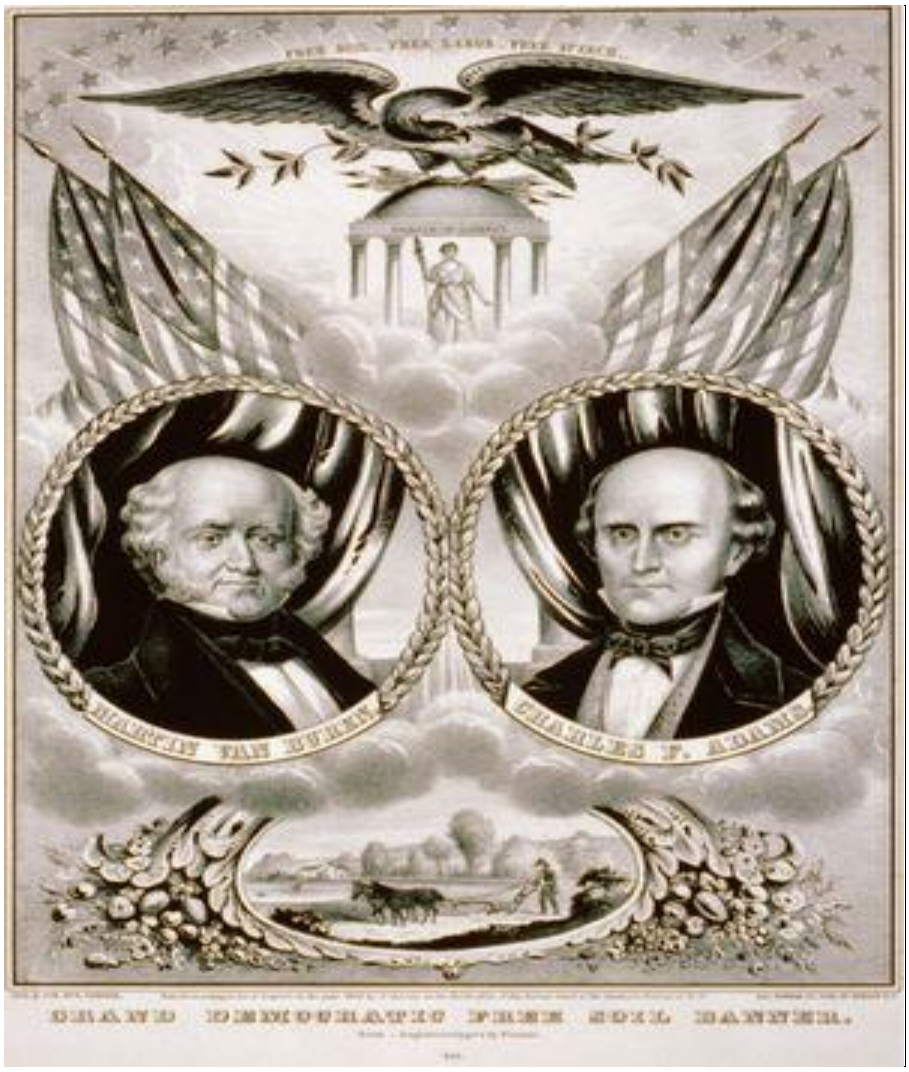
Presidential campaign of 1840 political cartoonA political cartoon from the 1840 presidential campaign, in which Pres. Martin Van Buren, a Democrat, was defeated by the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison. The cartoon shows Van Buren driving a carriage called "Uncle Sam's Cab," which wrecks on a pile of "Clay," representing powerful Whig Sen. Henry Clay. Harrison, depicted as a locomotive, bears down on Van Buren.

Van Buren's popularity was further eroded by the long and costly war with the Seminole Indians in Florida (the second of the Seminole Wars) and by his failure to support the proposed annexation of the newly

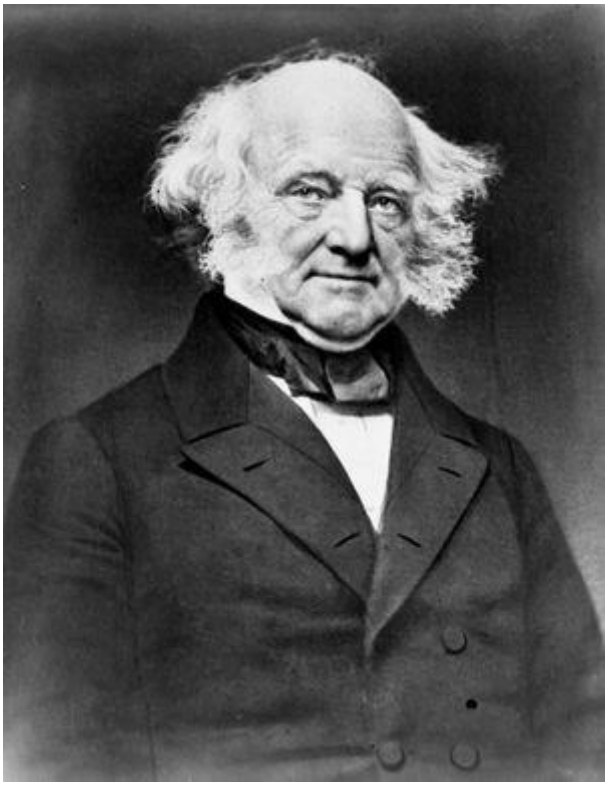
independent state of Texas; Texas would have been admitted as a slave state, and Van Buren wanted to avoid any sectional conflicts that would further divide the country over the issue. In 1839, after a series of armed clashes between Americans and Canadians in disputed territory along the Maine–New Brunswick border (the Aroostook War), Van Buren dispatched Gen. Winfield Scott to restore order, and a permanent settlement was negotiated in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. In an effort to win the proslavery vote in the election of 1840, Van Buren sided against enslaved Africans on trial in the United States for their part in the Amistad mutiny in 1839. However, the enduring economic crisis and the denial of statehood to Texas contributed to Van Buren being overwhelmingly defeated

by the Whig candidate William Henry Harrison, 234 to 60. One of Van Buren's last acts before leaving office was to order that no person should work more than 10 hours a day on federal public works.

Later years of Martin Van Buren



Martin Van Buren: 1848 U.S. presidential campaign poster An 1848 campaign poster featuring Martin Van Buren (left) and Charles F. Adams, the Free-Soil Party presidential and vice presidential candidates, respectively.



Martin Van BurenU.S. Pres. Martin Van Buren.

Four years later the Democrats were bitterly divided over the question of the annexation of Texas, and Van Buren, who continued to oppose annexation, was passed over in favor of James K. Polk, who won the election on a platform calling for the annexation of both Texas and Oregon. In 1848 Van Buren ran as a candidate of the Free Soil Party, which included members of the antislavery factions of the Democratic Party (the

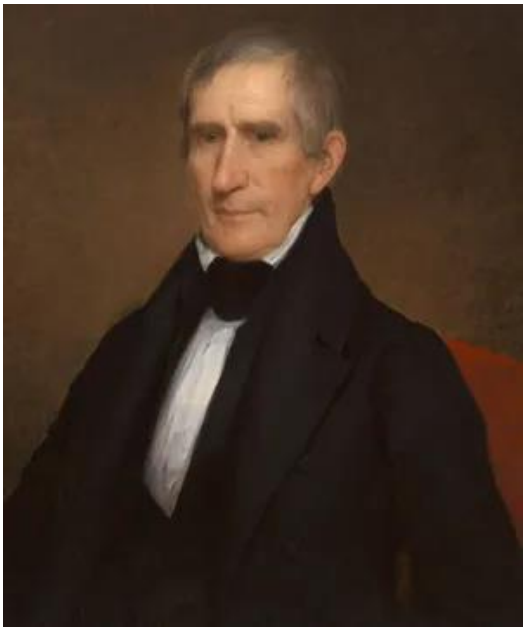
"Barnburners") and the Whig Party, but he received only 10 percent of the vote. He spent several years in Europe and then retired to his estate, Lindenwald, in Kinderhook.

Cabinet of Pres. Martin Van Buren

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Martin Van Buren.

Cabinet of President Martin Van Buren

March 4, 1837–March 3, 1841	
State	John Forsyth
Treasury	Levi Woodbury
War	Joel Roberts Poinsett
Navy	Mahlon Dickerson James Kirke Paulding (from July 1, 1838)
Attorney General	Benjamin Franklin Butler Felix Grundy (from September 1, 1838) Henry Dilworth Gilpin (from January 11, 1840)



William Henry Harrison

9th President of the United States

[4 March 1841 <::> 4 April 1841]

Please visit:

01] https://www.history.com/articles/william-henry-harrison

02]https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/williamhenryharrison

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Henry-Harrison/Political-career

04] William Henry Harrison – 9th President of the United States https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UDJjT568xMg [1:02:54]

William Henry Harrison (born February 9, 1773, Charles City county, Virginia [U.S.]—died April 4, 1841, Washington, D.C., U.S.) was the ninth president of the United States (1841), whose Indian campaigns, while he was a territorial governor and army officer, thrust him into the national limelight and led to his election in 1840. He was the oldest man, at age 67, ever elected president up to that time, the last president born under British rule, and the first to die in office—after only one month's service. His grandson Benjamin Harrison was the 23rd president of the United States (1889–93).

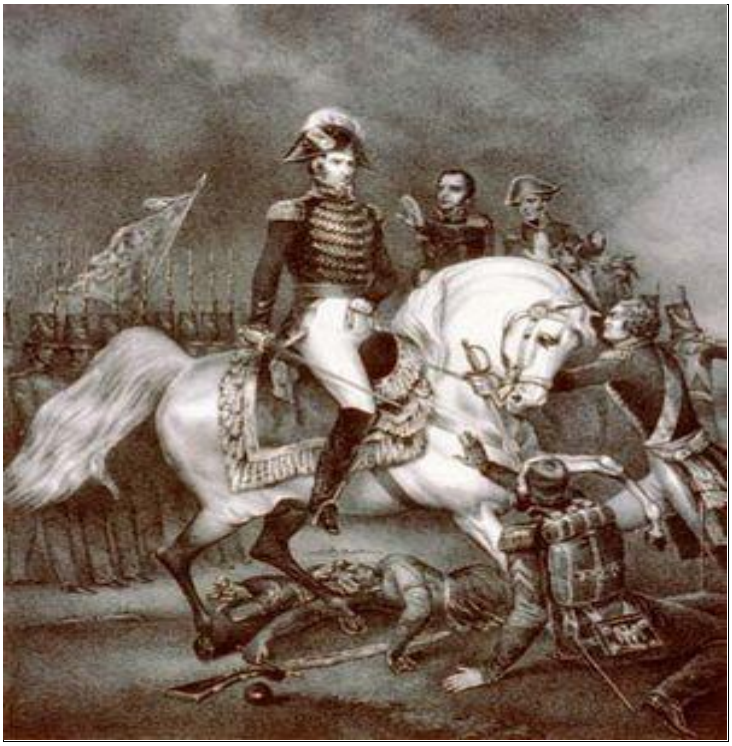
Early years

William Henry Harrison; Berkeley PlantationBerkeley Plantation in Charles City, Virginia, the birthplace of William Henry Harrison.

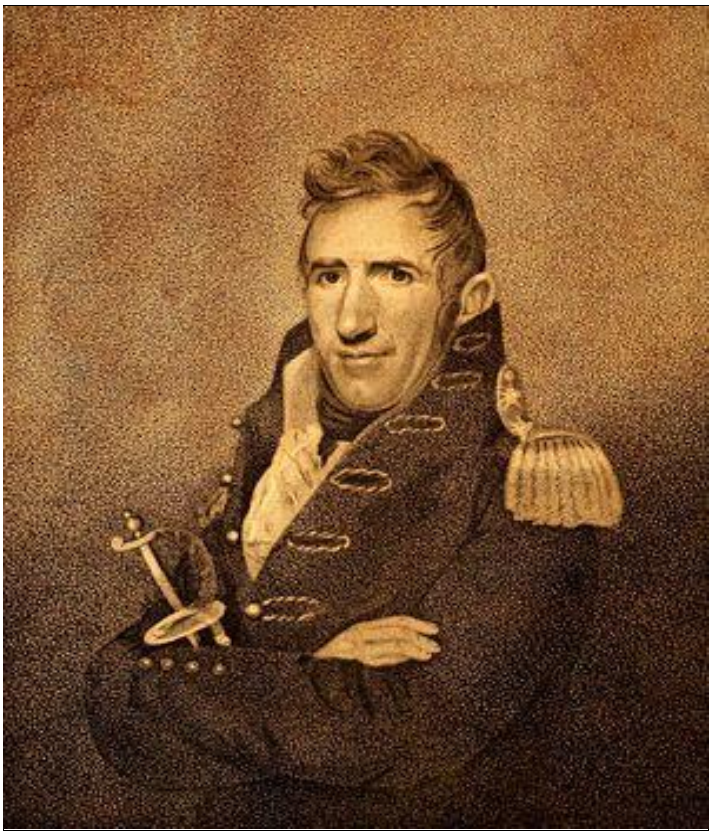
Born at Berkeley Plantation in Virginia, Harrison was descended from two wealthy and well-connected Virginia families. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was long prominent in Virginia politics and became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1764, opposing Patrick Henry's Stamp Act resolutions in the following year. He also was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, and the governor of Virginia (1781–84). A brother, Carter Bassett Harrison, served six years in the House of Representatives.

Harrison, AnnaFirst lady Anna Harrison, oil painting by Cornelia Stuart Cassady, 1843.

William Henry Harrison received a classical education at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, where he was a student from 1787 to 1790. He then studied medicine in Richmond, Virginia, and in Philadelphia with Benjamin Rush. However, the death of his father caused Harrison to discontinue his studies. In November 1791, at age 18, he enlisted in the army as an ensign in the 10th Regiment at Fort Washington near Cincinnati (in what is now Ohio). The following year he was made a lieutenant and subsequently served as an aide-de-camp to Gen. Anthony Wayne, who was engaged in a struggle against the Northwest Indian Confederation over the westward encroachment of white settlers. Harrison took part in the campaign that ended in the Battle of Fallen Timbers (August 20, 1794), near present-day Maumee, Ohio. The following year, on November 25, he married Anna Tuthill Symmes. Because her father objected to the match, the couple married in secret. Harrison was promoted to captain in 1797 and, for a brief period, served as commander of Fort Washington, resigning from the army in June 1798.



Battle of Tippecanoe: William Henry HarrisonWilliam Henry Harrison at the Battle of Tippecanoe (1811).



William Henry HarrisonWilliam Henry Harrison, c. 1814.

In subsequent years Harrison held several government positions. In 1798 Pres. John Adams named Harrison to succeed Winthrop Sargent as secretary of the Northwest Territory, a vast tract of land encompassing most of the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The following year Harrison was sent to Congress as a territorial delegate. While serving in this capacity, he devised a plan for distributing public lands to settlers and also assisted in the division of the Northwest Territory. It was Harrison's ambition to become governor of the reconstituted, more-populous eastern portion of the territory. Instead, in May 1800, Adams appointed Harrison governor of the newly created Indiana Territory, which comprised, until 1809, a much larger area than the present state of Indiana. He would serve as governor for 12 years. In 1803 Harrison also became a special commissioner charged with negotiating with Native Americans "on the subject of boundary or lands." Succumbing to the demands of land-hungry whites, he negotiated a number of treaties between 1802 and 1809 that stripped Indians of millions of acres of land—in the southern part of the present state of Indiana and portions of the present states of Illinois,

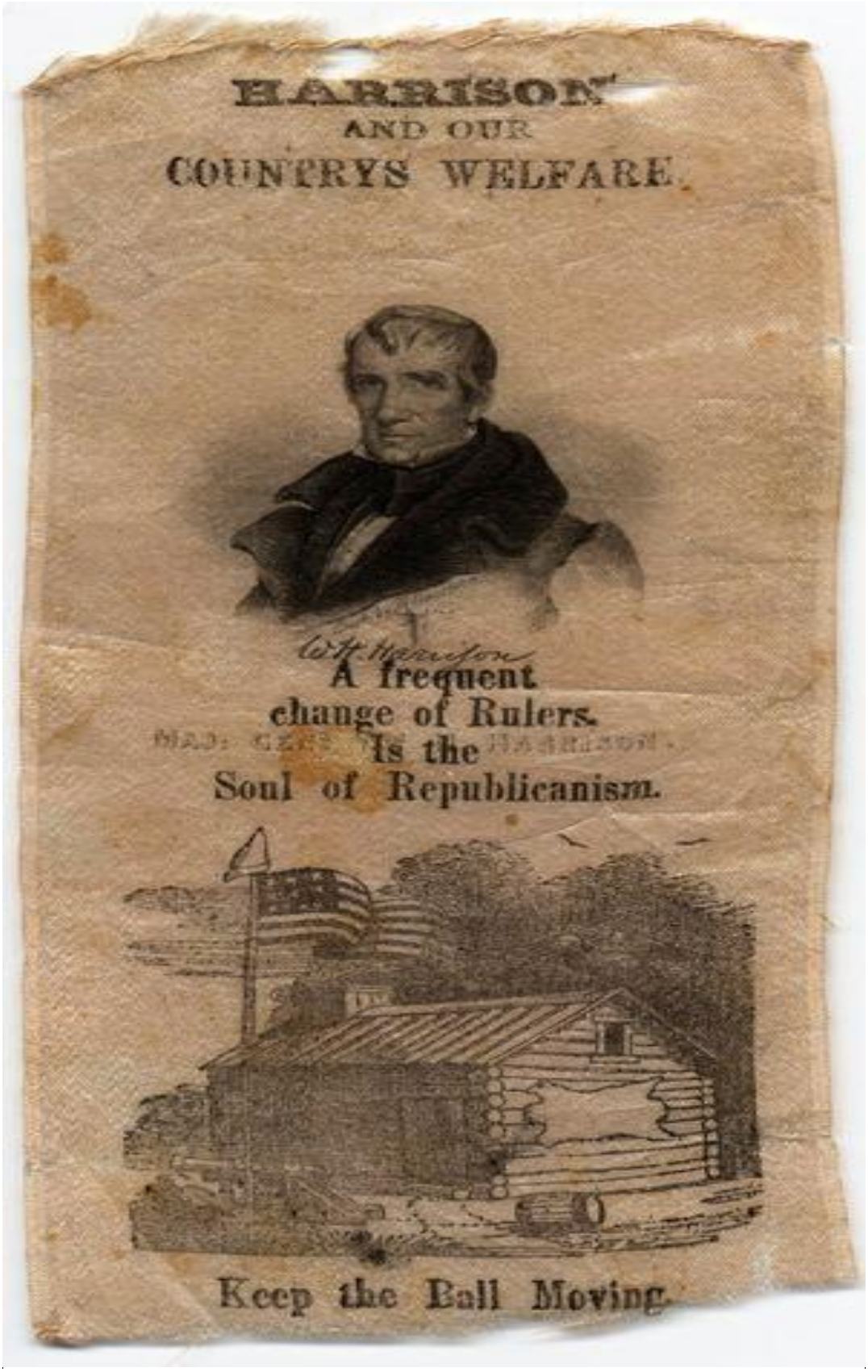
Wisconsin, and Missouri. For a few months after the division in 1804 of the Louisiana Purchase into the Orleans Territory and the Louisiana Territory, Harrison also acted as governor of the Louisiana Territory (all of the Louisiana Purchase north of the 33rd parallel), the largest jurisdiction ever exercised by a territorial official in the United States to that date.

Resisting the expansionism fostered by the treaties negotiated by Harrison, the Shawnee intertribal leader Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, who was known as the Prophet, organized an Indian uprising. Returning to military service, Harrison commanded a force of seasoned regulars and militia that defeated the Indians led by the Prophet at the Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7, 1811), near present-day Lafayette, Indiana, a victory that largely established his military reputation in the public mind. A few months after the War of 1812 broke out with Great Britain, Harrison was made a brigadier general and placed in command of all federal forces in the Northwest Territory. He would be promoted to the rank of major general in March 1813.

Gen. James Winchester, whom Harrison had ordered to prepare to cross Lake Erie on the ice and surprise Fort Maiden, turned back to rescue the threatened American settlement at Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), on the River Raisin, and there on January 22, 1813, was forced to surrender to Col. Henry A. Procter. With his offensive operations having been thus checked, Harrison accomplished nothing that summer except to hold in check Procter, who besieged him at Fort Meigs (May 1–5), the American advance post after the disaster at the River Raisin. After Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry's naval victory in the Battle of Lake Erie on September 10, 1813, Harrison no longer had to remain on the defensive. He advanced to Detroit, reoccupied the territory surrendered by Gen. William Hull, and on October 5, 1813, decisively defeated the British and their Indian allies at the Battle of the Thames, in Ontario, Canada. Tecumseh was killed in the battle, and the British-Indian alliance was permanently destroyed. Thus ended resistance in the Northwest.

At a glance: the Harrison presidency

Political career of William Henry Harrison



Harrison presidential campaign badge Badge from the presidential campaign of William Henry Harrison, 1840.

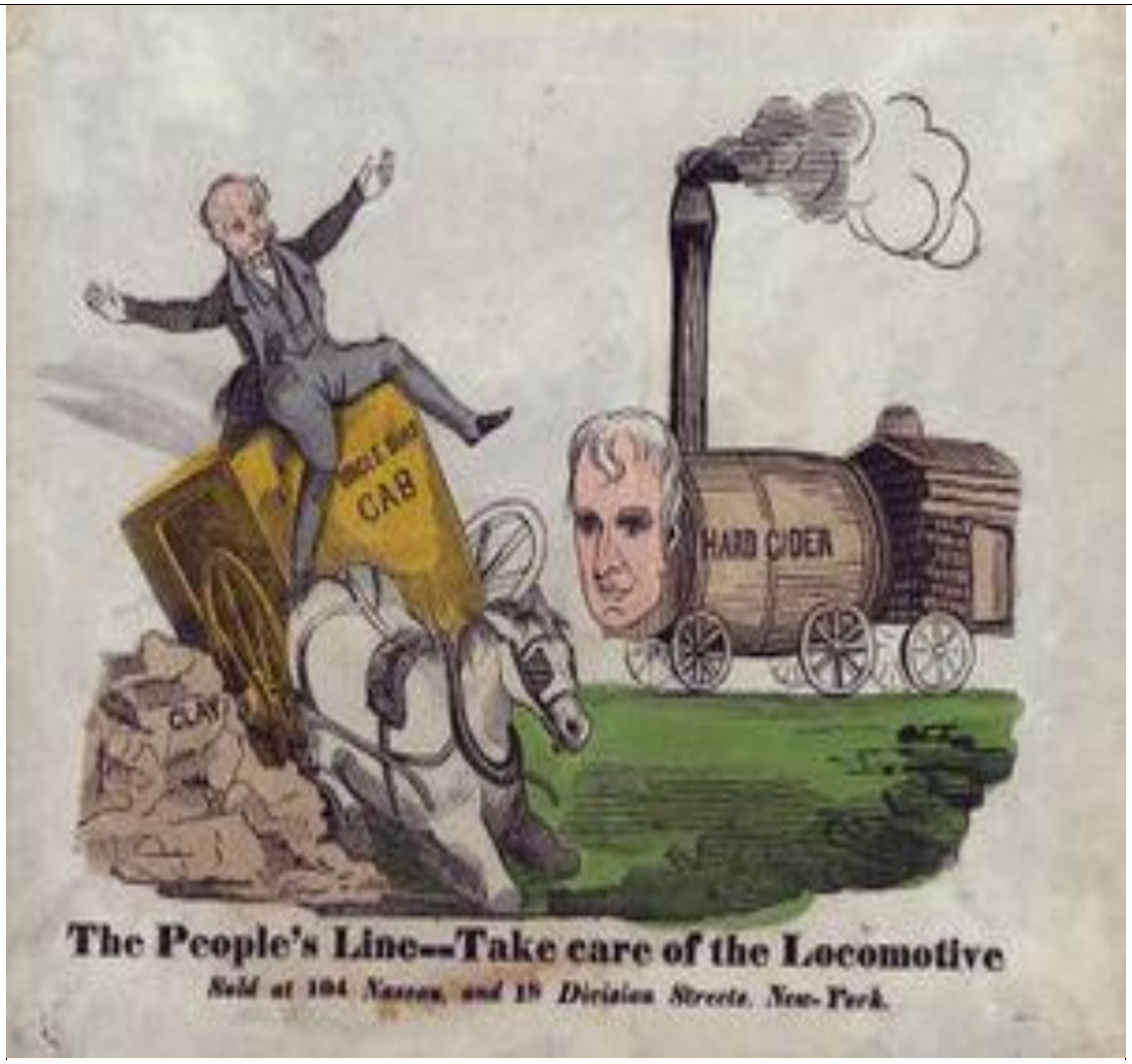
After the war, Harrison settled in Ohio, where he quickly became active in politics. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives (1816–19), where he worked on behalf of more liberal pension laws, better militia organization, and improvements in the navigation of the Ohio River and for the strict construction of the power of Congress over the territories, particularly in regard to slavery. In accordance with this view, in 1819 he voted against James Tallmadge's amendment (restricting the extension of slavery) to the enabling act for the admission of Missouri as a state. He delivered forcible speeches upon the death of Tadeusz Kościuszko and upon Gen. Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida in 1818, favoring a partial censure of the latter. Harrison also served in the Ohio Senate (1819–21) and the U.S. Senate (1825–28). In 1820 he made an unsuccessful run for governor of Ohio.

In 1828, after failing to secure for Harrison either the command of the army upon the death of Maj. Gen. Jacob Jennings Brown or the nomination as vice president on the ticket with John Quincy Adams, Harrison's friends managed to get him appointed as the first minister of the United States to Gran Colombia. He became, however, an early sacrifice to

Jackson's spoils system and was recalled within less than a year, though not before he had involved himself in some awkward diplomatic complications with the short-lived republic's government. For some years after his return from Colombia, Harrison lived in retirement at North Bend, Ohio. He was occasionally mentioned as a candidate for governor, senator, or representative by the anti-Jackson forces, and during this period he delivered a few addresses on agricultural or political topics. Later he obtained the lucrative post of clerk of the court of common pleas of Hamilton county, Ohio.

Early in 1835 Harrison began to be mentioned as a suitable presidential candidate for the nascent Whig Party in the 1836 election. He was nominated as one of the splintered new party's three candidates at large public meetings in Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland (the Whigs had neither a unifying platform nor a national convention). In the general election, Harrison attracted a large portion of the Whig and Anti-Masonic vote in the Midwest and Western states, but, although he finished highest among those candidates opposing Democrat Martin Van Buren, Harrison received only 73 electoral votes, while Van Buren secured 170 to become president.

Nonetheless, Harrison's popular-vote totals were large enough to encourage him to make another attempt. In the 1840 election campaign, Harrison won the Whig nomination over Sen. Henry Clay of Kentucky, largely because of Harrison's military record and noncommittal political views.



Presidential campaign of 1840 political cartoonA political cartoon from the 1840 presidential campaign, in which Pres. Martin Van Buren, a Democrat, was defeated by the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison. The cartoon shows Van Buren driving a carriage called "Uncle Sam's Cab," which wrecks on a pile of "Clay," representing powerful Whig Sen. Henry Clay. Harrison, depicted as a locomotive, bears down on Van Buren.

In Harrison the Whigs believed they had found a new Jackson, attractive as a war hero and a frontiersman. He became, as a result, the first "packaged" presidential candidate, depicted as a simple soul from the backwoods. To pull in Southern Democrats, the Whigs nominated John Tyler of Virginia for vice president. Capitalizing on voters' distress over the severe economic depression caused by the panic of 1837, the campaign deliberately avoided discussion of national issues and substituted political songs, partisan slogans, and appropriate insignia: miniature log cabins and jugs of hard cider were widely distributed to emphasize Harrison's frontier identification, and the cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" rang throughout the land, calling up Harrison's dramatic triumph on the field of battle 29 years earlier. These appeals triumphed, with Harrison winning 234 electoral votes to incumbent Van Buren's 60.

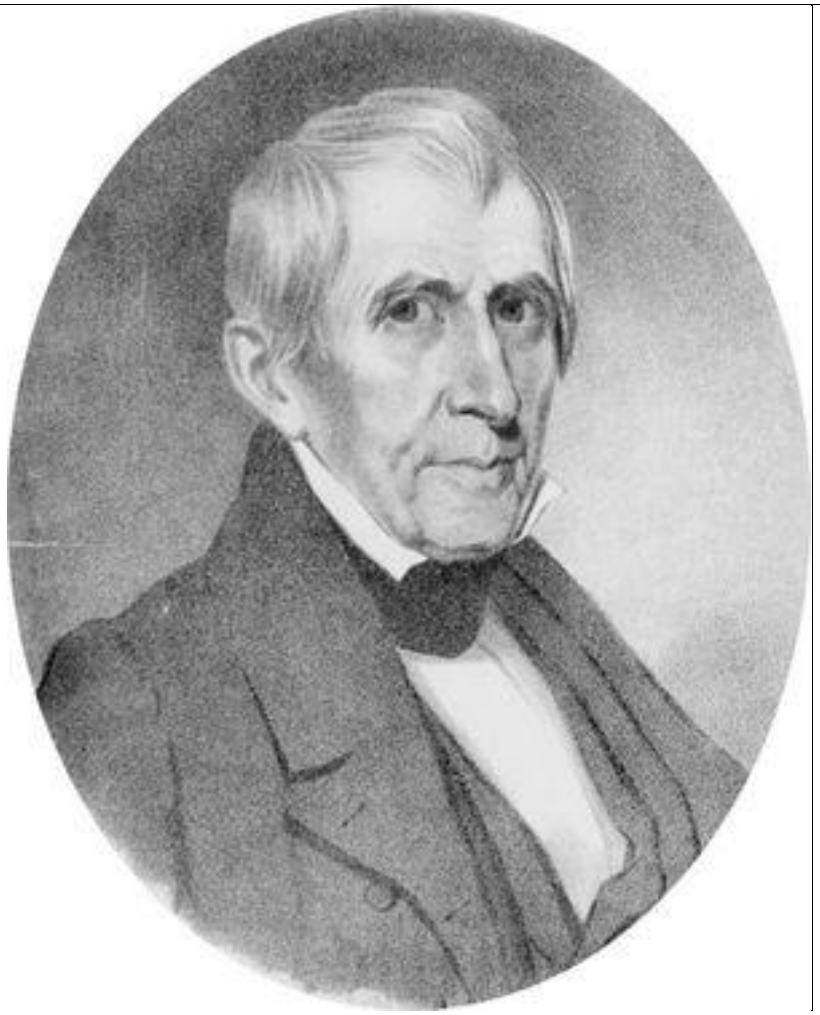
Presidency

William Henry Harrison: inauguration The inauguration of William Henry Harrison in Washington, D.C., on March 4, 1841.

Harrison was the first president-elect to travel by railroad to Washington, D.C., for his inauguration. Wearing no gloves and no overcoat despite the freezing weather, he rode up Pennsylvania Avenue on a white horse to take the oath of office on March 4, 1841. It was said that he was as pleased with the presidency “as a young woman with a new bonnet.” In the cold drizzle he delivered an inaugural address that lasted almost two hours. In it he highlighted a common Whig concern—“executive usurpation”—and reconfirmed his belief in a limited role for the U.S. president. He said he would serve but one term, limit his use of the veto, and leave revenue schemes to Congress.

However strong may be my present purpose to realize the expectations of a magnanimous and confiding people, I too well understand the dangerous temptations to which I shall be exposed from the magnitude of the power which it has been the pleasure of the people to commit to my hands not to place my chief confidence upon the aid of that Almighty Power which has hitherto protected me and enabled me to bring to favorable issues other important but still greatly inferior trusts heretofore confided to me by my country.

The address was circulated to some parts of the country by railroad. For the first time, people outside Washington could read the president's words the same day they were uttered.



William Henry HarrisonWilliam Henry Harrison was 68 when he was sworn in as president on March 4, 1841. He died 32 days later of a cold he had caught on inauguration day.

William Henry Harrison: deathThe death of William Henry Harrison (1841).

Harrison was soon overwhelmed by office seekers. He was thoroughly dominated by the better-known leaders of his party—Daniel Webster, whom he appointed secretary of state, and Henry Clay. His relations with Clay were embittered, as Clay then preferred to wield power as leader of the Whigs in Congress. Once, when Clay was pressing his opinions on him, Harrison responded, “Mr. Clay, you forget that I am president.” Harrison tried to do everything expected of him, even trudging around Washington to purchase supplies for the White House. But a cold he had contracted on inauguration day developed into pneumonia, and he died just a month later. His wife, Anna, who was recovering from an illness, had not yet traveled to Washington; the couple’s widowed daughter-in-law, Jane Irwin Harrison, was performing the duties of first lady in her absence. Anna was packing her belongings for the journey when she learned of her husband’s death, which brought “His Accidency,” John Tyler, to the presidency. The first president to lie in state in the Capitol,

Harrison was buried in Washington. Two months later, in June, his remains were reinterred in North Bend, Ohio.

Cabinet of President William Henry Harrison

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. William Henry Harrison.

Cabinet of President William Henry Harrison	
March 4, 1841-April 4, 1841	
State	Daniel Webster
Treasury	Thomas Ewing
War	John Bell
Navy	George Edmund Badger
Attorney General	John Jordan Crittenden

John Taylor

10th President of the United States

[4 April 1841 <::> 4 March 1845]

Please visit:

01] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/johntyler

02] https://millercenter.org/president/tyler/impact-and-legacy

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Tyler

04] John Tyler – 10th President of the United States | His Accidency (1841–1845) Documentary

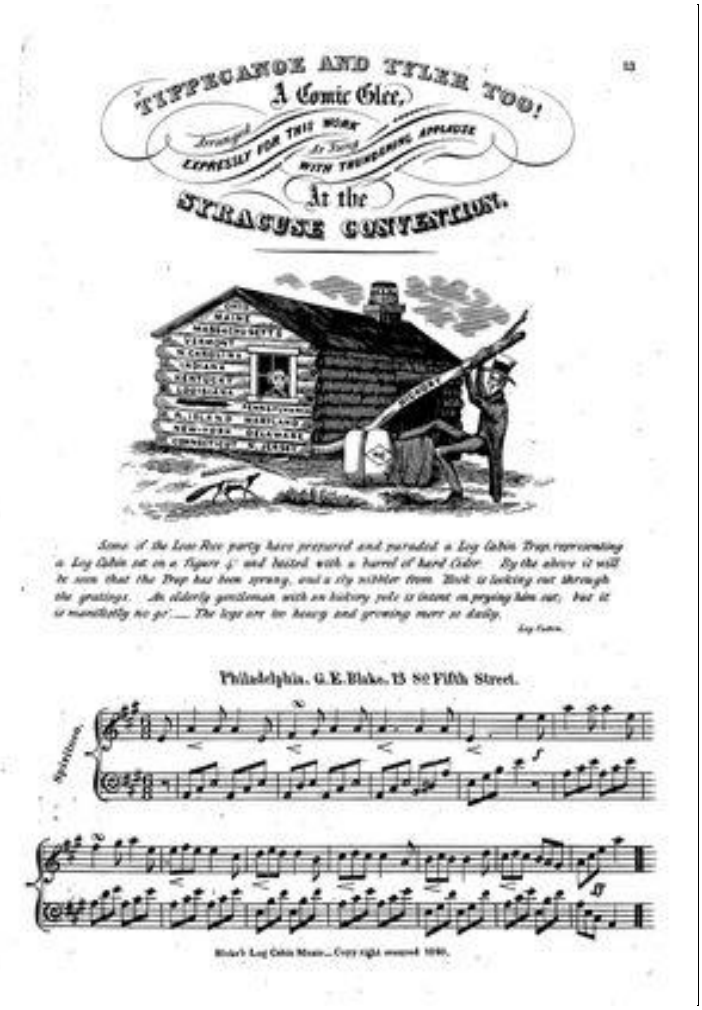
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2B9vIpaeHy0 [1:23:15]

John Tyler (born March 29, 1790, Charles City county, Virginia, U.S.—died January 18, 1862, Richmond, Virginia) was the 10th president of the United States (1841–45), who took office upon the death of Pres. William Henry Harrison. A maverick Democrat who refused allegiance to the program of party leader Andrew Jackson, Tyler was rejected in office by both the Democratic Party and the Whig Party and functioned as a political independent.

Early life and career

Letitia TylerFirst lady Letitia Tyler, c. 1835. Tyler was the first president's wife to die in the White House.

Tyler was the son of John Tyler, member of the Virginia House of Delegates during the American Revolution and later governor of Virginia, and Mary Armistead. After graduating from the College of William and Mary in 1807, young Tyler studied law with his father, gaining admission to the bar in 1809. He married his first wife, Letitia Christian, on his 23rd birthday in 1813. His political career began in the Virginia legislature, where he served from 1811 to 1816, 1823 to 1825, and in 1839. He served as United States representative (1817–21), as state governor (1825–27), and as United States senator (1827–36). His service in Washington was marked by his consistent support of states' rights and his strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution. While in the Senate, Tyler—who was a slaveholder—sought to prohibit the slave trade in the District of Columbia but opposed its abolition there without the consent of Maryland and Virginia. He voted against the protective tariffs of 1828 and 1832 but also condemned South Carolina's attempted nullification of these measures.


TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO!
A Comic Glee,
Arranged EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK As Sung WITH THUNDERING APPLAUSE
At the
SYRACUSE CONVENTION.
Philadelphia. G.E. Blake. 13 So Fifth Street.

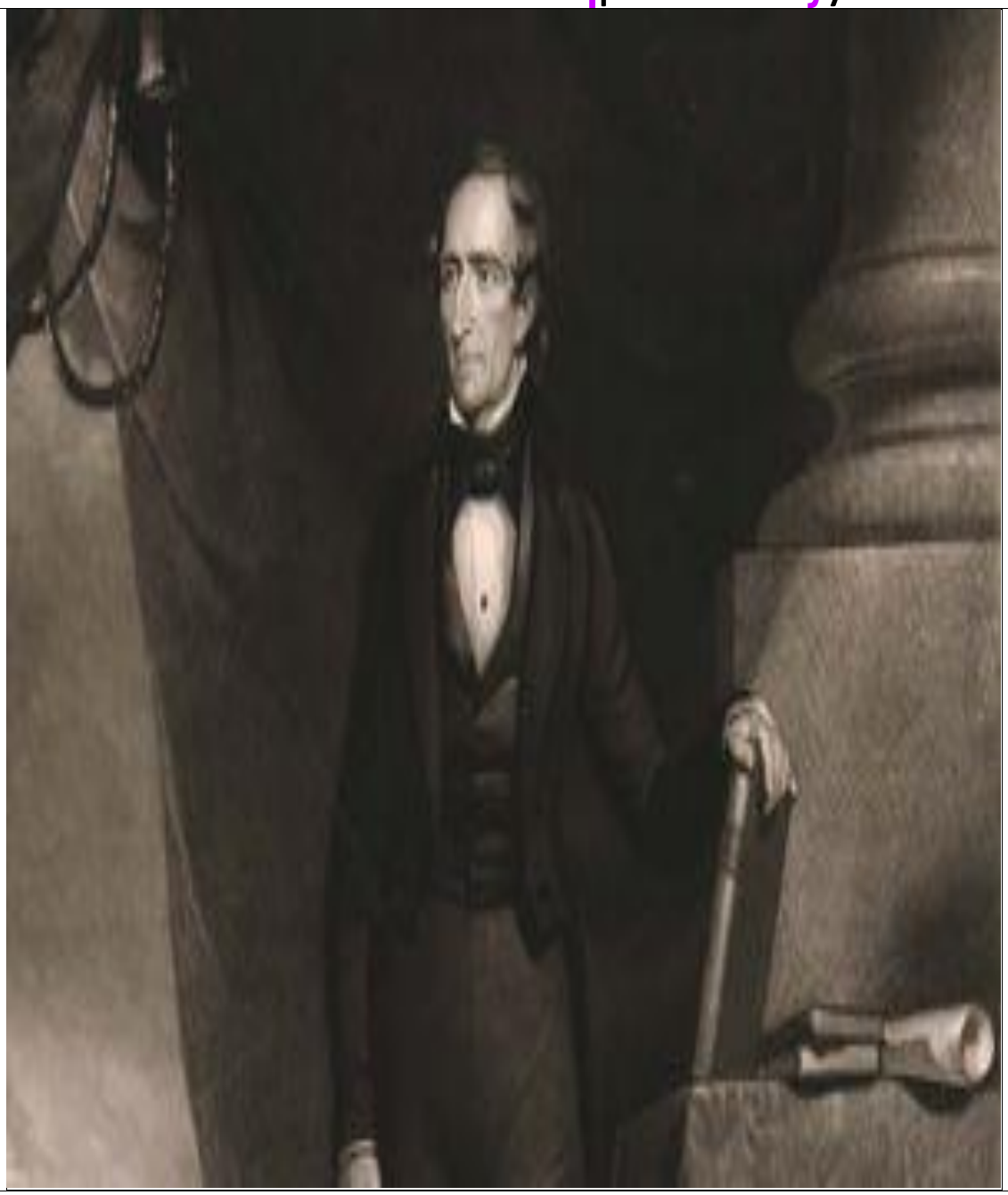
"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!"Sheet music for "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too! A Comic Glee," the campaign song of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler during the 1840 presidential race.

In an unusual show of independence, Tyler resigned from the Senate in 1836 rather than yield to his state legislature's instructions to reverse his vote on Senate resolutions censuring President Jackson for removal of deposits from the Bank of the United States. This anti-Jackson stand endeared Tyler to the opposition Whig Party, which in 1840 nominated him for the vice presidency in an effort to attract Southern support. Harrison and Tyler defeated the Democratic incumbents Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson after a campaign that sedulously avoided the issues and stressed innocuous party insignia and the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!" (the former referring to the

river in Indiana where Harrison defeated the Shawnee Indians in 1811).

At a glance: the Tyler presidency

Succession to the presidency



John TylerU.S. Pres. John Tyler, detail of a mezzotint engraving by John Sartain after James Reid Lambdin, 1842; in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

President Harrison's sudden death, only one month after his inauguration, created a constitutional crisis. Because the Constitution was silent on the matter, it was unclear whether, upon the death of a president, the vice president would become president or merely "vice president acting as president," as John Quincy Adams maintained at the time. Defying his opponents, who dubbed him "His Accidency," Tyler decided that he was president and moved into the White House, thereby establishing a precedent that was never successfully challenged.

John TylerU.S. Pres. John Tyler, oil painting by Hart, c. 1841–45; in the Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.

Julia TylerFirst lady Julia Tyler, photographic print of oil on canvas painting by Francesco Anelli, c. 1846–48; in collection of the White House. Julia Tyler met and married John Tyler while he was president; their wedding was the first time a president married while in office.

After Tyler vetoed two bills aimed at reestablishing a national bank, all but one member, Secretary of State Daniel Webster, of the cabinet Tyler inherited from Harrison resigned, and two days later he was formally ostracized by congressional Whigs. Tyler was now a president without a party. Nevertheless, his administration managed to accomplish a great deal. It reorganized the navy, established the United States Weather Bureau, brought an end to the Second Seminole War (1835–42) in Florida, and put down the rebellion (1842) led by Thomas Dorr against the state government

of Rhode Island. Tyler's wife Letitia Christian Tyler died in 1842, the first president's wife to die in the White House. Tyler married Julia Gardiner (Julia Tyler) in 1844, thus becoming the first president to marry while in office.

Having been rejected by the Whigs and finding only lukewarm support among the Democrats, Tyler entered the presidential election of 1844 as the candidate of his own party, which he created from a core of loyal appointees. His candidacy attracted little support, however, and in August 1844 he withdrew in favor of the Democratic nominee, James K. Polk.

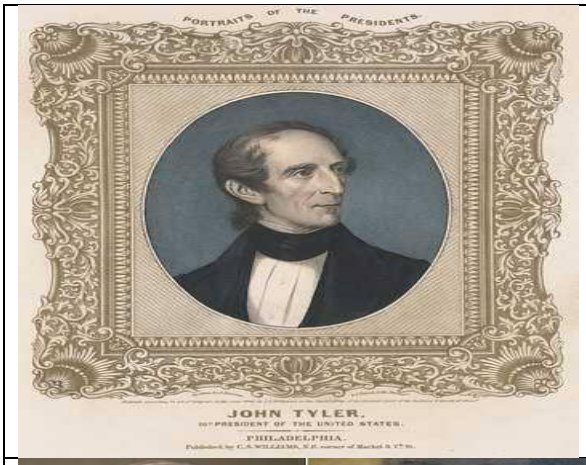
After leaving office, Tyler continued to take an active interest in public affairs and remained a strong champion of Southern interests. However, on the eve of the Civil War he stood firmly against secession and worked to preserve the Union. Early in 1861 he presided over the Washington Peace Conference, an abortive effort to resolve sectional differences. When the Senate rejected the proposals of the conference, he relinquished all hope of saving the Union and returned to Virginia, where he served as a delegate to the Virginia Secession Convention. Shortly before his death Tyler was elected to the Confederate House of Representatives.

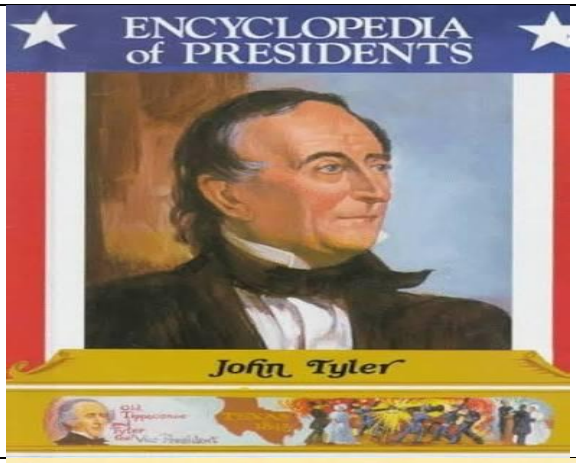
Cabinet of Pres. John Tyler

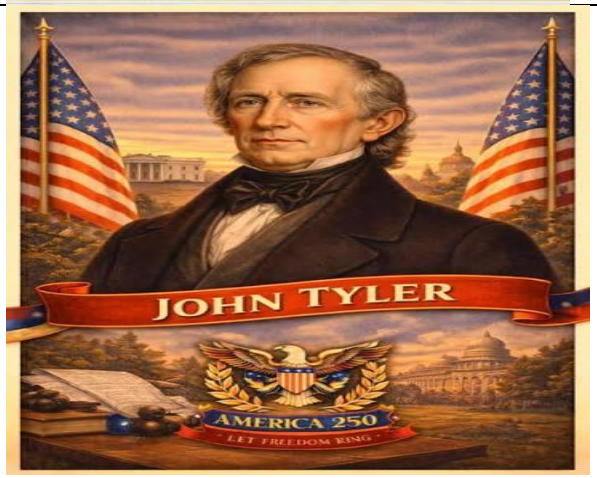
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. John Tyler.

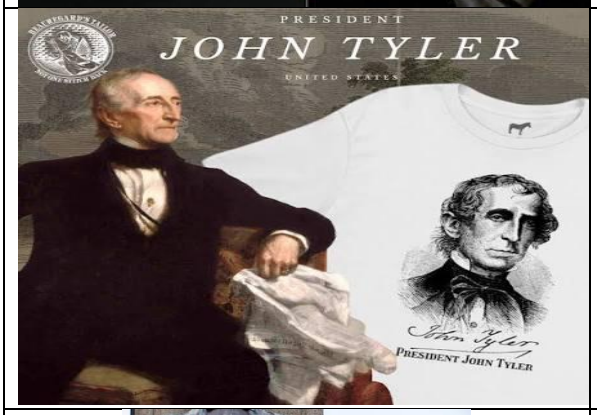
Cabinet of President John Tyler

April 6, 1841–March 3, 1845	
State	Daniel Webster
	Abel Parker Upshur (from July 24, 1843)
	John C. Calhoun (from April 1, 1844)
Treasury	Thomas Ewing
	Walter Forward (from September 13, 1841)
	John Canfield Spencer (from March 8, 1843)
	George Mortimer Bibb (from July 4, 1844)
War	John Bell
	John Canfield Spencer (from October 12, 1841)
	William Wilkins (from February 20, 1844)
Navy	George Edmund Badger
	Abel Parker Upshur (from October 11, 1841)
	David Henshaw (from July 24, 1843)
	Thomas Walker Gilmer (from February 19, 1844)
	John Young Mason (from March 26, 1844)
Attorney General	John Jordan Crittenden
	Hugh Swinton Legaré (from September 20, 1841)
	John Nelson (from July 1, 1843)

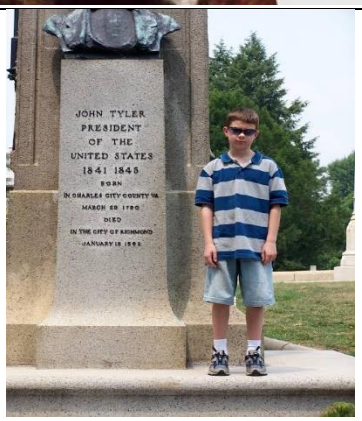


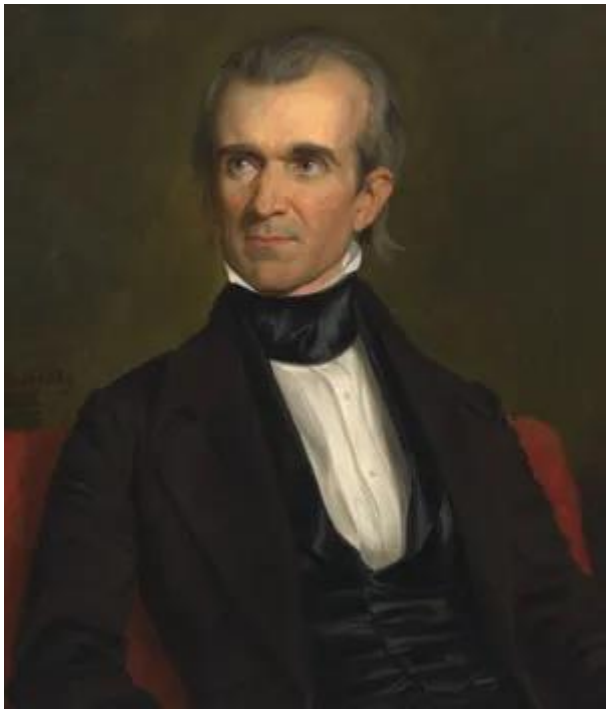






Children of John Tyler and Neaty Coombs. Front row, L - R, Lucinda, Ira Lelan (grandfather of Barbara Lovera), John Milton, Bessie Alice and Sarah Elizabeth. Rear - Henry Franklin, Julia Emmarela, Harvey Allen, Ella Ann and Joel Edward. All born in IA, photo is circa Dec., 1889. Submitted by Barbara Lovera.





James K Polk

11th President of the United States
[4 April 1845 <::> 4 March 1849]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/james-polk

02] https://jameskpolk.com/history/james-k-polk/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-K-Polk

04] James Knox Polk – 11th President of the United States (1845–1849) | The Greatest American President https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vT2kvTvMB44 [1:31:16]

James K. Polk (born November 2, 1795, Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, U.S.—died June 15, 1849, Nashville, Tennessee) was the 11th president of the United States (1845–49). Under his leadership, the United States fought the Mexican War (1846–48) and acquired vast territories along the Pacific coast and in the Southwest.

Early life and career

Columbia: James K. Polk Ancestral HomeJames K. Polk Ancestral Home, Columbia, Tenn.

Polk was the eldest child of Samuel and Jane Knox Polk. At age 11 he moved with his family to Tennessee, where his father operated a prosperous farm in Maury county. Although ill health during his childhood made formal schooling impossible, Polk successfully passed, at age 20, the entrance requirements for the second-year class at the University of North Carolina. He was "correct, punctual, and industrious," and as a graduating senior in 1818 he was the Latin salutatorian of his class—a preeminent scholar in both the classics and mathematics. After graduation he returned to Tennessee and began to practice law in Nashville. His interest in politics, which had fascinated him even as a young boy, was encouraged by his association with leading public figures in the state. In 1820 he was admitted to the bar. Because he was a confirmed Democrat and an unfailing supporter of Andrew Jackson and because his style of political oratory became so popular that he was characterized as the "Napoleon of the stump," his political career was assured.

Sarah PolkFirst lady Sarah Childress Polk, lithograph by Nathaniel Currier, 1846, after a daguerreotype by John Plumbe, Jr.; in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.

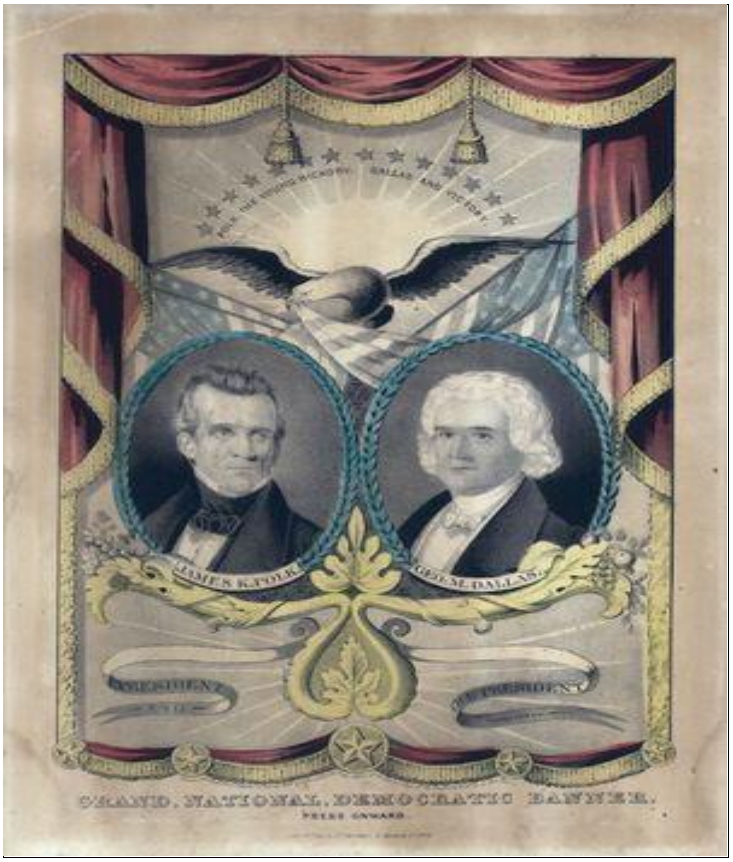
His rapid rise to political power was furthered by his wife, Sarah Childress Polk (1803–91), whom he married January 1, 1824, while serving in the state House of Representatives (1823–25). She proved to be the most politically dominant president's wife since Abigail Adams. The social prominence of Sarah Polk's family (her father, Joel Childress, was a planter) and her personal charm and bearing, which was sometimes described as queenly, were distinct assets for a politically ambitious lawyer. A high-spirited woman, she and her sister had traveled 500

miles on horseback in their determination to attend one of the best schools in the South, the Moravian Female Academy in Salem, North Carolina. Because she disdained housekeeping and the marriage was childless, she was freed of most domestic chores to participate in the public life of her husband. She monitored his health assiduously, and, as his hostess, she won the admiration and esteem of the leading figures of the day. Among those who became her friends, and therefore helpful to her husband, were President Jackson, future president Franklin Pierce, Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story, and Floride Calhoun, the wife of John C. Calhoun, the powerful senator of South Carolina. Year after year she was her husband's closest companion and his eyes and ears in state and national politics. When her husband became president, she was often referred to as "the Presidentress." Her stern Presbyterianism persuaded her to eschew dancing, the theater, and horse racing, and in the President's House she forbade music on Sundays. Although a stickler

for tradition, she oversaw the installation of the first gaslights in the White House.

James K. Polk was by nature a student of government, by experience a legislator, and by force of circumstance an administrator. He was not an easy man to know or to like. Even close companions did not relish his austerity, and associates tolerated but did not approve of his inflexible living standards. Among his few close friends was Andrew Jackson, who encouraged and advanced Polk and whose influence carried him from the Tennessee House of Representatives to the United States House of Representatives, where he served from 1825 to 1839.

As speaker of the House (1835–39), Polk acquired a reputation as an undeviating supporter of Jacksonian principles. In 1839 he left the House to become governor of Tennessee. Two defeats for a second term (1841, 1843) by small majorities convinced him that to strengthen his party he should return to Washington.



Polk and Dallas campaign banner Campaign banner for James K. Polk (left) and his running mate, George M. Dallas, lithograph by Nathaniel Currier, 1844.

At the Democratic convention in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1844, Polk hoped only for the vice presidential nomination, for the party had more-prominent sons as presidential contenders in Martin Van Buren, Lewis Cass, and James Buchanan. But the Democrats could not reconcile their differences, and a compromise candidate had to be found. Because the campaign was to be run on issues and not on personalities, it was decided that Polk would do. People in Washington could hardly believe their eyes when Polk's

name came over the nation's first telegraph line, then only five days old, which ran between Baltimore and Washington. Although well known in political circles, to the public Polk was the first "dark horse" nominee in the history of the presidency. During the campaign the Whigs, who were running Henry Clay, taunted the Democrats with the cry "Who is James K. Polk?" The answer came on election day: he was president of the United States. The new vice president was George Mifflin Dallas of Pennsylvania.

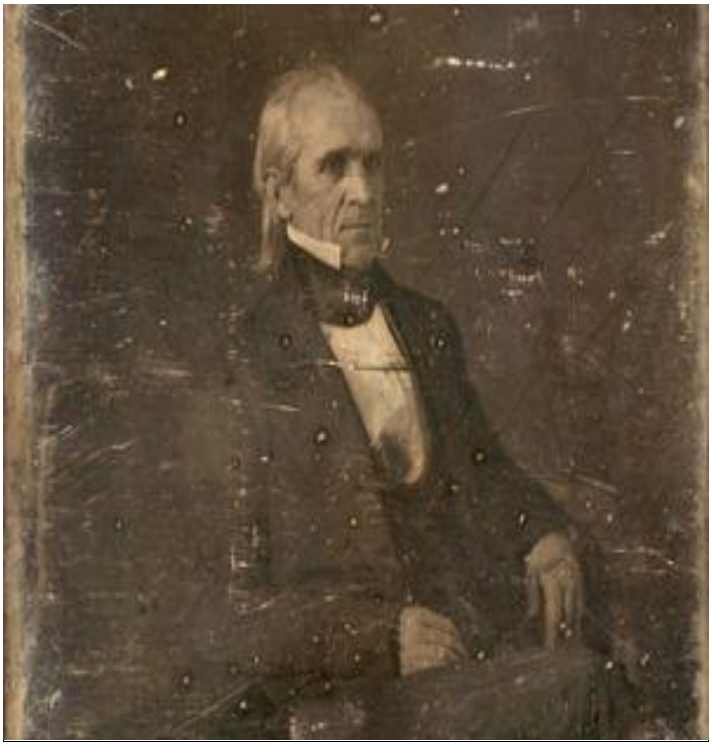
It was thought that Polk, as a party man from what was then the West and a former member of the House of Representatives, would bring about legislative and executive cooperation and understanding in the functioning of the national government. While speaker of the House, he had decided many procedural questions and had usually been sustained by majorities including the leaders of both parties. His party feeling was intense, but his integrity was unquestioned; he knew the rights

and privileges of the House, and he also knew its responsibilities.

During his campaign Polk surprised the country by taking a positive stand on two burning issues of the day. Whereas other candidates hedged on the question of whether to annex Texas, which had been independent of Mexico since 1836, he demanded annexation. Whereas other candidates evaded the problem of joint occupancy of Oregon with England, he openly laid claim to the whole territory that extended as far north as latitude 54°40′ with the campaign slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight." His election was close, but it was decisive—a popular plurality of about 38,000 votes and 170 electoral votes against 105 for Clay.

At a glance: the Polk presidency

Presidency of James K. Polk



James K. PolkJames K. Polk, daguerreotype by Mathew Brady, 1849.

Not yet 50 years of age, Polk was the youngest successful presidential candidate up to that time. He entered the presidency full of eagerness and with an expressed zeal to put his aims into effect. He left it four years later exhausted and enfeebled by his efforts. In office he demonstrated remarkable skill in the selection and control of his official advisers, and, in his formal relations with Congress, his legislative experience served him well. When his party was firmly united behind a policy he himself opposed, he yielded to the wishes of Congress. When he disagreed strongly with congressional policy and

decided to make an issue of it, he fortified his position with recognized executive precedent and practice. His formal disapprovals (in the form of two veto messages and one pocket veto, by which legislation is killed by the failure of the president to sign a bill before the adjournment of Congress) were questioned, but the two returned measures failed to command the two-thirds majority necessary to override his vetoes. The Polk administration was marked by large territorial gains. The annexation of Texas as a state was concluded and resulted in a two-year war with Mexico—a war that Ulysses S. Grant, who served in it as an army captain, would later call the most unjust war in history. As a consequence of that struggle, the Southwest and far West (California), partly by conquest and partly by purchase, became part of the United States' domain. During this period the northwestern boundary became fixed by treaty, and the continental United States emerged a recognized reality. Polk's accomplishments brought him immense satisfaction. He had in his way compensated for the fact that he once was, as he wrote,

"the meager boy, with pallid cheeks, oppressed and worn with disease."

Additional achievements included a treaty with New Granada (Colombia) resolving the problem of right-of-way for U.S. citizens across the Isthmus of Panama; establishment of a warehouse system that provided for the temporary retention of undistributed imports; and the passage of the Walker Tariff Act of 1846, which lowered import duties and did much to pacify British public opinion that had been inflamed over the Oregon compromise of 1846. As these measures helped foreign trade, so the reenactment of the independent treasury system in 1846 helped in the solution of domestic financial problems.

The expansion of the country westward led to the creation of a new agency, the Department of the Interior. The Polk administration should also be credited with the establishment of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, and the authorization of

the Smithsonian Institution, a national foundation for all areas of science.

Legacy

Polk's influence over Congress may be gauged from the results of the recommendations of his four annual messages and 10 significant special messages to one or both houses. His control of legislative policy in bitterly partisan Congresses must be judged in terms of results, not oratory or parliamentary delay. He recommended with a high degree of success settlement of a trade dispute with Great Britain, an increase in U.S. armed forces, war with Mexico, peace with Great Britain over Oregon, provision of finances to expedite peace conclusions, organization of the Oregon Territory, peace with Mexico, and revision of the treasury system. He occasionally refused to provide information requested by Congress (on the ground that the requests were incompatible with the public interest), recognized a new French revolutionary government, and proclaimed the

validity of the Monroe Doctrine. Succeeding presidents recognized these pronouncements.

A diary kept by Polk during his term of office stressed the presidential burden. Day after day, week after week, he recounted in his diary his experiences with the hosts of office seekers who infested Washington and who occupied so much of his public time. Again and again, there is evident in his writings a note of despair. He knew from experience what an evil an unlimited executive patronage can become, but he felt powerless to change its obligations and too conscientious to avoid its duties. At the close of his term, March 4, 1849, Polk retired to his Nashville home, where he died three months later.

The office of chief executive under Polk was well filled—maintained with dignity, integrity, and an extraordinary sense of duty. His great influence over Congress was due to the widespread popularity of his policies and his persistence in having the members see questions not as interests of district or section but as matters of national welfare. History may not rate him as one of the greatest U.S. presidents, but his successes in office made his

influence considerable, and, as a relative unknown who reached the highest office in the land and by integrity and will won the plaudits of the people, he has been compared to Harry Truman.

Cabinet of Pres. James K. Polk

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. James K. Polk.

Cabinet of President James K. Polk	
State	James Buchanan
Treasury	Robert J. Walker
War	William Learned Marcy
Navy	George Bancroft
	John Young Mason (from September 9, 1846)
Attorney General	John Young Mason
	Nathan Clifford (from October 17, 1846)
	Isaac Toucey (from June 29, 1848)

Zachary Taylor

12th President of the United States

[4 March 1849 <::> 9 July 1850]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/zachary-taylor

02] https://millercenter.org/president/taylor/impact-and-legacy

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Zachary-Taylor

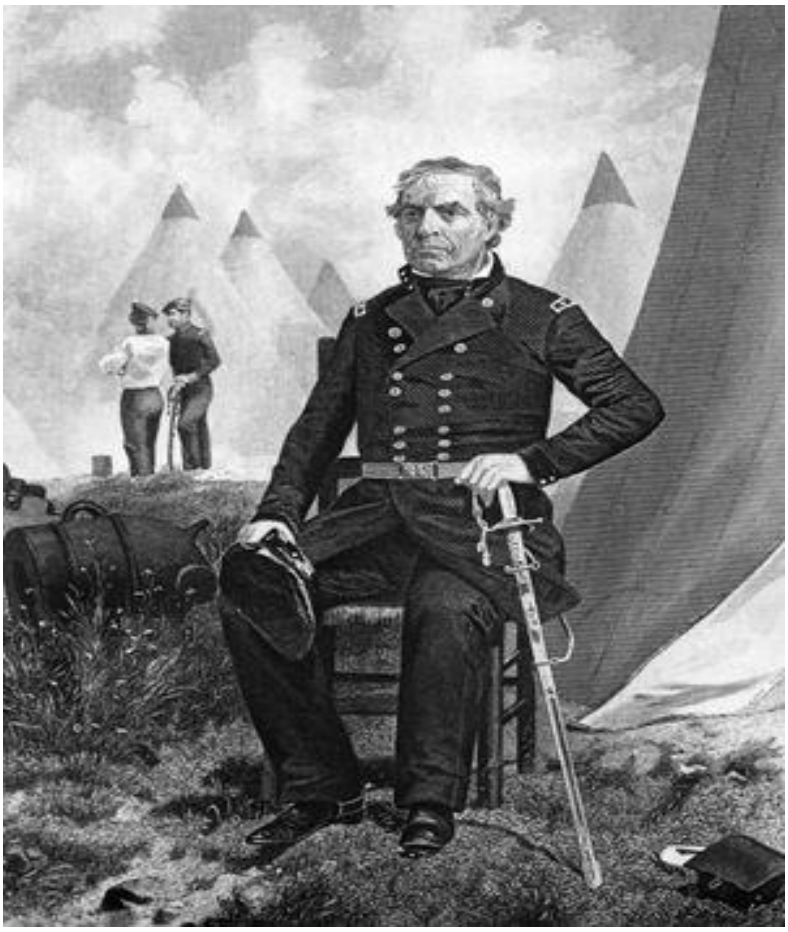
04] Zachary Taylor – 12th President of the United States (1849-1850) Biography
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vNc-GkBkn-4 [1:14:47]

Zachary Taylor (born November 24, 1784, Montebello plantation, near Gordonsville, Virginia, U.S.—died July 9, 1850, Washington, D.C.) was the 12th president of the United States (1849–50). Elected on the ticket of the Whig Party as a hero of the Mexican-American War (1846–48), he died only 16 months after taking office.

Early life and military service

Taylor's parents, Richard Taylor and Mary Strother, migrated to Kentucky from Virginia shortly after Zachary, the third of their nine children, was born. After spending his boyhood on the Kentucky frontier, Taylor enlisted in the army in 1806 and was commissioned first lieutenant in the infantry in 1808. In 1810 he married Margaret Mackall Smith (Margaret Taylor), with whom he had six children. His daughter Sarah Knox Taylor married Jefferson Davis, the future president of the Confederate States of America, in 1835, and his son, Richard Taylor, fought in the Civil War as a lieutenant general in the Confederate Army.

Birthplace of President Zachary TaylorMontebello plantation, the birthplace of President Zachary Taylor, near Gordonsville, Virginia.



Zachary TaylorPortrait of Zachary Taylor in uniform as commander of the U.S. Army during the Mexican-American War.

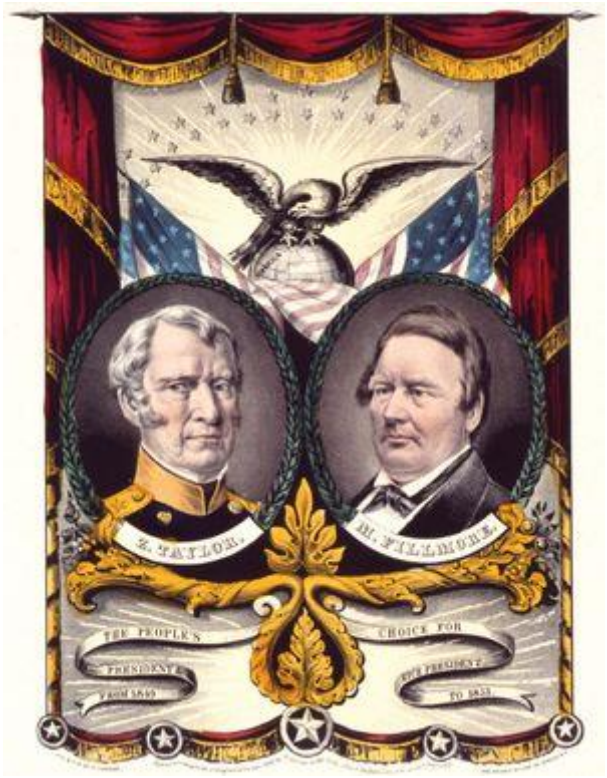
Taylor served in the army for almost 40 years, finally advancing to the rank of major general (1846). He commanded troops in the field in the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War (1832), and the second of the Seminole Wars in Florida (1835–42), in which he won promotion to the rank of brigadier general for his leadership in the Battle of Lake Okeechobee (1837). In 1840 he was assigned to a post in Louisiana and established his home in Baton Rouge.

Soon after the annexation of Texas (1845), President James K. Polk ordered Taylor and an army of 4,000 men to the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoros. A detachment of Mexican troops crossed the Rio Grande and engaged Taylor's forces in a skirmish (April 25, 1846) that marked the beginning of the Mexican-American War. Two weeks later Mexican troops again crossed the river to challenge Taylor, whose forces decisively defeated the invaders on two successive days in the battles of Palo Alto and

Resaca de la Palma (May 8 and 9). On May 13 the United States formally declared war on Mexico. Taylor then led his troops across the Rio Grande and advanced toward Monterrey, capturing the city on September 22–23 and granting the Mexican army an eight-week armistice, an action that displeased Polk. Taylor further alienated Polk by writing a letter, which found its way into the press, criticizing Polk and his secretary of war, William L. Marcy. Polk then ordered Taylor to confine his actions to those necessary for defensive purposes and transferred Taylor's best troops to the army of General Winfield Scott. The following February, however, Taylor disobeyed these orders and with his diminished force marched south and, in the Battle of Buena Vista, won a brilliant victory over a Mexican army that outnumbered his troops by about four to one.

At a glance: the Taylor presidency

Presidency and death



Whig campaign bannerCampaign banner for Whig Party candidate Zachary Taylor and vice presidential running mate Millard Fillmore, 1848.

Inauguration of Zachary TaylorInauguration of Zachary Taylor, March 5, 1849; engraving by Brightly & Keyser from drawing by William Croome.

Having thus won the north of Mexico, Taylor emerged as a hero and began to be seen by Whig politicians as a possible presidential candidate. At the Whig Party convention in 1848 Taylor gained the nomination on the fourth ballot. He defeated the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass, in the general election, winning the electoral college vote 163 to 127.

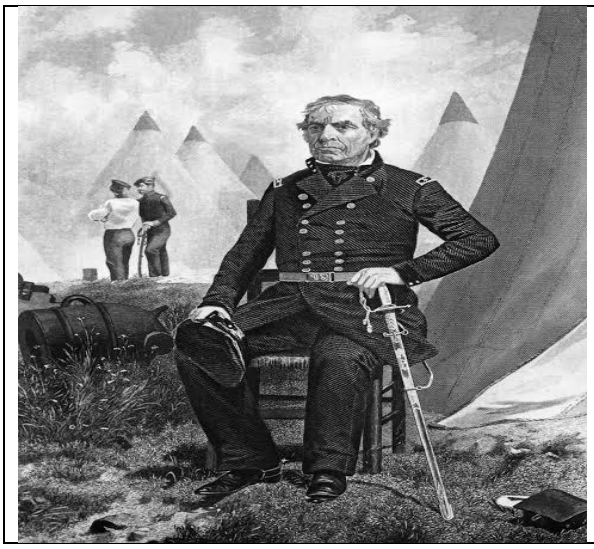
Cabinet of President Zachary TaylorPresident Zachary Taylor (center) and his cabinet, c. 1849.

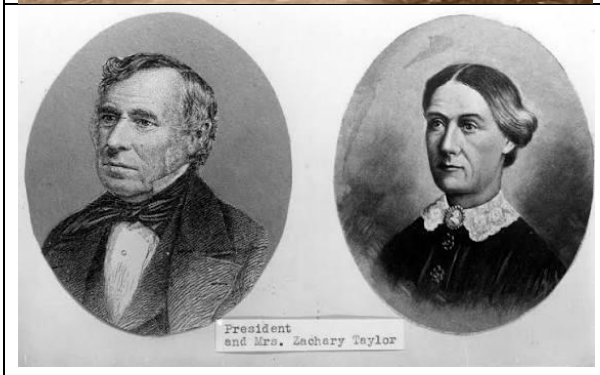
Taylor's brief administration was beset with problems, the most perplexing of which was the controversy over the extension of slavery into the newly acquired Mexican territories. By 1848 Taylor had come to oppose the creation of new slave states, and in December 1849 he called for immediate statehood for California, whose new constitution explicitly prohibited slavery. Southerners in Congress, who feared a permanent majority of free states in the Senate, fought bitterly against the proposal, and the controversy was not finally resolved until September of the following year (two months after Taylor's death), with the adoption of the Compromise of 1850. A further problem was the revelation in mid-1850 of financial improprieties on the part of three members of Taylor's cabinet. Deeply humiliated, Taylor, who prided himself on honesty, decided to reorganize his cabinet, but before he could do so he died suddenly of an attack of cholera. He was succeeded by Millard Fillmore.

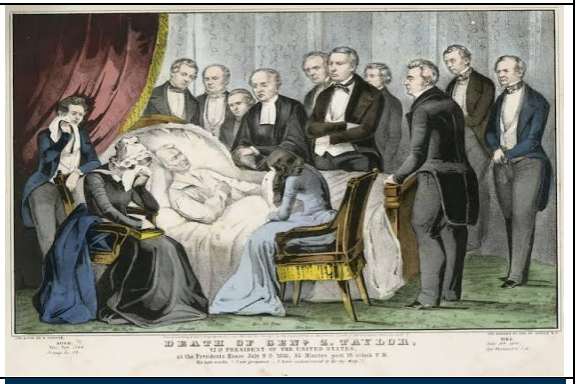
Cabinet of President Zachary Taylor

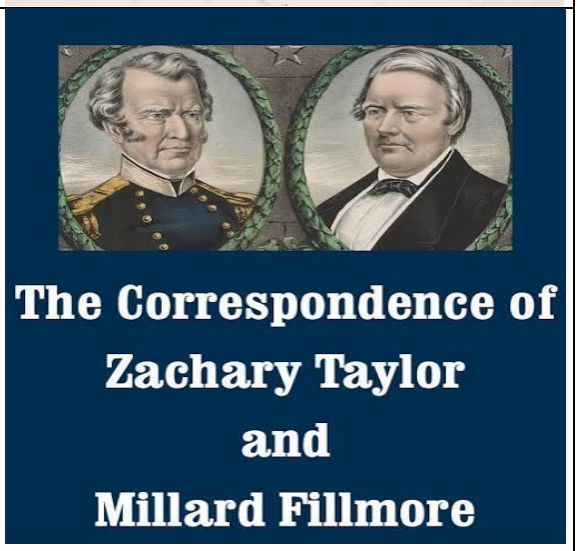
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Zachary Taylor.

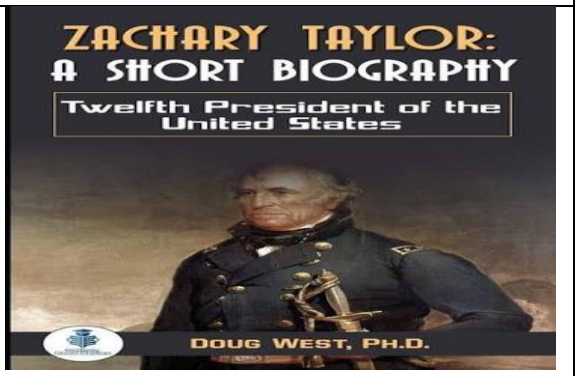
Cabinet of President Zachary Taylor	
March 4, 1849 – July 9, 1850	
State	John Middleton Clayton
Treasury	William Morris Meredith
War	George Washington Crawford
Navy	William Ballard Preston
Attorney General	Reverdy Johnson
Interior	Thomas Ewing (from March 8, 1849)




President
and Mrs. Zachary Taylor


DEATH OF GEN'L. TAYLOR,


The Correspondence of
Zachary Taylor
and
Millard Fillmore


ZACHARY TAYLOR:
A SHORT BIOGRAPHY
Twelfth President of the United States
DOUG WEST, PH.D.

Millard Fillmore

13th President of the United States

[9 July 1850 <::> 4 March 1853]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/millard-fillmore/

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/millard-fillmore

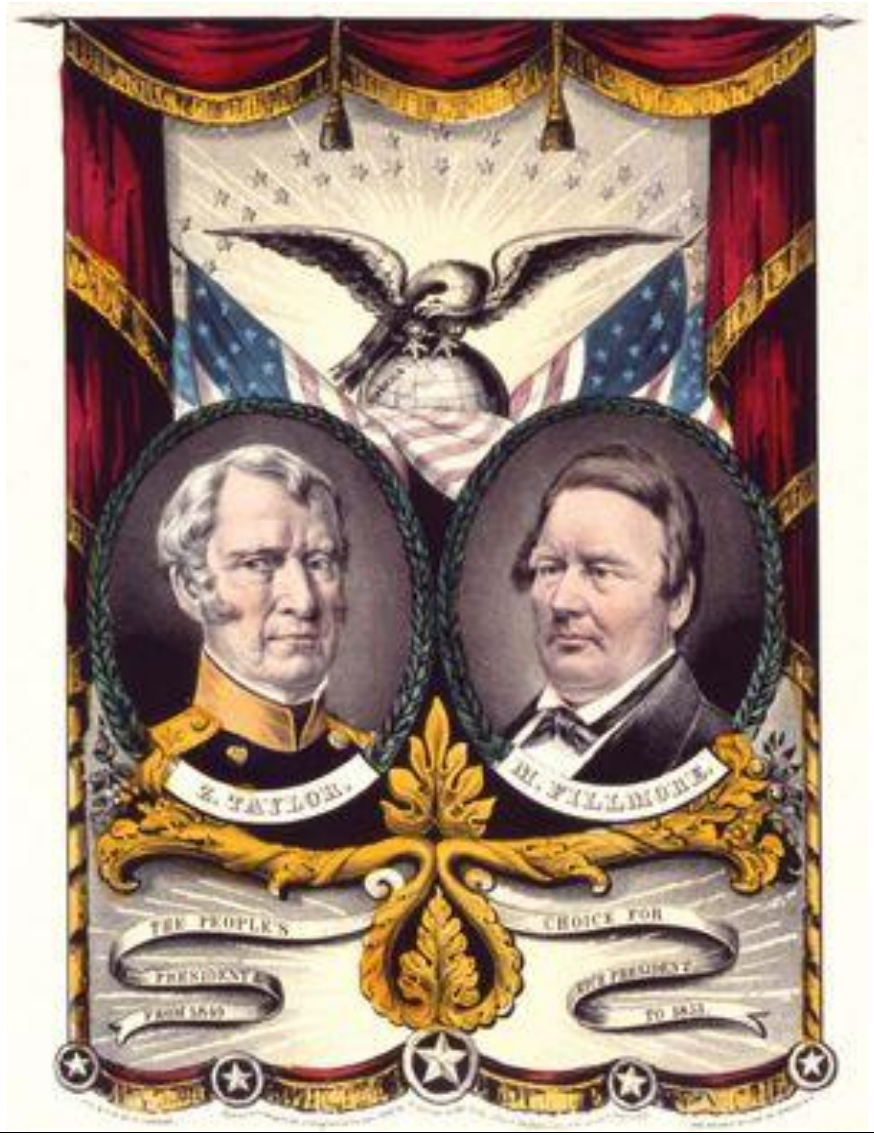
03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Millard-Fillmore

04] Millard Fillmore – 13th President of the United States (1850–1853) | Millard Fillmore Biography
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpT51EplmZI [1:18:36]

Millard Fillmore (January 7, 1800 – March 8, 1874) was the 13th president of the United States (1850–53), whose insistence on federal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 alienated the North and led to the destruction of the Whig Party. Elected vice president in 1848, he became president upon the death of President Zachary Taylor (July 1850).

Early life and career

Fillmore was born in a log cabin to a poor family and was apprenticed to a wool carder at age 15. He received little formal education until he was 18, when he managed to obtain six consecutive months of schooling. Shortly thereafter he secured his release from apprenticeship and started work in a law office, and in 1823 he was admitted to the bar. He married his first wife, Abigail Powers (Abigail Fillmore), in 1826.



Whig campaign bannerCampaign banner for Whig Party candidate Zachary Taylor and vice presidential running mate Millard Fillmore, 1848.

Fillmore entered politics in 1828 as a member of the Democratic Party. In 1834 he followed his political mentor, Thurlow Weed, to the Whig Party and was soon recognized as an outstanding leader of the party's Northern wing. Following three terms in the New York state assembly (1829–32), he was elected to Congress (1833–35, 1837–43), where he

became a devoted follower of Senator Henry Clay. Losing the New York gubernatorial election in 1844, he was easily elected the first state comptroller three years later. At the national Whig convention in 1848, Zachary Taylor, hero of the Mexican War (1846-48), was nominated for president and Fillmore for vice president, largely through Clay's sponsorship.

At a Glance: The Fillmore presidency Presidency

Millard FillmoreU.S. Pres. Millard Fillmore, engraving by J. Sartain, c. 1850–53.

American president Millard FillmoreThe 13th U.S. president was a member of the Whig Party.

Fillmore believed that Whig success at the polls heralded the rise of a truly national party that would occupy a middle ground between sectional extremists of both North and South. This outlook was embodied in Clay's Compromise of 1850, which sought to appease both sides on the slavery issue. Fillmore, though personally opposed to slavery, supported the compromise as necessary to preservin

Union. When the legislation finally passed, two months after Taylor's death, the new President Fillmore felt obligated to sign the provision that required the federal government to aid in the capture and return of runaway slaves to their former owners (the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850), and publicly announced that, if necessary, he would call upon the military to enforce the enforcement of this statute. Although this section of the compromise assuaged the South and had the effect of postponing the Civil War for 10 years, it also made Fillmore for Fillmore because of its extreme unpopularity in the North.

Fillmore was an early champion of American commercial expansion in the Pacific, and in 1853 he sent a fleet of warships, under the command of Commodore Matthew C. Perry to Japan to force its shogunate government to end its traditional isolationism and enter into trade and diplomatic relations with the United States. The resulting Treaty of Kanagawa (1854) led to similar agreements between Japan and other Western powers and began the beginning of Japan's transformation into a modern state.

In 1852 Fillmore was one of the presidential candidates of a divided Whig Party. It was a national election, which he lost. He again in 1856 as the candidate of the Know Nothing party (also known as the American Party), finishing third behind Democrat James Buchanan and Republican John C. Frémont.

Fillmore then retired to Buffalo, where he became a leader in the city's civic and cultural life. In 1858, three years after the death of his wife Abigail, he married Caroline Carmichael McIntosh.

Cabinet of President Millard Fillmore

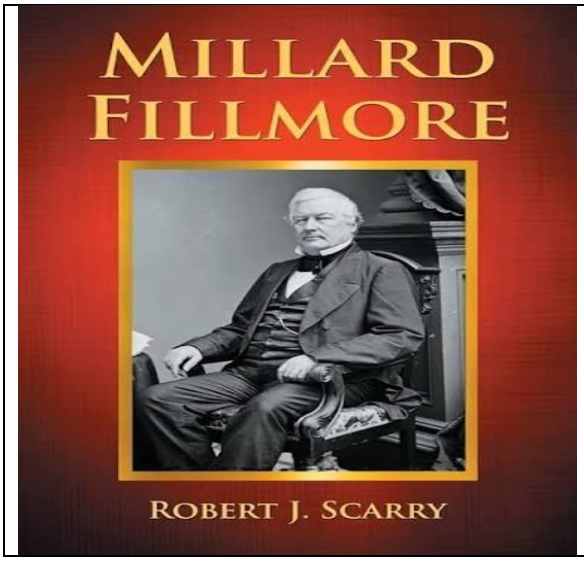
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Millard Fillmore.

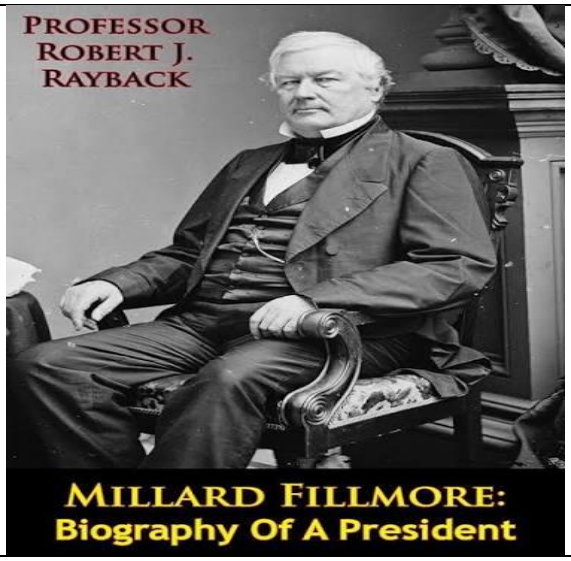
Cabinet of President Millard Fillmore

July 10, 1850 – March 3, 1853	
State	Daniel Webster

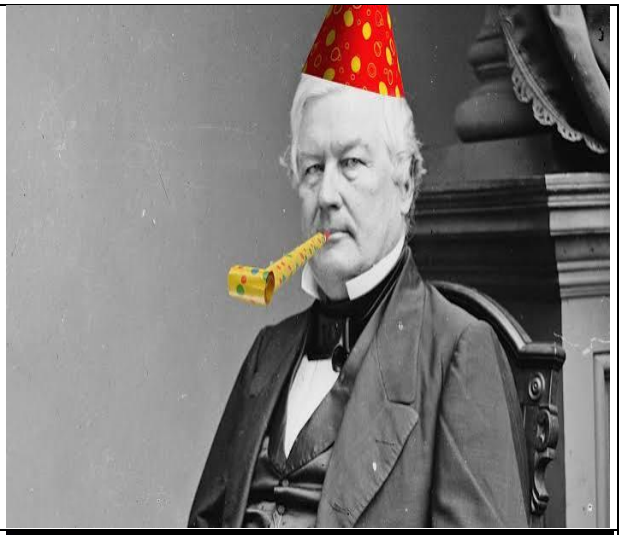
Cabinet of President Millard Fillmore

July 10, 1850 – March 3, 1853	
	Edward Everett (from November 6, 1852)
Treasury	Thomas Corwin
War	George Washington Crawford
	Charles Magill Conrad (from August 15, 1850)
Navy	William Alexander Graham
	John P. Kennedy (from July 26, 1852)
Attorney General	Reverdy Johnson
	John Jordan Crittenden (from August 14, 1850)
Interior	Thomas Ewing
	Thomas McKennan (from August 15, 1850)
	Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart (from September 16, 1850)

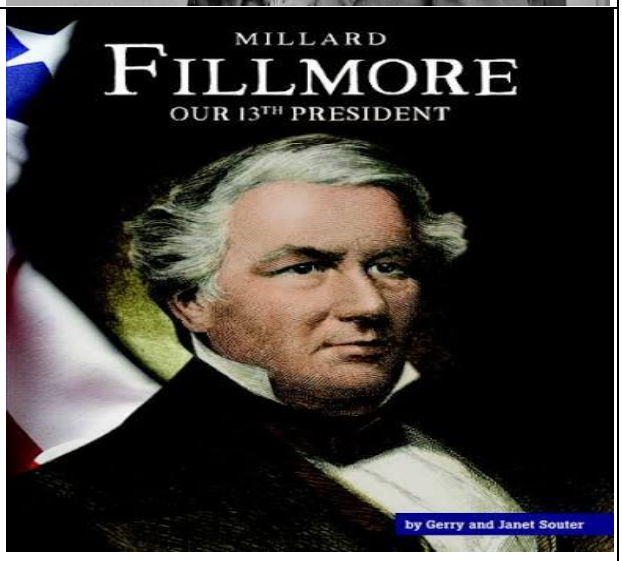


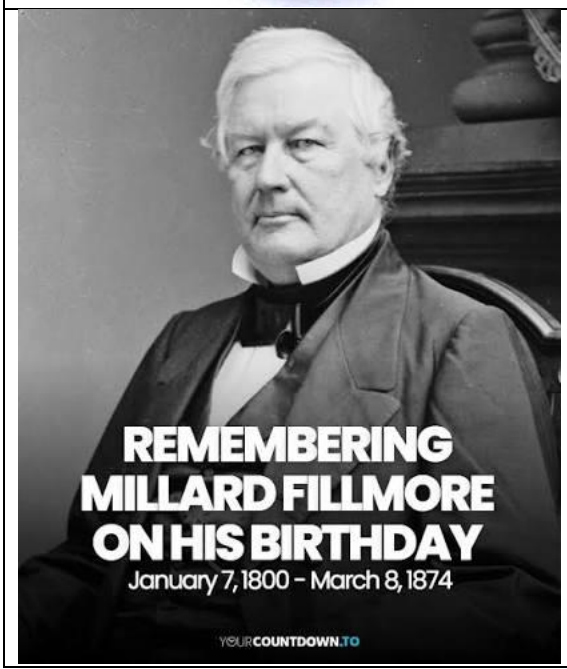


MILLARD FILLMORE,
AMERICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

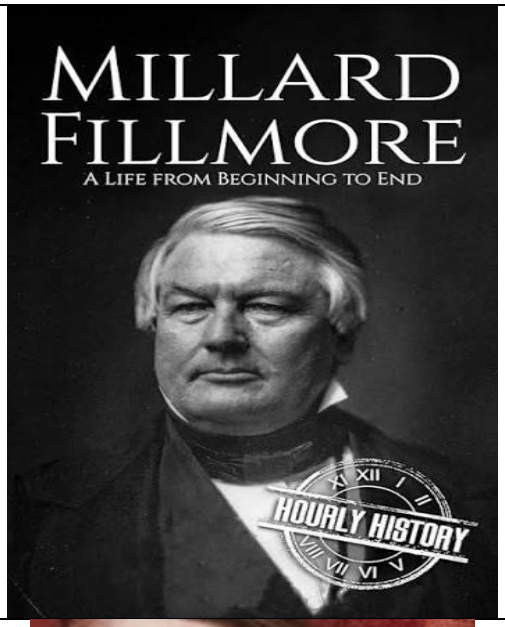


MILLARD FILLMORE
IN GOD WE TRUST
13th PRESIDENT
1850-1853

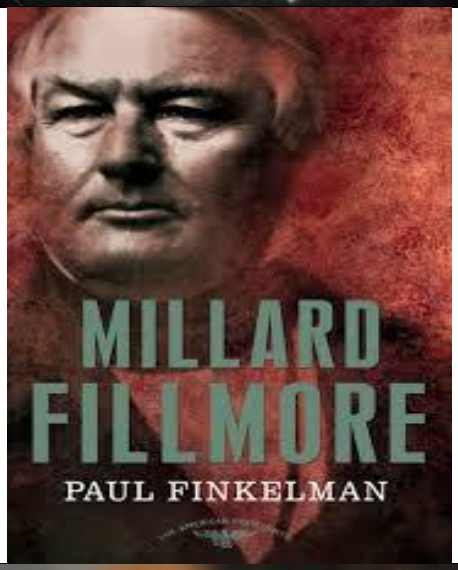

MILLARD
FILLMORE
OUR 13TH PRESIDENT
by Gerry and Janet Souter

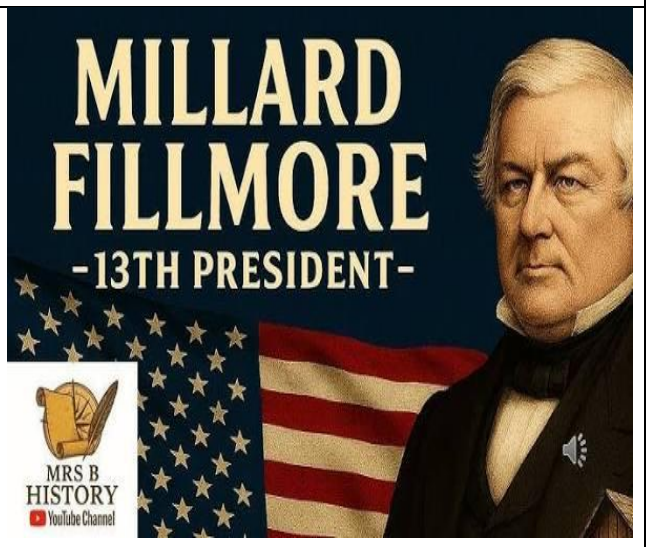

REMEMBERING
MILLARD FILLMORE
ON HIS BIRTHDAY
January 7, 1800 - March 8, 1874
YOURCOUNTDOWN.TO

SCHOOL HISTORY
Millard Fillmore
WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW
Early Life and Career
Fillmore as a Buffalo Politician
Fillmore as a Representative
Vice Presidency
Presidency
Post-Presidency
FACT FILE
Let's find out more about Millard Fillmore!
Millard Fillmore
Millard Fillmore was the 13th president of the United States (US). He was in office from 1850 to 1853. He was the last president to be a member of the Whig Party while in the White House, and he was also the final president who was not a Democrat or a Republican. Fillmore was a member of the US House of Representatives before he became vice president in 1848. He became president when Zachary Taylor died in 1850. Fillmore played a significant role in getting the Compromise of 1850 passed, which stopped the fight over the spread of slavery for a short time.


MILLARD
FILLMORE
A LIFE FROM BEGINNING TO END
HOURLY HISTORY

Library of Congress


MILLARD
FILLMORE
PAUL FINKELMAN


MILLARD
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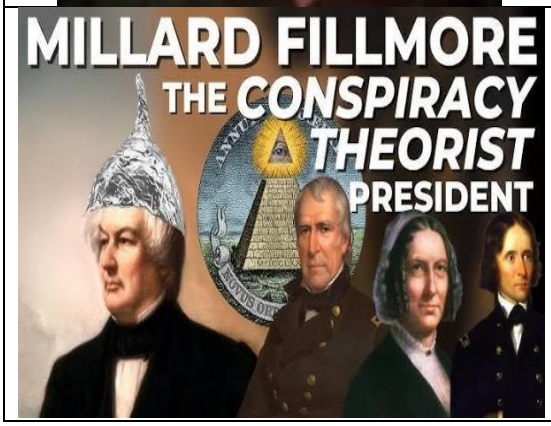
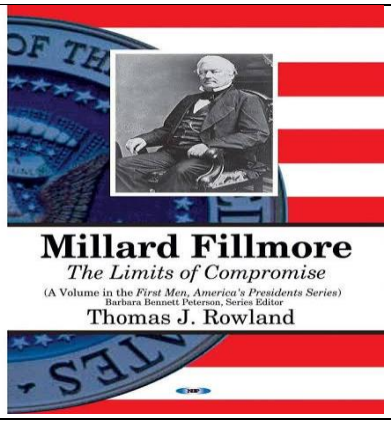
-13TH PRESIDENT-
MRS B
HISTORY
YouTube Channel


MILLARD FILLMORE
THE CONSPIRACY
THEORIST
PRESIDENT


Millard Fillmore
The Limits of Compromise
(A Volume in the First Men, America's Presidents Series)
Barbara Bennett Peterson, Series Editor
Thomas J. Rowland

Franklin Piece

14th President of the United States

[4 March 1853 <::> 4 March 1857]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/franklin-pierce/

02] https://millercenter.org/president/pierce/life-before-the-presidency

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Franklin-Pierce

04] Franklin Pierce – 14th President of the United States (1853–1857) Biography
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EkiCBgbVIhI [1:16:39]

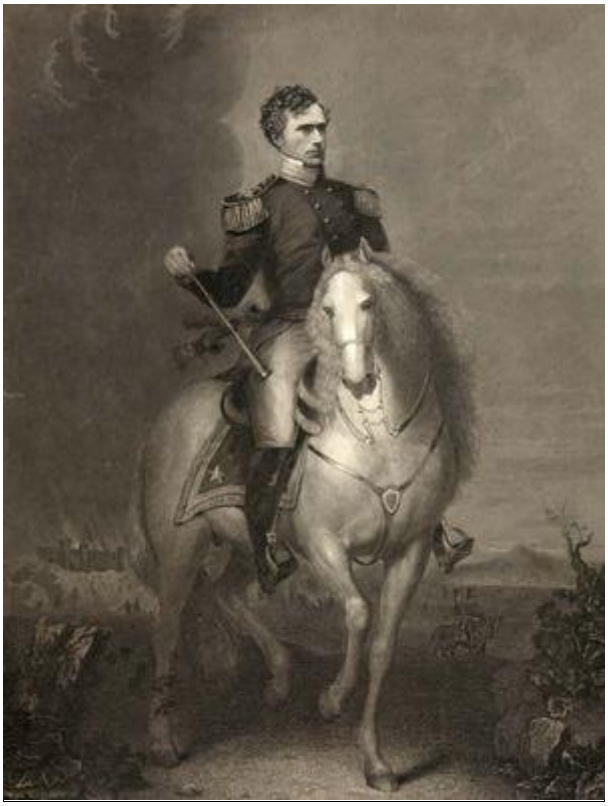
Franklin Pierce (born November 23, 1804, Hillsboro, New Hampshire, U.S.—died October 8, 1869, Concord, New Hampshire) was the 14th president of the United States (1853–57). He failed to deal effectively with the corroding sectional controversy over slavery in the decade preceding the American Civil War (1861–65).

Early life and career

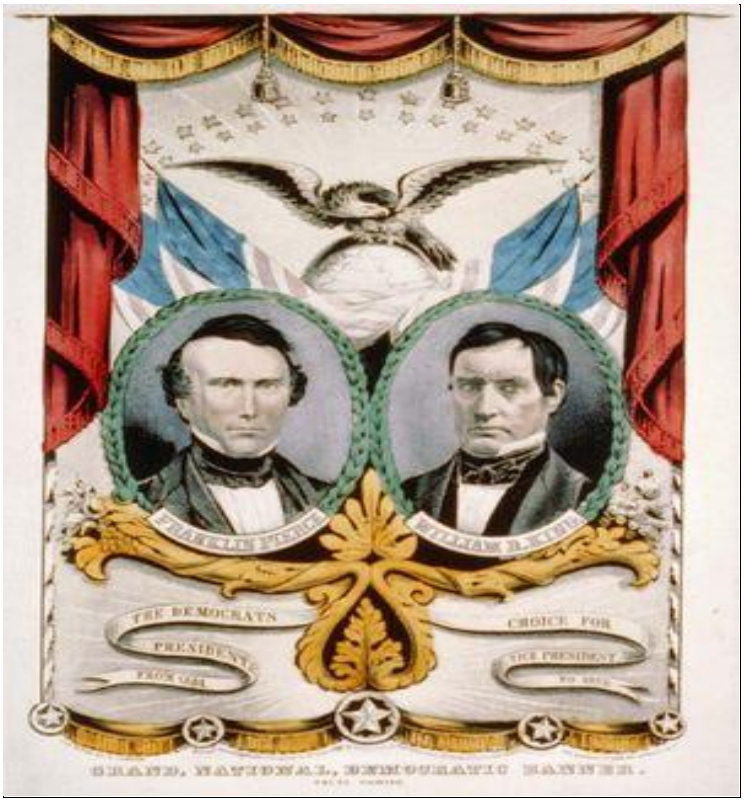
Franklin Pierce's birthplaceBirthplace of President Franklin Pierce, Hillsboro, New Hampshire.

The son of a governor of New Hampshire, Benjamin Pierce, and the former Anna Kendrick, Franklin Pierce attended Bowdoin College in Maine, studied law in Northampton, Massachusetts, and was admitted to the bar in 1827. He married Jane Means Appleton, father was president of Bowdoin, 1834.

Pierce entered politics in New Hampshire as a Democrat, serving in the state legislature (1829–33), the U.S. House of Representatives (1833–37), and the Senate (1837–42). Handsome, affable, charming, and possessed of a certain superficial brilliance, Pierce made many friends in Congress, but career there was otherwise undistinguished. He was a loyal supporter of Pres. Andrew Jackson but was continually overshadowed by older and more prominent men on the national scene. Resigning from the Senate for personal reasons, he returned to Concord, where he resumed his law practice and also served as federal district attorney.



U.S. officer Franklin PierceFranklin Pierce during the Mexican-American War, steel engraving by W.L. Ormsby, c. 1852.



Pierce-King 1852 campaign bannerCampaign banner for Franklin Pierce and William R. King, the Democratic ticket for the 1852 presidential election.

Except for a brief stint as an officer in the Mexican-American War (1846–48), Pierce remained out of the public eye until the nomination of the Democratic Party in 1852. After a deadlock developed among supporters of the leading presidential contenders Lewis Cass, Stephen A. Douglas and James Buchanan—a coalition of New England and Southern delegates proposed "Young Hickory" (a reference to Andrew Jackson, who had been known as "Old Hickory"), and Pierce was nominated on the 49th ballot.

The ensuing presidential campaign was dominated by the controversy over slavery and the finality of the Compromise of 1850. Although both the Democrats and the Whigs declared themselves in favor of the compromise, the Democrats were more thoroughly united in its support. As a result, Pierce, who was almost unknown nationally, easily defeated the Whig candidate Winfield Scott by 254 votes to 42 in the electoral college. Pierce's triumph was quickly marred by tragedy, however, when a few weeks before his inauguration, he and his wife witnessed the death of their only surviving child, 11-year-old Benjamin, in a railroad accident. Jane Pierce, who had always opposed her husband's candidacy, never fully recovered from the shock.

At a glance: the Pierce presidency

Presidency

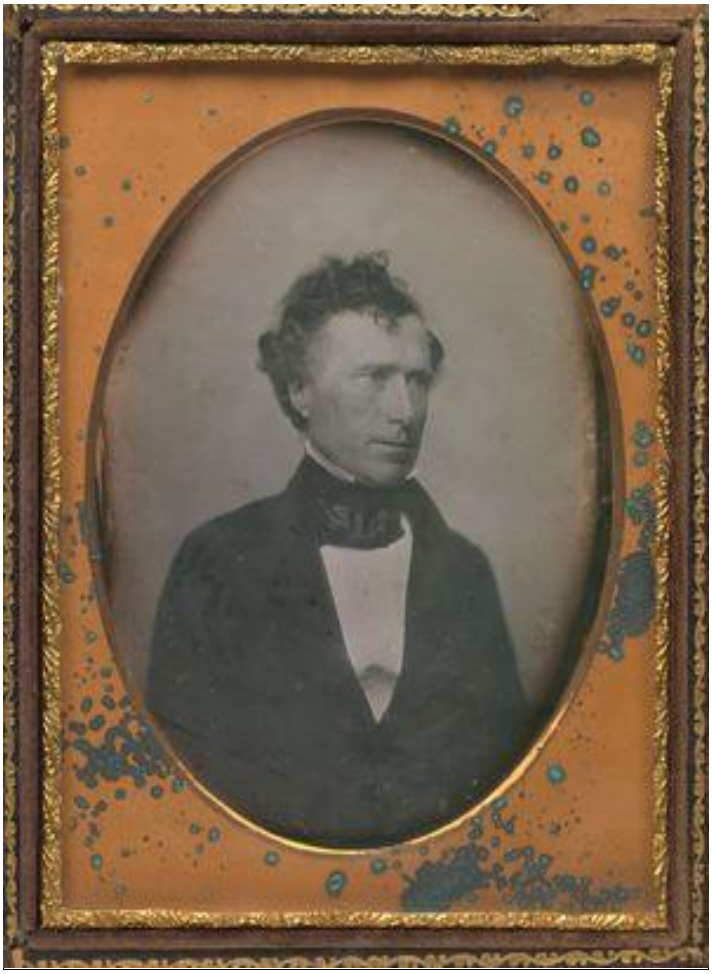
Franklin Pierce: inauguration Contemporary engraving of the inauguration of Franklin Pierce on March 4, 1853.

Franklin Pierce U.S. Pres. Franklin Pierce, lithograph by Nathaniel Currier, 1852; in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Franklin Pierce: inaugural reception "The President's Levee at the White House, Washington, D.C.," from *Gleason's Pictorial*, vol. 6, March 11, 1854, engraving of the inaugural reception for Franklin Pierce.

At the time of his election, Pierce, age 47, was the youngest man to ha
been elected to the presidency. Representing the Eastern element of t
Democratic Party, which was inclined for the sake of harmony and bus
prosperity to oppose any agitation against general place. Southern
opinion, Pierce tried to promote sectional unity by filling his cabinet w
extremists from both sides of the slavery debate. He also attempted to
sidestep the fierce sectional antagonism of the domestic scene by
ambitiously and aggressively pushing the extension of US territorial and
commercial interests abroad. In an effort to buy the island
of Cuba from Spain, he ordered the US minister to Spain, Pierre Soulé, to
to secure the influence of European financiers on the Spanish government

The resulting diplomatic statement, the Ostend Manifesto (October 1854), was interpreted by the American public as a call to wrest Cuba from Spain by force if necessary. The ensuing controversy forced the administration to disclaim responsibility for the document and to recall Soulé. In 1855 an American adventurer, William Walker, conducted a notorious expedition into Central America with the hope of establishing a proslavery government under the control of the United States. In Nicaragua he established himself as military dictator and then as president, and his regime was recognized by the Pierce administration. A more lasting diplomatic achievement came from the expedition that Pres. Millard Fillmore had sent to Japan in 1853 under Commodore Perry. In 1854 Pierce received Perry's report that his expedition had been successful and that U.S. shipping would have limited access to Japan's ports. The Pierce administration reorganized the diplomatic and consular service and created the United States Court of Claims.



Franklin PierceU.S. Pres. Franklin Pierce, quarter-plate daguerreotype by Southworth & Hawes, c. 1852: in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Gadsden PurchaseU.S. postage stamp commemorating the Gadsden Purchase.

Among Pierce's domestic policies were preparations for a transcontinental railroad and the opening of the Northwest for settlement. In 1853, in order to create a southern route to California, the U.S. minister to Mexico, James Gadsden, negotiated the purchase of almost 30,000 square miles of Mexican territory (the Gadsden Purchase) for $10 million. Mainly to stimulate migration to the Northwest and facilitate the construction of a central route to the Pacific, Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. This measure, which repealed two territories for settlement, included repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 (by which slavery in the territories was prohibited north of latitude 36°30′) and provided that the status of the territories as "free" or "slave" would be decided by popular sovereignty. The indignation aroused by the act led to the rise of the Republican Party in the mid-1850s. Owing to his inept handling of the situation in Kansas, Pierce was denied renomination by the Democrats, and he remains the only president to be repudiated by his party. After extended tour of Europe he retired to Concord. Always a heavy drinker, Pierce descended further into apparent alcoholism, and he died largely in obscurity.

Cabinet of President

FRANKLIN PIERCE

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Franklin Pierce.

Cabinet of President Franklin Pierce

March 4, 1853–March 3, 1857	
State	William Learned Marcy
Treasury	James Guthrie
War	Jefferson Davis
Navy	James Cochran Dobbin
Attorney General	Caleb Cushing
Interior	Robert McClelland

James Buchanan

15th President of the United States
[4 March 1857 <::> 4 March 1861]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/james-buchanan

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/james-buchanan/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-Buchanan-president-of-United-States

04] James Buchanan – 15th President of the United States (1857–1861)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-H4cSooBRQ [1:17:58]

James Buchanan (born April 23, 1791, near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.—died June 1, 1868, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania) was the 15th president of the United States (1857–61), a moderate Democrat whose efforts to find a compromise in the conflict between the North and the South failed to avert the Civil War (1861–65).

Origins and bachelorhood

Buchanan was the son of James Buchanan and Elizabeth Speer, both of Scottish Presbyterian stock from the north of Ireland. His father had immigrated to the United States in 1783 and worked as a storekeeper. Buchanan was educated at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, graduating in 1809, and studied law in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the bar in 1812 and soon established a successful law practice. His gift for oratory led him to politics.

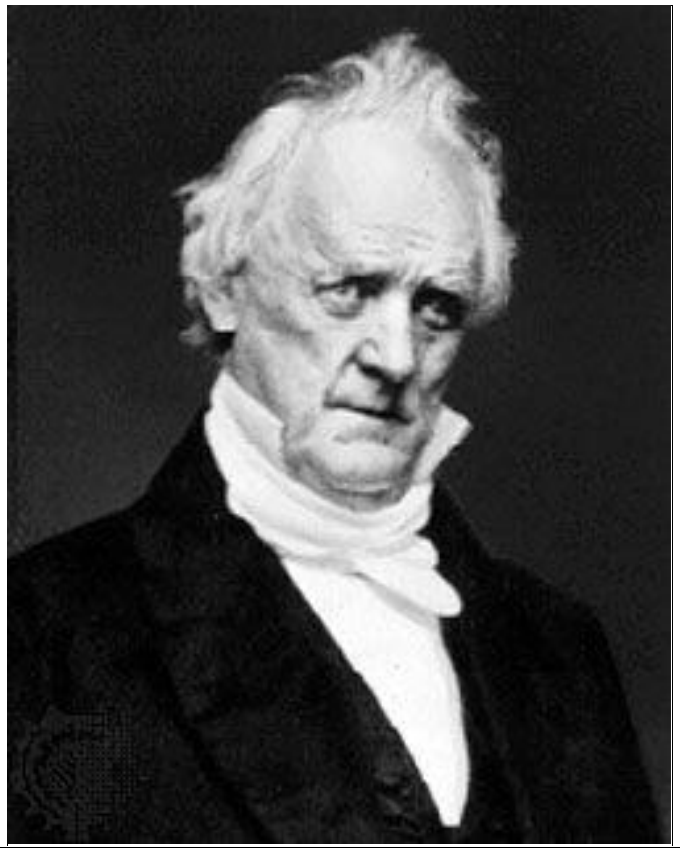
Buchanan never married and remains the only bachelor president. In 1819, when he was 28 years old, he became engaged to Anne C. Coleman, the daughter of a wealthy Pennsylvania family. He broke off the engagement for an undisclosed reason, and shortly afterward Coleman died, possibly a suicide. While Buchanan was a senator, he shared lodgings with another bachelor, Sen. William R. King of Alabama, causing some tongues in Washington to wag, but, in conformity with the mores of the time, the relationship was not a public matter. When Buchanan became president, he made his 27-year-old niece, Harriet Lane, his hostess. Buchanan had served as her guardian, and he had overseen her education since she was 12 years old, when her mother, Buchanan's sister, died. He took her to England with him when he was minister to Great Britain, where she became accustomed to being in the limelight. In the U.S. capital she was a popular figure, even dubbed the "Democratic Queen."

At a glance: Buchanan presidency

Early political career

A Federalist, Buchanan served in the Pennsylvania legislature (1814–16) and in the U.S. House of Representatives (1821–31). When his party disintegrated in the 1820s, Buchanan associated himself with the emerging Democratic Party. He served as U.S. minister to St. Petersburg (1831–33) for the Andrew Jackson administration, U.S. senator (1834–45), and secretary of state (1845–49) in the cabinet of Pres. James K. Polk. The annexation of Texas and subsequent Mexican-American War took place during Buchanan's tenure as secretary of state. Buchanan's role in the war was limited, but he played a more active part in the border dispute with Britain over Oregon. Despite the 1844 campaign slogan of "Fifty-four forty or fight," the matter was settled peaceably by treaty. In both situations the United States gained large tracts of territory. Buchanan had sought the nomination for president in 1844 but had ultimately thrown his

support to Polk. Failing to receive the presidential nomination in 1848, Buchanan retired from public service until 1853, when he was appointed minister to Britain by Pres. Franklin Pierce.



Buchanan, JamesJames Buchanan, photograph by Mathew Brady.

In Congress, Buchanan tended to side with the South, and, although he felt that slavery was morally wrong, he did not want the country to eliminate the institution by the "introduction of evils infinitely greater." From his perspective, a greater evil would be freeing the enslaved people and making them the

new masters, “abolishing slavery by the massacre of the high-minded, and the chivalrous race of men in the South.” He therefore tried to impress the Southern party leadership with his respect for the constitutional safeguards for the practice. Thus in 1846 he opposed the Wilmot Proviso, which would have prohibited the extension of slavery into the U.S. territories, and he supported the Compromise of 1850, which attempted to maintain a balance of Senate seats between slave and free states. While in Europe as minister to Britain he played a large part in drafting the Ostend Manifesto (October 18, 1854), a diplomatic report recommending that the United States acquire Cuba from Spain to forestall any possibility of an uprising of enslaved people there. Buchanan’s support for the manifesto stemmed not only from his fear that such an uprising might have an inflammatory effect on enslaved people in the United States but also from his basic belief in American imperialism. “It is, beyond question,” he wrote to Congress in 1858, “the destiny of our race

to spread themselves over the continent of North America, and this at no distant day."

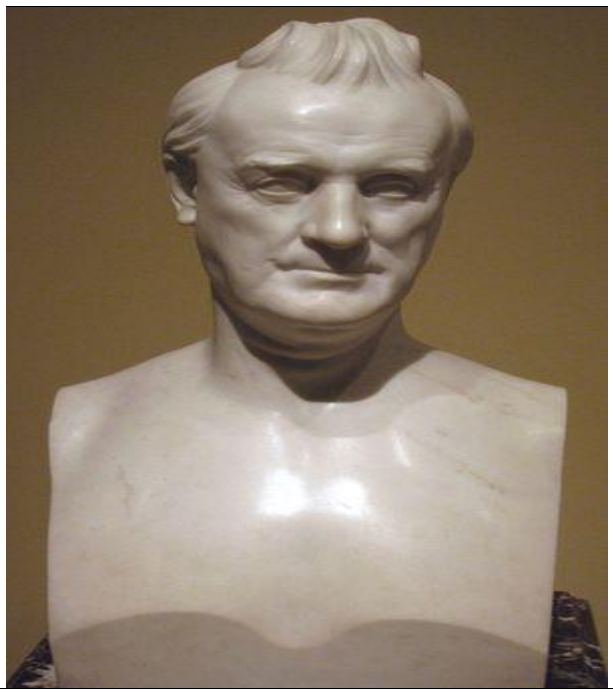
Presidency of James Buchanan

President James Buchanan's justification of his actions leading up to the outbreak of the American Civil War"Old Mother Hubbard at Wheatland," cartoon published in *Harper's Weekly*, November 29, 1862.

James Buchanan: meeting with Japanese embassyU.S. Pres. James Buchanan meeting with members of the Japanese embassy, engraving by Augustus Robin after a work by H.L. Stephens.

Having thus consolidated his position in the South, Buchanan was nominated for president in 1856 and was elected, winning 174 electoral votes to 114 for the Republican John C. Frémont and 8 for Millard Fillmore, the American (Know-Nothing) Party candidate. During the campaign Republican speakers harped on Buchanan's seemingly heartless statement that ten cents a day was adequate pay for a workingman. They jeered him as "Ten-Cent Jimmy." Although well endowed with legal knowledge and experienced in government, Buchanan lacked the soundness of judgment and conciliatory personality to undo the misperceptions the North and South had of one another and thereby to deal effectively with the slavery crisis. His strategy for the preservation of the Union consisted in the prevention of Northern antislavery agitation and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850). Embroiled in the explosive struggle in Kansas over the expansion of slavery (1854–59), he attempted to persuade Kansas voters to accept the unpopular Lecompton Constitution, which would

have permitted slavery there. The economic panic of 1857 and the raid on the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 by the abolitionist John Brown added to the national turmoil. Buchanan's position was further weakened by scandals over financial improprieties within his administration. At the 1860 Democratic National Convention, a split within the Democratic Party resulted in the advancement of two candidates for president, Sen. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Vice Pres. John C. Breckinridge, which opened the way for the election of the Republican Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860.



Henry Dexter: *James Buchanan*James Buchanan, marble by Henry Dexter, c. 1859; in the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina voted to secede from the Union. By February 1861 seven Southern states had seceded. Buchanan denounced secession but admitted that he could find no means to stop it, maintaining that he had “no authority to decide what shall be the relation between the federal government and South Carolina.” His cabinet members began to resign, and stopgap measures were rejected by Congress. War was inevitable. The president refused to surrender any of the federal forts that he could hold, however, and he ordered reinforcements (January 1861) sent to Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina. However, when the federal supply ship was fired upon by shore batteries, it turned back. The call for a second relief mission came too late for Buchanan to act. As the crisis deepened, he seemed impatient for his time in the White House to run out.

RETIREMENT

Home of James BuchananWheatland, the home of James Buchanan, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Upon leaving office (March 4), Buchanan retired to Wheatland, his home near Lancaster. His reputation suffered during his years in retirement. Congress, the Republican Party, President Lincoln, the U.S. military, and national newspapers all ridiculed his handling of the Fort Sumter crisis and his failure to prevent the secession of Southern states. The Senate even drafted a resolution to condemn Buchanan. In fact, to prevent the defacing of Buchanan's portrait, it had to be removed from the Capitol rotunda. Buchanan vigorously defended his presidency and died confident in the belief that posterity would vindicate him and redeem his reputation.

CABINET OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN

James BuchananU.S. Pres. James Buchanan (standing center) and his cabinet, 1856.

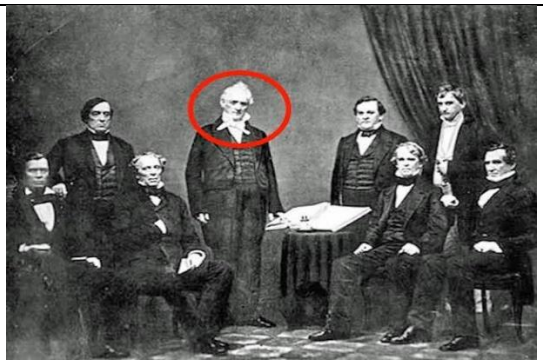
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. James Buchanan.

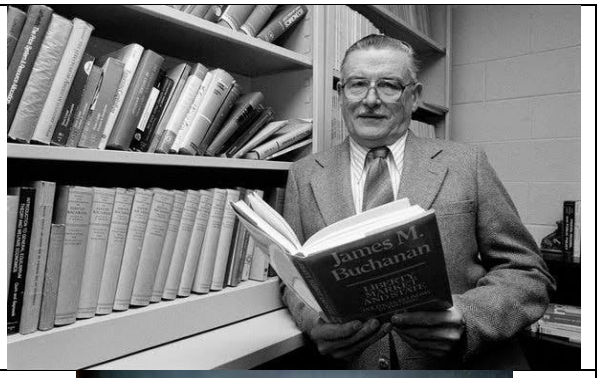
Cabinet of President James Buchanan

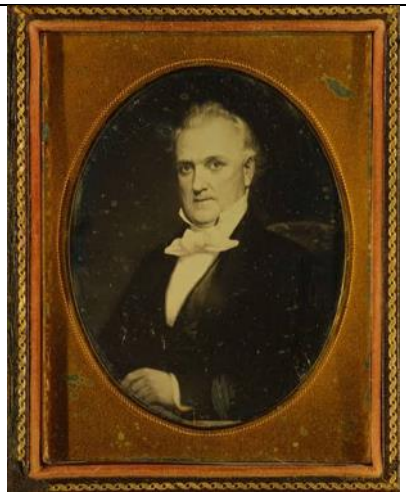
March 4, 1857–March 3, 1861	
State	Lewis Cass
	Jeremiah Sullivan Black (from December 17, 1860)
Treasury	Howell Cobb
	Philip Francis Thomas (from December 12, 1860)
	John Adams Dix (from January 15, 1861)
War	John Buchanan Floyd
Navy	Isaac Toucey
	Jeremiah Sullivan Black

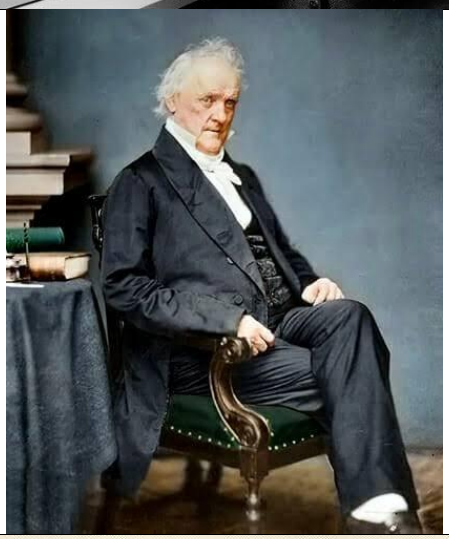
Cabinet of President James Buchanan

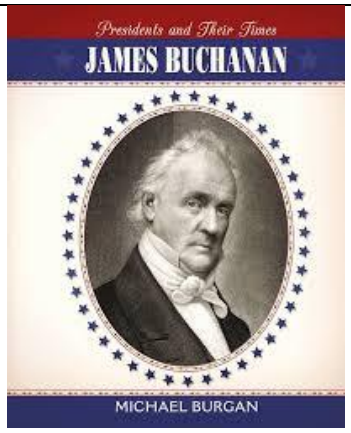
March 4, 1857–March 3, 1861	
Attorney General	Edwin McMasters Stanton (from December 22, 1860)
Interior	Jacob Thompson

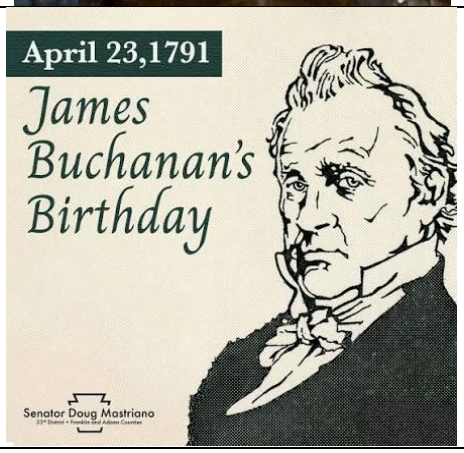


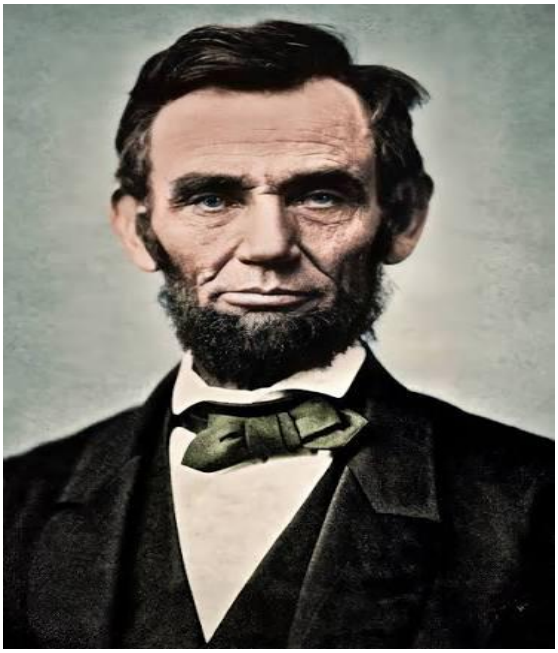












Abraham Lincoln

16th President of the United States

[4 March 1861 <::> 15 April 1865]

Please visit:April

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/abraham-lincoln/

02] https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/abraham-lincoln

03] https://www.loc.gov/collections/abraham-lincoln-papers/about-this-collection/

04] https://www.history.com/articles/abraham-lincoln

05] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abraham-Lincoln

04] Abraham Lincoln - The Extraordinary Life of America's 16th President Documentary
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qf_tt4Z4ls0 [1:07:32]

05] World Leaders in Wartime: Abraham Lincoln
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVFr2BqtKqg [59:00]

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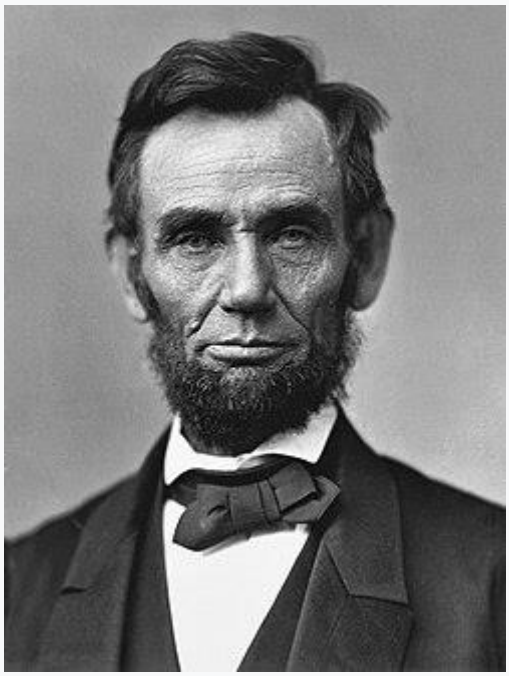
Abraham Lincoln



Lincoln in 1863

16th President of the United States

In office
March 4, 1861 – April 15, 1865

Vice President	• Hannibal Hamlin (1861–1865) • Andrew Johnson (Mar–Apr 1865)

Preceded by	James Buchanan
Succeeded by	Andrew Johnson
Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois's 7th district	
In office March 4, 1847 – March 3, 1849	
Preceded by	John Henry
Succeeded by	Thomas L. Harris
Member of the Illinois House of Representatives from Sangamon County	
In office December 1, 1834 – December 4, 1842	
Preceded by	Achilles Morris
Personal details	
Born	February 12, 1809 LaRue County, Kentucky, U.S.
Died	April 15, 1865 (aged 56) Washington, D.C., U.S.
Cause of death	Assassination by gunshot
Resting place	Lincoln Tomb
Party	• Whig (before 1856) • Republican (after 1856)
Other political affiliations	National Union (1864–1865)
Height	6 ft 4 in (193 cm)[1]
Spouse	Mary Todd

	(m. 1842)
Relatives	Lincoln family
Occupation	• Politician • lawyer
Signature	*Abraham Lincoln*
Nickname	"Honest Abe"
Military service	
Allegiance	United States
Branch/service	Illinois Militia
Years of service	April–July 1832
Rank	• Captain[a] • Private[a]
Battles/wars	Black Hawk War (see Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War)

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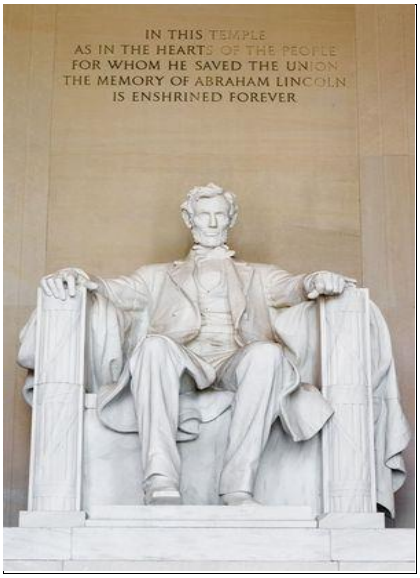
Abraham Lincoln (born February 12, 1809, near Hodgenville, Kentucky, U.S.—died April 15, 1865, Washington, D.C.) was the 16th president of the United States (1861–65), who preserved the Union during the American Civil War and brought about the emancipation of enslaved people in the United States.

Lincoln and his cabinetU.S. Pres. Abraham Lincoln (seated center) and his cabinet, with Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott, in the council chamber at the White House, lithograph, 1866.


IN THIS TEMPLE
AS IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE
FOR WHOM HE SAVED THE UNION
THE MEMORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
IS ENSHRINED FOREVER

Abraham Lincoln: statue at the Lincoln MemorialStatue of Abraham Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Among American heroes, Lincoln continues to have a unique appeal for his fellow compatriots and also for people of other lands. This charm derives from his remarkable life story—the rise from humble origins, the dramatic death—and from his distinctively human and humane personality as well as from his historical role as savior of the Union and emancipator of enslaved people. His relevance endures and grows especially because of his eloquence as a spokesman for democracy. In his view, the Union was worth saving not only for its own sake but because it embodied an ideal, the ideal of self-government. In recent years, the political side to Lincoln's character, and his racial views in particular, have come under close scrutiny, as scholars continue to find him a rich subject for research. The Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., was dedicated to him on May 30, 1922.

Read about assassination and attempts involving U.S. presidents and presidential candidates.

Life

Abraham Lincoln: From a log cabin to the White HouseAn overview of the life of Abraham Lincoln.

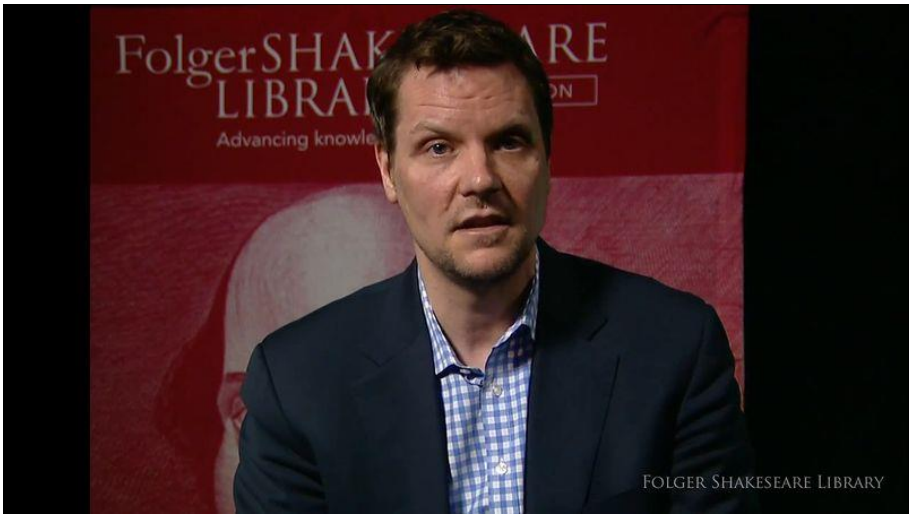
Lincoln's boyhood homeLog cabin, Abraham Lincoln's boyhood home, Knob Creek, Kentucky, originally built early 19th century.

Lincoln was born in a backwoods cabin 3 miles (5 km) south of Hodgenville, Kentucky, and was taken to a farm in the neighboring valley of Knob Creek when he was two years old. His earliest memories were of this home and, in particular, of a flash flood that once washed away the corn and pumpkin seeds he had helped his father plant. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was the descendant of a weaver's apprentice who had migrated from England to Massachusetts in 1637. Though much less prosperous than some of his Lincoln forebears, Thomas was a sturdy pioneer. On June 12, 1806, he married Nancy Hanks. The Hanks genealogy is difficult to trace, but Nancy appears to have been of illegitimate birth. She has been described as "stoop-shouldered, thin-breasted, sad," and fervently religious. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln had three children: Sarah, Abraham, and Thomas, who died in infancy.

Childhood and youth

Learn how Abraham Lincoln's frontier childhood and early appetite for reading shaped his characterDramatization of aspects of Lincoln's childhood in Kentucky and Indiana.

In December 1816, faced with a lawsuit challenging the title to his Kentucky farm, Thomas Lincoln moved with his family to southwestern Indiana. There, as a squatter on public land, he hastily put up a "half-faced camp"—a crude structure of logs and boughs with one side open to the weather—in which the family took shelter behind a blazing fire. Soon he built a permanent cabin, and later he bought the land on which it stood. Abraham helped to clear the fields and to take care of the crops but early acquired a dislike for hunting and fishing. In afteryears he recalled the "panther's scream," the bears that "preyed on the swine," and the poverty of Indiana frontier life, which was "pretty pinching at times." The unhappiest period of his boyhood followed the death of his mother in the autumn of 1818. As a ragged nine-year-old, he saw her buried in the forest, then faced a winter without the warmth of a mother's love. Fortunately, before the onset of a second winter, Thomas Lincoln married Sarah Bush Johnston, who moved from Kentucky to Indiana to make a family with Thomas Lincoln. A widow with two girls and a boy of her own, she had energy and affection to spare and ran the household with an even hand, treating both sets of children as if she had borne them all, but she became especially fond of Abraham, and he of her. He afterward referred to his stepmother as his "angel moth



Learn how reading Shakespeare and the King James Bible helped Abraham Lincoln compose his best-remembered address in American historyLearn how Abraham Lincoln's studying of William Shakespeare and the King James Bible helped him to compose perhaps the best-remembered address in American history.

His stepmother doubtless encouraged Lincoln's taste for reading, yet the original source of his desire to learn remains something of a mystery. Both his parents were almost completely illiterate, and he himself received little formal education. He once said that, as a boy, he had gone to school "by littles"—a little now and a little then—and his entire schooling amounted to no more than one year's attendance. His neighbors later recalled how he used to trudge for miles to borrow a book. According to his own statement, however, his early surroundings provided "absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three; but that was all." Apparently the young Lincoln did not read a large number of books but thoroughly absorbed the few that he did read. These included Parson Weems's *Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (with its story of the little hatchet and the cherry tree), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Aesop's *Fables*. From his earliest days he must have had some familiarity with the Bible, for it doubtless was the only book his family owned.

In March 1830 the Lincoln family undertook a second migration, this time to Illinois, with Lincoln himself driving the team of oxen. Having just reached the age of 21, he was about to begin life on his own. Six feet four inches tall, he was rawboned and lanky but muscular and physically powerful. He was especially noted for the skill and strength with which he could wield an ax. He spoke with a backwoods twang and walked in the long-striding, flat-footed, cautious manner of a plowman. Good-natured though somewhat moody, talented as a mimic and storyteller, he readily attracted friends. But he was yet to demonstrate whatever other abilities he possessed.

After his arrival in Illinois, having no desire to be a farmer, Lincoln tried his hand at a variety of occupations. As a rail-splitter, he helped to clear and fence his father's new farm. As a flatboatman, he made a voyage down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, Louisiana. (This was his second visit to that city, his first having been made in 1828, while he still lived in Indiana.) Upon his return to Illinois he settled in New Salem, a village of about 25 families on the Sangamon River. There he worked from time to time as storekeeper, postmaster, and surveyor. With the coming of the Black Hawk War (1832), he enlisted as a volunteer and was elected captain of his company. Afterward he joked that he had seen no "live, fighting Indians" during the war but had had "a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes." Meanwhile, aspiring to be a legislator, he was defeated in his first try and then repeatedly reelected to the state assembly. He considered blacksmithing as a trade but finally decided in favor of the law. Already having

taught himself grammar and mathematics, he began to study law books. In 1836, having passed the bar examination, he began to practice law.

Prairie lawyer

Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Springfield, Illinois

The next year he moved to Springfield, Illinois, the new state capital, which offered many more opportunities for a lawyer than New Salem did. At first Lincoln was a partner of John T. Stuart, then of Stephen T. Logan, and finally, from 1844, of William H. Herndon. Nearly 10 years younger than Lincoln, Herndon was more widely read, more emotional at the bar, and generally more extreme in his views. Yet this partnership seems to have been as nearly perfect as such human arrangements ever are. Lincoln and Herndon kept few records of their law business, and they split the cash between them whenever either of them was paid. It seems they had no money quarrels.

Within a few years of his relocation to Springfield, Lincoln was earning $1,200 to $1,500 annually, at a time when the governor of the state received a salary of $1,200 and circuit judges only $750. He had to work hard. To keep himself busy, he found it necessary not only to practice in the capital but also to follow the court as it made the rounds of its circuit. Each spring and fall he would set out by horseback or buggy to travel hundreds of miles over the thinly settled prairie, from one little county seat to another. Most of the cases were petty and the fees small.

The coming of the railroads, especially after 1850, made travel easier and practice more remunerative. Lincoln served as a lobbyist for the Illinois Central Railroad, assisting it in getting a charter from the state, and thereafter he was retained as a regular attorney for that railroad. After successfully defending the company against the efforts of McLean county to tax its property, he received the largest single fee of his legal career—$5,000. (He had to sue the Illinois Central in order to collect the fee.) He also handled cases for other railroads and for banks, insurance companies, and mercantile and manufacturing firms. In one

of his finest performances before the bar, he saved the Rock Island Bridge, the first to span the Mississippi River, from the threat of the river transportation interests that demanded the bridge's removal. His business included a number of patent suits and criminal trials. One of his most effective and famous pleas had to do with a murder case. A witness claimed that, by the light of the moon, he had seen Duff Armstrong, an acquaintance of Lincoln's, take part in a killing. Referring to an almanac for proof, Lincoln argued that the night had been too dark for the witness to have seen anything clearly, and with a sincere and moving appeal he won an acquittal.

By the time he began to be prominent in national politics, about 20 years after launching his legal career, Lincoln had made himself one of the most distinguished and successful lawyers in Illinois. He was noted not only for his shrewdness and practical common sense, which enabled him always to see to the heart of any legal case, but also for his invariable fairness and utter honesty.

Lincoln's family

While residing in New Salem, Lincoln became acquainted with Ann Rutledge. Apparently he was fond of her, and certainly he grieved with the entire community at her untimely death, in 1835, at the age of 22. Afterward, stories were told of a grand romance between Lincoln and Rutledge, but these stories are not supported by sound historical evidence. A year after the death of Rutledge, Lincoln carried on a halfhearted courtship with Mary Owens, who eventually concluded that Lincoln was "deficient in those little links which make up the chain of woman's happiness." She turned down his proposal.

So far as can be known, the first and only real love of Lincoln's life was Mary Todd. High-spirited, quick-witted, and well-educated, Todd came from a rather distinguished Kentucky family, and her Springfield relatives belonged to the social aristocracy of the town. Some of them frowned upon her association with Lincoln, and from time to time he, too, doubted whether he could ever make her happy. Nevertheless, they became engaged. Then, on a day in 1841 that Lincoln recalled as the "fatal first of January," the engagement was broken, apparently on his initiative. For some time afterward, Lincoln was overwhelmed by terrible depression and despondency. Finally the two were reconciled, and on November 4, 1842, they married.

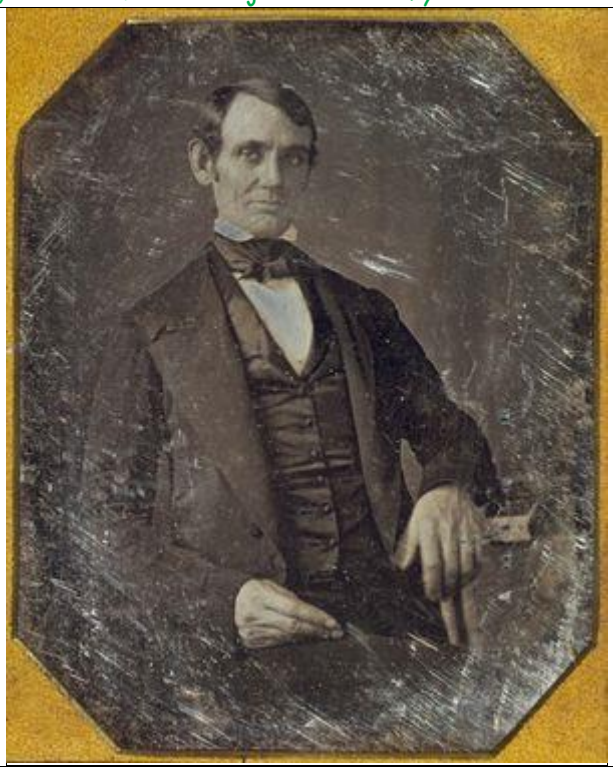
Lincoln and his sonAbraham Lincoln with his son Tad, 1864.

Four children, all boys, were born to the Lincolns. Edward Baker was nearly 4 years old when he died, and William Wallace ("Willie") was 11. Robert Todd, the eldest, was the only one of the children to survive to adulthood, though Lincoln's favorite, Thomas ("Tad"), who had a cleft palate and a lisp, outlived his father. Lincoln left the upbringing of his children largely to their mother, who was alternately strict and lenient in her treatment of them.

The Lincolns had a mutual affectionate interest in the doings and welfare of their boys, were fond of one another's company, and missed each other when apart, as existing letters show. Like most married couples, the Lincolns also had their domestic quarrels, which sometimes were hectic but which undoubtedly were exaggerated by contemporary gossips. She suffered from recurring headaches, fits of temper, and a sense of insecurity and loneliness that was intensified by her husband's long absences on the lawyer's circuit. After his election to the presidency, she was afflicted by the death of her son Willie, by the ironies of a war that made enemies of Kentucky relatives and friends, and by the unfair public criticisms of her as mistress of the White House. She developed an obsessive need to spend money, and she ran up embarrassing bills. She also staged some painful scenes of wifely jealousy. At last, in 1875, she was officially declared insane, though by that time she had undergone the further shock of seeing her husband murdered at her side. During their earlier married life, she unquestionably encouraged her husband and served as a prod to his own ambition. During their later years together, she probably strengthened and tested his innate qualities of tolerance and patience.

With his wife, Lincoln attended Presbyterian services in Springfield and in Washington but never joined any church. He once explained:

When any church will inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both Law and Gospel, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor, as thyself," that church will I join with all my heart and all my soul.



Abraham LincolnDaguerreotype of Congressman-elect Abraham Lincoln, c. 1846–47. This is the earliest-known photograph of Lincoln.

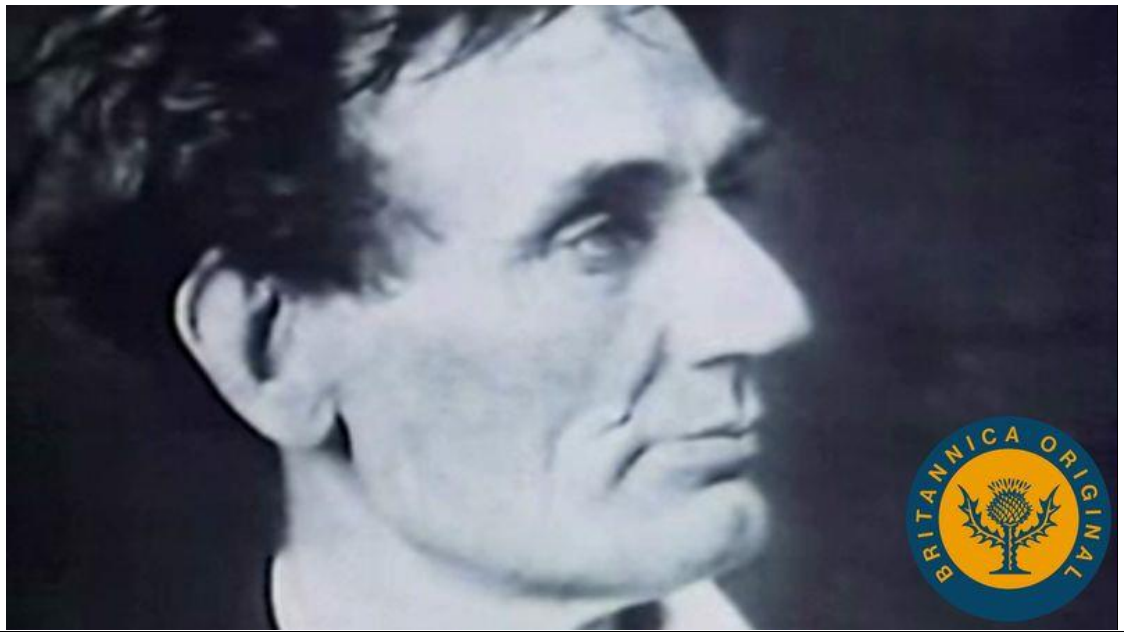
Early in life Lincoln had been something of a skeptic and freethinker. His reputation had been such that, as he once complained, the "church influence" was used against him in politics. When running for Congress in 1846, he issued a handbill to deny that he ever had "spoken with intentional disrespect of religion." He went on to explain that he had believed in the doctrine of necessity—"that is, that the human mind is impelled to action, or held in rest by some power over which the mind itself has no control." Throughout his life he also believed in dreams and other enigmatic signs and portents. As he grew older, and especially after he became president and faced the soul-troubling responsibilities of the Civil War, he developed a profound religious sense, and he increasingly personified necessity as God. He came to look upon himself quite humbly as an "instrument of Providence" and to view all history as God's enterprise. "In the present civil war," he wrote in 1862, "it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party—and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purpose."

Lincoln was fond of the Bible and knew it well. He also was fond of Shakespeare. In private conversation he used many Shakespearean allusions, discussed

problems of dramatic interpretation with considerable insight, and recited long passages from memory with rare feeling and understanding. He liked the works of John Stuart Mill, particularly *On Liberty*, but disliked heavy or metaphysical works.

Though he enjoyed the poems of Lord Byron and Robert Burns, his favorite piece of verse was the work of an obscure Scottish poet, William Knox. Lincoln often quoted Knox's lines beginning: "Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" He liked to relax with the comic writings of Petroleum V. Nasby, Orpheus C. Kerr, and Artemus Ward, or with a visit to the popular theater.

Early political career of Abraham Lincoln



Explore Abraham Lincoln's marriage to Mary Todd and time as state lawmaker in Springfield, IllinoisDescription of Abraham Lincoln's years as a state lawmaker in Illinois, where he was an early advocate of women's suffrage, and of his marriage to Mary Todd.

When Lincoln first entered politics, Andrew Jackson was president. Lincoln shared the sympathies that the Jacksonians professed for the common man, but he disagreed with the Jacksonian view that the government should be divorced from economic enterprise. "The legitimate object of government," he was later to say, "is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities." Among the prominent politicians of his time, he most admired Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. Clay and Webster advocated using the powers of the federal government to encourage business and develop the country's resources by means of a national bank, a protective tariff, and a program of internal improvements for facilitating transportation. In Lincoln's view, Illinois and the West as a whole desperately needed such aid for economic

development. From the outset, he associated himself with the party of Clay and Webster, the Whigs.

As a Whig member of the Illinois State Legislature, to which he was elected four times from 1834 to 1840, Lincoln devoted himself to a grandiose project for constructing with state funds a network of railroads, highways, and canals. Whigs and Democrats joined in passing an omnibus bill for these undertakings, but the panic of 1837 and the ensuing business depression brought about the abandonment of most of them. While in the legislature he demonstrated that, though opposed to slavery, he was no abolitionist. In 1837, in response to the mob murder of Elijah Lovejoy, an antislavery newspaperman of Alton, the legislature introduced resolutions condemning abolitionist societies and defending slavery in the Southern states as "sacred" by virtue of the federal Constitution. Lincoln refused to vote for the resolutions. Together with a fellow member, he drew up a protest that declared, on the one hand, that slavery was "founded on both injustice and bad policy" and, on the other, that "the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils."

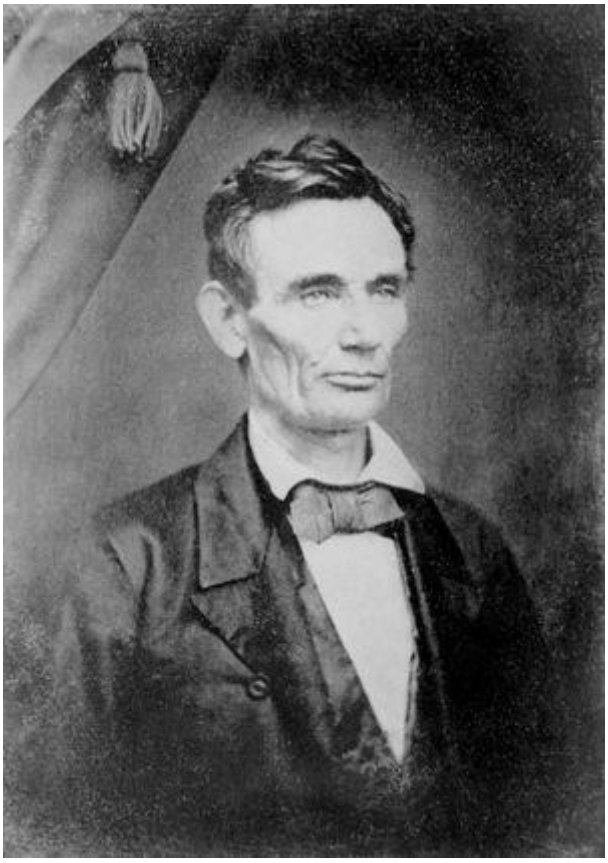
During his single term in Congress (1847–49), Lincoln, as the lone Whig from Illinois, gave little attention to legislative matters. He proposed a bill for the gradual and compensated emancipation of enslaved people in the District of Columbia, but, because it was to take effect only with the approval of the "free white citizens" of the district, it displeased abolitionists as well as slaveholders and never was seriously considered.

Lincoln devoted much of his time to presidential politics—to unmaking one president, a Democrat, and making another, a Whig. He found an issue and a candidate in the Mexican War. With his "spot resolutions," he challenged the statement of President James K. Polk that Mexico had started the war by shedding American blood upon American soil. Along with other members of his party, Lincoln voted to condemn Polk and the war while also voting for supplies to carry it on. At the same time, he labored for the nomination and election of the war hero Zachary Taylor. After Taylor's success at the polls, Lincoln expected to be named commissioner of the general land office as a reward for his campaign services, and he was bitterly disappointed when he failed to get the job. His criticisms of the war, meanwhile, had not been popular among the voters in his own congressional district. At the age of 40, frustrated in politics, he seemed to be at the end of his public career.

The road to presidency

Examine Abraham Lincoln's Campaign in the U.S. Presidential Election of 1860Learn about Abraham Lincoln's campaign in the U.S. presidential election of 1860.

For about five years Lincoln took little part in politics, and then a new sectional crisis gave him a chance to reemerge and rise to statesmanship. In 1854 his political rival Stephen A. Douglas maneuvered through Congress a bill for reopening the entire Louisiana Purchase to slavery and allowing the settlers of Kansas and Nebraska (with "popular sovereignty") to decide for themselves whether to permit slaveholding in those territories. The Kansas-Nebraska Act provoked violent opposition in Illinois and the other states of the old Northwest. It gave rise to the Republican Party while speeding the Whig Party on its way to disintegration. Along with many thousands of other homeless Whigs, Lincoln soon became a Republican (1856). Before long, some prominent Republicans in the East talked of attracting Douglas to the Republican fold, and with him his Democratic following in the West. Lincoln would have none of it. He was determined that he, not Douglas, should be the Republican leader of his state and section.



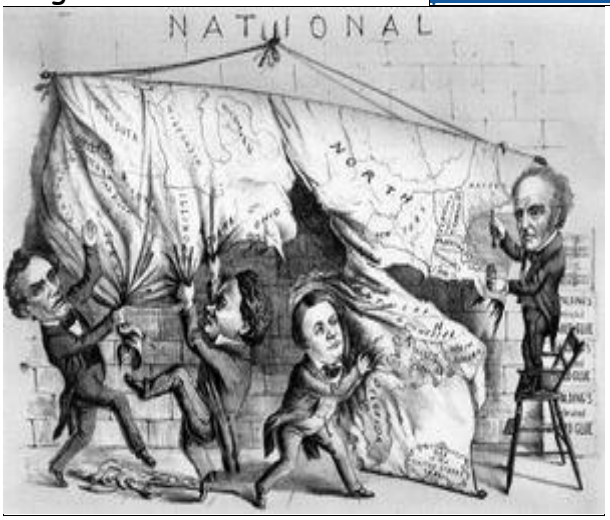
A favorite photographAbraham Lincoln, photograph probably taken by Roderick M. Cole, in Peoria, Illinois, 1858. Lincoln reportedly liked this image and often signed copies for supporters.

Lincoln challenged the incumbent Douglas for the Senate seat in 1858, and the series of debates they engaged in throughout Illinois was political oratory of the highest order. Both men were shrewd debaters and accomplished stump speakers, though they could hardly have been more different in style and appearance—the short and pudgy Douglas, whose stentorian voice and graceful gestures swayed audiences, and the tall, homely, almost emaciated-looking Lincoln, who moved awkwardly and whose voice was piercing and shrill. Lincoln's prose and speeches, however, were eloquent, pithy, powerful, and free of the verbosity so common in communication of his day. The debates were published in 1860, together with a biography of Lincoln, in a best-selling book that Lincoln himself compiled and marketed as part of his campaign.

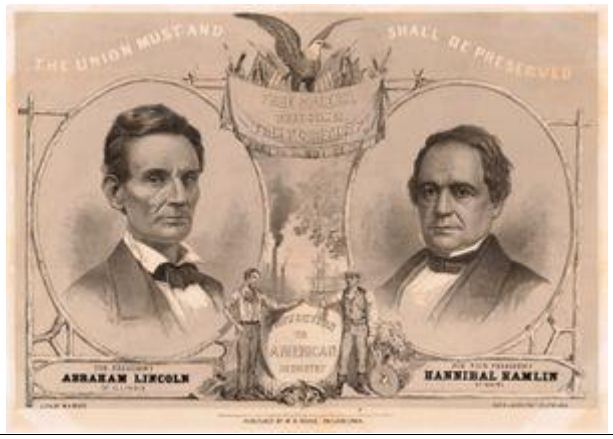
In their basic views, Lincoln and Douglas were not as far apart as they seemed in the heat of political argument. Neither was abolitionist or proslavery. But Lincoln, unlike Douglas, insisted that Congress must exclude slavery from the territories. He disagreed with Douglas's belief that the territories were by nature unsuited to the slavery-based economy and that no congressional legislation was needed to

prevent the spread of slavery into them. In one of his most famous speeches, he said: "*A house divided against itself cannot stand*. I believe the government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." He predicted that the country eventually would become "all one thing, or all the other." Again and again he insisted that the civil liberties of every U.S. citizen, white as well as Black, were at stake. The territories must be kept free, he further said, because "new free states" were "places for poor people to go and better their condition." He agreed with Thomas Jefferson and other founding fathers, however, that slavery should be merely contained, not directly attacked. In fact, when it was politically expedient to do so, he reassured his audiences that he did not endorse citizenship for Blacks or believe in the equality of the races. "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and Black races," he told a crowd in Charleston, Illinois. "I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people." There is, he added, "a physical difference between the white and Black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality." Lincoln drove home the inconsistency between Douglas's "popular sovereignty" principle and the Dred Scott decision (1857), in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that Congress could not constitutionally exclude slavery from the territories.

In the end, Lincoln lost the election to Douglas. Although the outcome did not surprise him, it depressed him deeply. Lincoln had, nevertheless, gained national recognition and soon began to be mentioned as a presidential prospect for 1860.



1860 U.S. presidential election cartoonCartoon of the 1860 U.S. presidential election showing three of the candidates—(left to right) Republican Abraham Lincoln, Northern Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, and Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge—tearing the country apart while the Constitutional Union candidate, John Bell, applies glue from a tiny useless pot.



Lincoln-Hamlin election posterElection poster, campaign of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, 1860, lithograph.

On May 18, 1860, after Lincoln and his friends had made skillful preparations, he was nominated on the third ballot at the Republican National Convention in Chicago. He then put aside his law practice and, though making no stump speeches, gave full time to the direction of his campaign. His "main object," he had written, was to "hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks," and he counseled party workers to "say nothing on points where it is probable we shall disagree." With the Republicans united, the Democrats divided, and a total of four candidates in the field, he carried the election on November 6. Although he received no votes from the Deep South and no more than 40 out of 100 in the country as a whole, the popular votes were so distributed that he won a clear and decisive majority in the electoral college.

The Lincoln Presidency

The Lincoln Presidency

LEADING A HOUSE DIVIDED

After Lincoln's election and before his inauguration, the state of South Carolina proclaimed its withdrawal from the Union. To forestall similar action by other Southern states, various compromises were proposed in Congress. The most important, the Crittenden Compromise, included constitutional amendments guaranteeing slavery forever in the states where it already existed and dividing the territories between slavery and freedom. Although Lincoln had no objection to the first of these amendments, he was unalterably opposed to the second and indeed to any scheme infringing in the slightest upon the free-soil plank of his party's platform. "I am inflexible," he privately wrote. He feared that a territorial division, by sanctioning the principle of slavery extension, would only encourage planter imperialists to seek new territory for slavery south of the American border and thus would "put us again on the highroad to a slave empire." From his home in Springfield he

advised Republicans in Congress to vote against a division of the territories, and the proposal was killed in committee. Six additional states then seceded and, with South Carolina, combined to form the Confederate States of America.

Abraham Lincoln: inauguration The inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as U.S. president, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1861.

Thus, before Lincoln had even moved into the White House, a disunion crisis was upon the country. Attention, North and South, focused in particular upon Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. This fort, still under construction, was garrisoned by U.S. troops under Major Robert Anderson. The Confederacy claimed it and, from other harbor fortifications, threatened it. Foreseeing trouble, Lincoln, while still in Springfield, confidentially requested Winfield Scott, general in chief of the U.S. Army, to be prepared "to either *hold*, or *retake*, the forts, as the case may require, at, and after the inauguration." In his inaugural address (March 4, 1861), besides upholding the Union's indestructibility and appealing for sectional harmony, Lincoln restated his Sumter policy as follows:

The power confided to me, will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion—no using of force against, or among the people anywhere.

Then, near the end, addressing the absent Southerners: "You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors."

Outbreak of the U.S. Civil War

No sooner was he in office than Lincoln received word that the Sumter garrison, unless supplied or withdrawn, would shortly be starved out. Still, for about a

month, Lincoln delayed acting. He was beset by contradictory advice. On the one hand, General Scott, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and others urged him to abandon the fort; and Seward, through a go-between, gave a group of Confederate commissioners to understand that the fort would in fact be abandoned. On the other hand, many Republicans insisted that any show of weakness would bring disaster to their party and to the Union. Finally Lincoln ordered the preparation of two relief expeditions, one for Fort Sumter and the other for Fort Pickens, in Florida. (He afterward said he would have been willing to withdraw from Sumter if he could have been sure of holding Pickens.) Before the Sumter expedition, he sent a messenger to tell the South Carolina governor: *I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort-Sumpter [sic] with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, will be made, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the Fort.*

Without waiting for the arrival of Lincoln's expedition, the Confederate authorities presented to Major Anderson a demand for Sumter's prompt evacuation, which he refused. On April 12, 1861, at dawn, the Confederate batteries in the harbor opened fire.

"Then, and thereby," Lincoln informed Congress when it met on July 4, "the assailants of the Government, began the conflict of arms." The Confederates, however, accused him of being the real aggressor. They said he had cleverly maneuvered them into firing the first shot so as to put upon them the onus of war guilt. Although some historians have repeated this charge, it appears to be a gross distortion of the facts. Lincoln was determined to preserve the Union, and to do so he thought he must take a stand against the Confederacy. He concluded he might as well take this stand at Sumter.

Lincoln's primary aim was neither to provoke war nor to maintain peace. In preserving the Union, he would have been glad to preserve the peace also, but he was ready to risk a war that he thought would be short.

After the firing on Fort Sumter, Lincoln called upon the state governors for troops (Virginia and three other states of the upper South responded by joining the Confederacy). He then proclaimed a blockade of the Southern ports. These steps—the Sumter expedition, the call for volunteers, and the blockade—were the first important decisions of Lincoln as commander in chief of the army and navy. But he still needed a strategic plan and a command system for carrying it out.

General Scott advised him to avoid battle with the Confederate forces in Virginia, to get control of the Mississippi River, and by tightening the blockade to hold the South in a gigantic squeeze. Lincoln had little confidence in Scott's comparatively passive and bloodless "Anaconda" plan. He believed the war must be actively fought if it ever was to be won. Overruling Scott, he ordered a direct

advance on the Virginia front, which resulted in defeat and rout for the federal forces at Bull Run (July 21, 1861). After a succession of more or less sleepless nights, Lincoln produced a set of memorandums on military policy. His basic thought was that the armies should advance concurrently on several fronts and should move so as to hold and use the support of Unionists in Missouri, Kentucky, western Virginia, and eastern Tennessee. As he later explained:

I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail, unless we can find some way of making our advantage an over-match for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points, at the same time.

This, with the naval blockade, comprised the essence of Lincoln's strategy.

Leadership in war of Abraham Lincoln

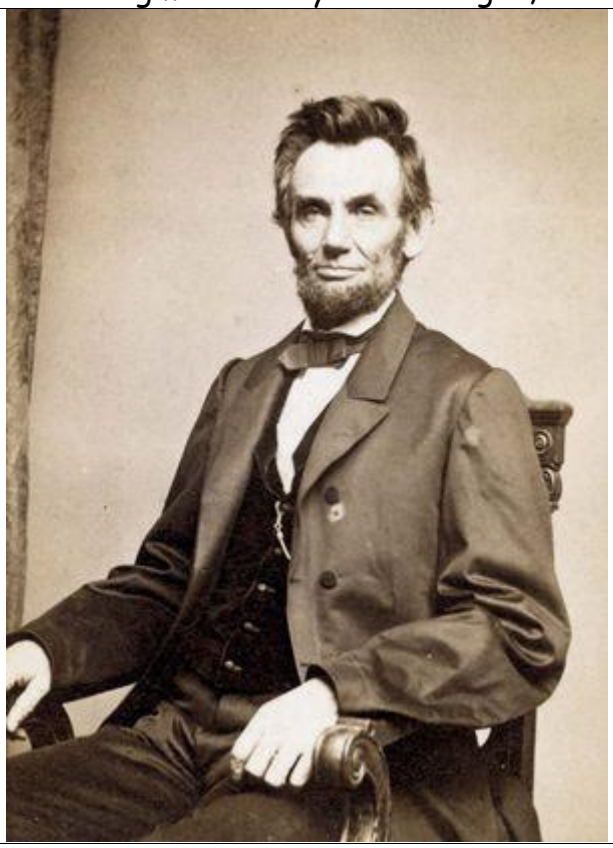
Battle of AntietamU.S. President Abraham Lincoln meets with General George B. McClellan (facing him at left) at McClellan's headquarters after the Battle of Antietam, October 1862.

As a war leader, Lincoln employed the style that had served him as a politician—a description of himself, incidentally, that he was not ashamed to accept. He preferred to react to problems and to the circumstances that others had created rather than to originate policies and lay out long-range designs. In candor he would write, "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me." His guiding rule was "My policy is to have no policy." It was not that he was unprincipled; rather, he was a practical man, mentally nimble and flexible, and, if one action or decision proved unsatisfactory in practice, he was willing to experiment with another.

*Lincoln's Midnight Think*C.W. Reed's cartoon *Lincoln's Midnight Think* depicting President Abraham Lincoln agonizing over the conduct of the Civil War.

From 1861 to 1864, while hesitating to impose his ideas upon his generals, Lincoln experimented with command personnel and organization. Accepting the resignation of Scott (November 1861), he put George B. McClellan in charge of the armies as a whole. After a few months, disgusted by the slowness of McClellan ("He has the slows," as Lincoln put it), he demoted him to the command of the Army of the Potomac alone. He questioned the soundness of McClellan's plans for the Peninsular Campaign, repeatedly compelled McClellan to alter them, and, after the Seven Days' Battles to capture Richmond, Virginia (June 25–July 1, 1862), failed, ordered him to give them up. Then he tried a succession of commanders for the army in Virginia—John Pope, McClellan again, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, and George Gordon Meade—but was disappointed with each of them in turn. Meanwhile, he had in Henry W. Halleck a general in chief who gave advice and served as a liaison with field officers but who shrank from making important decisions. For nearly two years the Federal armies lacked effective unity of command. President Lincoln, General Halleck, and War Secretary Edwin M. Stanton acted as an informal council of war. Lincoln, besides transmitting official orders through Halleck, also communicated directly with the generals, sending personal suggestions in his own name. To generals opposing Robert E. Lee, he suggested that the object was to destroy Lee's army, not to capture Richmond or to drive the invader from Northern soil.

Finally Lincoln looked to the West for a top general. He admired the Vicksburg Campaign of Ulysses S. Grant in Mississippi. Nine days after the Vicksburg surrender (which occurred on July 4, 1863), he sent Grant a "grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service" he had done the country. Lincoln sent also an admission of his own error. He said he had expected Grant to bypass Vicksburg and go on down the Mississippi, instead of crossing the river and turning back to approach Vicksburg from the rear. "I feared it was a mistake," he wrote in his letter of congratulations. "I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right, and I was wrong."



Abraham LincolnU.S. Pres. Abraham Lincoln, photograph by Mathew Brady, 1864.

In March 1864 Lincoln promoted Grant to lieutenant general and gave him command of all the federal armies. At last Lincoln had found a man who, with such able subordinates as William T. Sherman, Philip Sheridan, and George H. Thomas, could put into effect those parts of Lincoln's concept of a large-scale, coordinated offensive that still remained to be carried out. Grant was only a member, though an important one, of a top-command arrangement that Lincoln eventually had devised. Overseeing everything was Lincoln himself, the commander in chief. Taking the responsibility for men and supplies was Secretary of War Stanton. Serving as a presidential adviser and as a liaison with military men was Halleck, the chief of staff. And directing all the armies, while accompanying Meade's Army of the Potomac, was Grant, the general in chief. Thus Lincoln pioneered in the creation of a high command, an organization for amassing

all the energies and resources of a people in the grand strategy of total war. He combined statecraft and the overall direction of armies with an effectiveness that increased year by year. His achievement is all the more remarkable in view of his lack of training and experience in the art of warfare. This lack may have been an advantage as well as a handicap. Unhampered by outworn military dogma, Lincoln could all the better apply his practical insight and common sense—some would say his military genius—to the winning of the Civil War.

There can be no doubt of Lincoln's deep and sincere devotion to the cause of personal freedom. Before his election to the presidency he had spoken often and eloquently on the subject. In 1854, for example, he said he hated the Douglas attitude of indifference toward the possible spread of slavery to new areas. "I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself," he declared. "I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites." In 1855, writing to his friend Joshua Speed, he recalled a steamboat trip the two had taken on the Ohio River 14 years earlier. "You may remember, as I well do," he said, "that from Louisville [Kentucky] to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border."

Yet, as president, Lincoln was at first reluctant to adopt an abolitionist policy. There were several reasons for his hesitancy. He had been elected on a platform pledging no interference with slavery within the states, and in any case he doubted the constitutionality of federal action under the circumstances. He was concerned about the possible difficulties of incorporating nearly four million African Americans, once they had been freed, into the nation's social and political life. Above all, he felt that he must keep the border slaveholding states in the Union, and he feared that an abolitionist program might impel them, in particular his native Kentucky, toward the Confederacy. So he held back while others went ahead. When General John C. Frémont and General David Hunter, within their respective military departments, proclaimed freedom for the enslaved people of disloyal masters, Lincoln revoked the proclamations. When Congress passed confiscation acts in 1861 and 1862, he refrained from a full enforcement of the provisions authorizing him to seize enslaved property. And when Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* appealed to him to enforce these laws, Lincoln patiently replied (August 22, 1862):

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I

would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

Meanwhile, in response to the rising antislavery sentiment, Lincoln came forth with an emancipation plan of his own. According to his proposal, the enslaved were to be freed by state action, the slaveholders were to be compensated, the federal government was to share the financial burden, the emancipation process was to be gradual, and the freed people were to be colonized abroad. Congress indicated its willingness to vote the necessary funds for the Lincoln plan, but none of the border slaveholding states were willing to launch it, and in any case few Black American leaders desired to see their people sent abroad. Lincoln signed the District of Columbia Compensated Emancipation Act into law on April 16, 1862, resulting in the freedom of about 3,000 enslaved people in the nation's capital.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Now, Therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
SHALL BE FREE

Emancipation Proclamation Lithograph copy of the Emancipation Proclamation.

While still hoping for the eventual success of his gradual plan, Lincoln took quite a different step by issuing his preliminary (September 22, 1862) and his final (January 1, 1863) Emancipation Proclamation. This famous decree, which he justified as an exercise of the president's war powers, applied only to those parts of the country actually under Confederate control, not to the loyal enslaving states nor to the federally occupied areas of the Confederacy. Directly or

indirectly the proclamation brought freedom during the war to fewer than 200,000 enslaved persons. Yet it had great significance as a symbol. It indicated that the Lincoln government had added freedom to reunion as a war aim, and it attracted liberal opinion in England and Europe to increased support of the Union cause. When news of the Emancipation Proclamation finally reached the distant state of Texas on June 19, 1865—more than two years after Lincoln had issued the proclamation—the newly freed slaves immediately began to celebrate with prayer, feasting, song, and dance, spurring the national holiday known as Juneteenth or Emancipation Day.

(Read Charles Blow's Britannica essay on the Juneteenth holiday.)

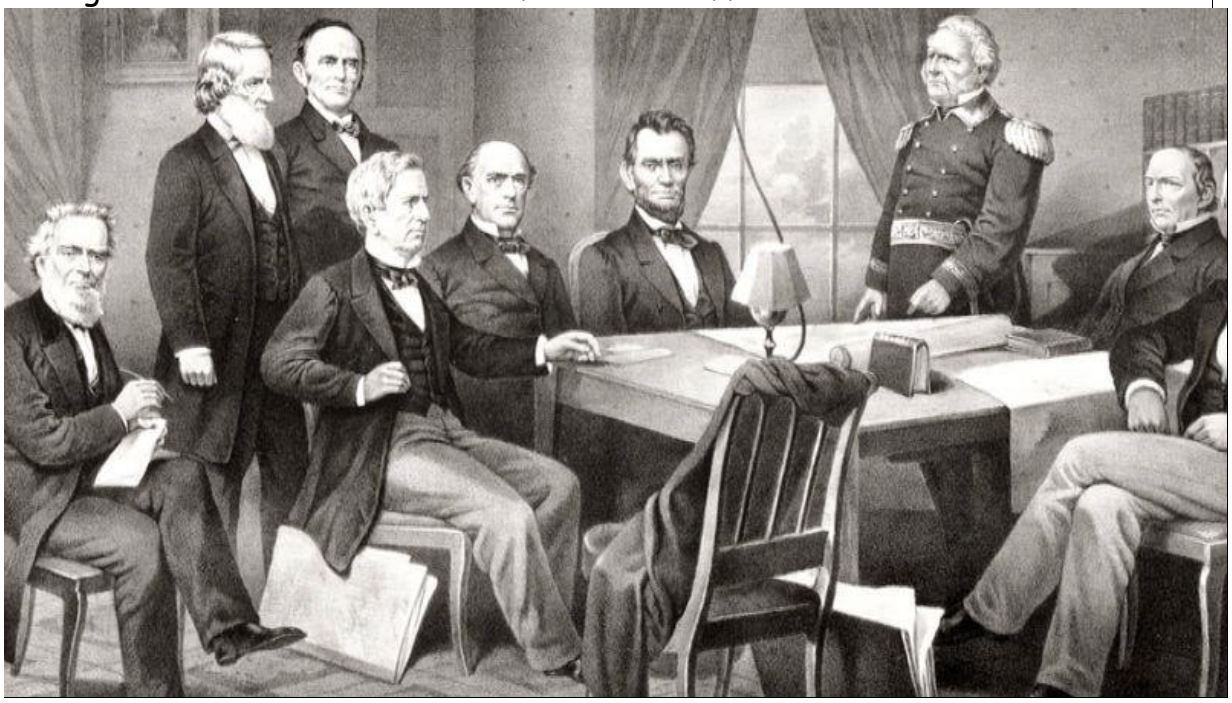
Lincoln himself doubted the constitutionality of his step, except as a temporary war measure. After the war, the enslaved people freed by the proclamation would have risked re-enslavement had nothing else been done to confirm their liberty. But something else was done: the Thirteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, and Lincoln played a large part in bringing about this change in the fundamental law. Through the chairman of the Republican National Committee he urged the party to include a plank for such an amendment in its platform of 1864. The plank, as adopted, stated that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, that the president's proclamation had aimed "a death blow at this gigantic evil," and that a constitutional amendment was necessary to "terminate and forever prohibit" it. When Lincoln was reelected on this platform and the Republican majority in Congress was increased, he was justified in feeling, as he apparently did, that he had a mandate from the people for the Thirteenth Amendment. The newly chosen Congress, with its overwhelming Republican majority, was not to meet until after the lame duck session of the old Congress during the winter of 1864–65. Lincoln did not wait. Using his resources of patronage and persuasion upon certain of the Democrats, he managed to get the necessary two-thirds vote before the session's end. He rejoiced as the amendment went out to the states for ratification, and he rejoiced again and again as his own Illinois led off and other states followed one by one in acting favorably upon it. (He did not live to rejoice in its ultimate adoption.)

Lincoln deserves his reputation as the Great Emancipator. His claim to that honor, if it rests uncertainly upon his famous proclamation, has a sound basis in the support he gave to the antislavery amendment. It is well founded also in his greatness as the war leader who carried the nation safely through the four-year struggle that brought freedom in its train. And, finally, it is strengthened by the practical demonstrations he gave of respect for human worth and dignity, regardless of color. During the last two years of his life he welcomed African Americans as visitors and friends in a way no president had done before. One of his friends was the distinguished formerly slaved Frederick Douglass, who once

wrote: "In all my interviews with Mr. Lincoln I was impressed with his entire freedom from prejudice against the colored race."

Wartime politics of Abraham Lincoln

To win the war, President Lincoln had to have popular support. The reunion of North and South required, first of all, a certain degree of unity in the North. But the North contained various groups with special interests of their own. Lincoln faced the task of attracting to his administration the support of as many divergent groups and individuals as possible. Accordingly, he gave much of his time and attention to politics, which in one of its aspects is the art of attracting such support. Fortunately for the Union cause, he was a president with rare political skill. He had the knack of appealing to fellow politicians and talking to them in their own language. He had a talent for smoothing over personal differences and holding the loyalty of men antagonistic to one another. Inheriting the spoils system, he made good use of it, disposing of government jobs in such a way as to strengthen his administration and further its official aims.



Did anyone in the U.S. government not support the Civil War?Confronted by Copperhead opposition and by dissension within his cabinet, U.S. Pres. Abraham Lincoln struggled to contain the "fire in the rear" during the Civil War.

The opposition party remained alive and strong. Its membership included war Democrats and peace Democrats, often called "Copperheads," a few of whom collaborated with the enemy. Lincoln did what he could to cultivate the assistance of the war Democrats, as in securing from Congress the timely approval of the Thirteenth Amendment. So far as feasible, he conciliated the

peace Democrats. He heeded the complaints of one of them, Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, in regard to the draft quota for that state. He commuted the prison sentence of another, Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, to banishment within the Confederate lines. In dealing with persons suspected of treasonable intent, Lincoln at times authorized his generals to make arbitrary arrests. He justified this action on the ground that he had to allow some temporary sacrifice of parts of the Constitution in order to maintain the Union and thus preserve the Constitution as a whole. He let his generals suspend several newspapers, but only for short periods, and he promptly revoked a military order suppressing the hostile *Chicago Times*. In a letter to one of his generals he expressed his policy thus:

You will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance.

Considering the dangers and provocations of the time, Lincoln was quite liberal in his treatment of political opponents and the opposition press. He was by no means the dictator critics often accused him of being. Nevertheless, his abrogating of civil liberties, especially his suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, disturbed Democrats, Republicans, and even members of his own cabinet. In the opinion of a soldier from Massachusetts, the president, "without the people having any legal means to prevent it, is only prevented from exercising a Russian despotism by the fear he may have of shocking too much the sense of decency of the whole world." Even Lincoln's friend Orville Hickman Browning believed the arrests ordered by the president were "illegal and arbitrary, and did more harm than good, weakening instead of strengthening the government." Yet Lincoln defended his actions, arguing that the Constitution provided for the suspension of such liberties "in cases of Rebellion or Invasion, [when] the public Safety may require it." Moreover, posed Lincoln with rhetorical flare, "Must I shoot a simpleminded soldier boy who deserts" and "not touch a hair of a wilely agitator who induces him to desert?"

Within his own party, Lincoln confronted factional divisions and personal rivalries that caused him as much trouble as did the activities of the Democrats. True, he and most of his fellow partisans agreed fairly well upon their principal economic aims. With his approval, the Republicans enacted into law the essentials of the program he had advocated from his early Whig days—a protective tariff; a national banking system; and federal aid for internal improvements, in particular for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast. The Republicans disagreed among themselves, however, on many matters regarding the conduct and purposes of the war. Two main factions arose: the "Radicals" and the "Conservatives." Lincoln himself inclined in spirit toward the Conservatives, but he had friends

among the Radicals as well, and he strove to maintain his leadership over both. In appointing his cabinet, he chose his several rivals for the 1860 nomination and, all together, gave representation to every important party group. Wisely he included the outstanding Conservative, Seward, and the outstanding Radical, Salmon P. Chase. Cleverly he overcame cabinet crises and kept these two opposites among his official advisers until Chase's resignation in 1864.

Lincoln had to deal with even more serious factional uprisings in Congress. The big issue was the "reconstruction" of the South. The seceded states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee having been largely recovered by the federal armies, Lincoln late in 1863 proposed his "ten percent plan," according to which new state governments might be formed when 10 percent of the qualified voters had taken an oath of future loyalty to the United States. The Radicals rejected Lincoln's proposal as too lenient, and they carried through Congress the Wade-Davis Bill, which would have permitted the remaking and readmission of states only after a majority had taken the loyalty oath. When Lincoln pocket-vetoed that bill, its authors published a "manifesto" denouncing him.

Lincoln was already the candidate of the "Union" (that is, the Republican) party for reelection to the presidency, and the Wade-Davis manifesto signalized a movement within the party to displace him as the party's nominee. He waited quietly and patiently for the movement to collapse, but even after it had done so, the party remained badly divided. A rival Republican candidate, John C. Frémont, nominated much earlier by a splinter group, was still in the field. Leading Radicals promised to procure Frémont's withdrawal if Lincoln would obtain the resignation of his conservative postmaster general, Montgomery Blair. Eventually Frémont withdrew and Blair resigned. The party was reunited in time for the election of 1864.

In 1864, as in 1860, Lincoln was the chief strategist of his own electoral campaign. He took a hand in the management of the Republican Speakers' Bureau, advised state committees on campaign tactics, hired and fired government employees to strengthen party support, and did his best to enable as many soldiers and sailors as possible to vote. Most of the citizens in uniform voted Republican. He was reelected with a large popular majority (55 percent) over his Democratic opponent, General George B. McClellan.

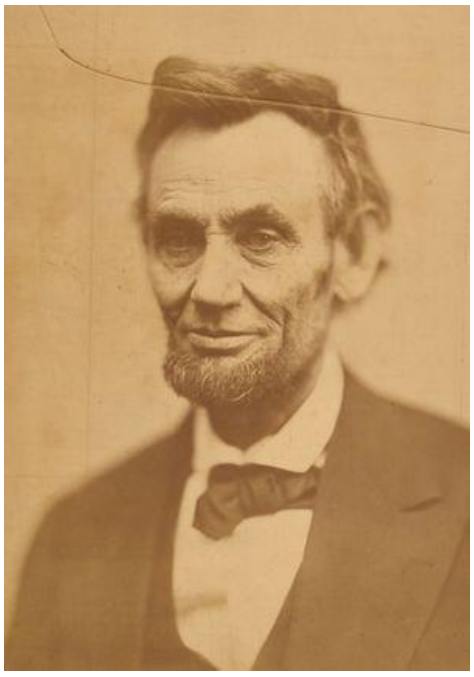
In 1864 the Democratic platform called for an armistice and a peace conference, and prominent Republicans as well as Democrats demanded that Lincoln heed Confederate peace offers, irregular and illusory though they were. In a public letter, he stated his own conditions:

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United states will be received and

considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points.

When Conservatives protested to him against the implication that the war must go on to free the enslaved, even after reunion had been won, he explained, "To me it seems plain that saying reunion and abandonment of slavery would be considered, if offered, is not saying that nothing *else* or *less* would be considered, if offered." After his reelection, in his annual message to Congress, he said, "In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say that the war will cease on the part of the government, whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it." On February 3, 1865, he met personally with Confederate commissioners on a steamship in Hampton Roads, Virginia. He promised to be liberal with pardons if the South would quit the war, but he insisted on reunion as a precondition for any peace arrangement. In his Second Inaugural Address he embodied the spirit of his policy in the famous words "with malice toward none; with charity for all." His terms satisfied neither the Confederate leaders nor the Radical Republicans, and so no peace was possible until the final defeat of the Confederacy.

Postwar policy of Abraham Lincoln



Alexander Gardner's "cracked-plate" portrait Abraham Lincoln, photograph by Alexander Gardner, February 1865; in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C. Taken just two **months before his assassination, this photograph shows how the stress of the Civil War had aged Lincoln, yet he has a small smile, perhaps revealing some relief or hope as the war was ending. The glass-plate negative of this image was damaged, and Gardner made one print of the plate before discarding it.**

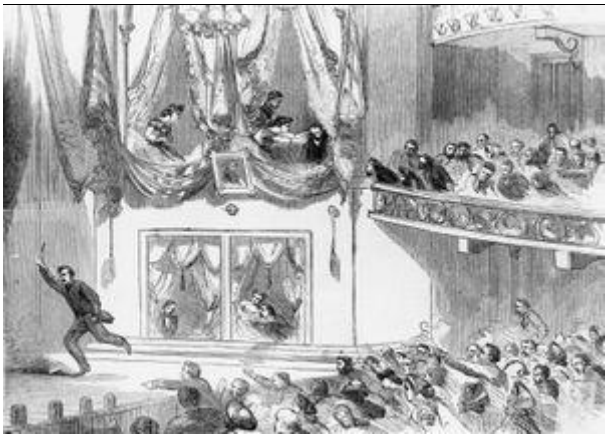
*The Union Christmas Dinner*The Union Christmas Dinner, print published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1864 depicting President Abraham Lincoln's invitation to the South to rejoin the Union on an equal basis with the other states.

At the end of the war, Lincoln's policy for the defeated South was not clear in all its details, though he continued to believe that the main object should be to restore the "seceded States, so-called," to their "proper practical relation" with the Union as soon as possible. He possessed no fixed and uniform program for the region as a whole. As he said in the last public speech of his life (April 11, 1865), "so great peculiarities" pertained to each of the states, and "such important and sudden changes" occurred from time to time, and "so new and unprecedented" was the whole problem that "no exclusive and inflexible plan" could "safely be prescribed." With respect to states like Louisiana and Tennessee, he continued to urge acceptance of new governments set up under his 10 percent plan during the war. With respect to states like Virginia and North Carolina, he seemed willing to use the old rebel governments temporarily as a means of transition from war to peace. He was on record as opposing the appointment of "strangers" (carpetbaggers) to govern the South. He hoped that the Southerners themselves, in forming new state governments, would find some way by which whites and Blacks "could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new." A program of education for the freedmen, he thought, was essential to preparing them for their new status. He also suggested that the vote be given immediately to some African Americans—"as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks."

On the question of reconstruction, however, Lincoln and the extremists of his own party stood even farther apart in early 1865 than a year before. Some of the Radicals were beginning to demand a period of military occupation for the South,

the confiscation of planter estates and their division among the freedmen, and the transfer of political power from the planters to the formerly enslaved. In April 1865 Lincoln began to modify his own stand in some respects and thus to narrow the gap between himself and the Radicals. He recalled the permission he had given for the assembling of the rebel legislature of Virginia, and he approved in principle—or at least did not disapprove—Stanton's scheme for the military occupation of Southern states. After the cabinet meeting of April 14, Attorney General James Speed inferred that Lincoln was moving toward the radical position. "He never seemed so near our views," Speed believed. What Lincoln's reconstruction policy would have been, if he had lived to complete his second term, can only be guessed at.

Travel back to the night of Abraham Lincoln's assassination days after the end of the Civil War. Just days after the effective end of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln was fatally shot by John Wilkes Booth.



assassination of Abraham Lincoln*The Assassination of President Lincoln at Ford's Theatre—After the Act*, wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, April 29, 1865.

On the evening of April 14, 1865, 26-year-old John Wilkes Booth—a rabid advocate of slavery with ties to the South and the flamboyant son of one of the most distinguished theatrical families of the 19th century—shot Lincoln as he sat in Ford's Theatre in Washington. Early the next morning Lincoln died.

Reputation and character of Abraham Lincoln

"Now he belongs to the ages," Stanton is supposed to have said as Lincoln took his last breath. Many thought of Lincoln as a martyr. The assassination had occurred on Good Friday, and on the following Sunday, memorable as "Black Easter," hundreds of speakers found a sermon in the event. Some of them saw more than mere chance in the fact that assassination day was also crucifixion day. One declared, "Jesus Christ died for the world; Abraham Lincoln died for his country." Thus the posthumous growth of his reputation was influenced by the timing and circumstances of his death, which won for him a kind of sainthood.

Among the many who remembered Lincoln from personal acquaintance, one was sure he had known him more intimately than any of the rest and influenced the world's conception of him more than all the others put together. That one was his former law partner William Herndon. When Lincoln died, Herndon began a new career as Lincoln authority, collecting reminiscences wherever he could find them and adding his own store of memories. Although admiring Lincoln, he objected to the trend toward sanctifying him. He saw, as the main feature of Lincoln's life, the far more than ordinary rise of a self-made man, a rise from the lowest depths to the greatest heights—"from a stagnant, putrid pool, like the gas which, set on fire by its own energy and self-combustible nature, rises in jets, blazing, clear, and bright." To emphasize this point, Herndon gave his most eager attention to evidences of the dismal and sordid in Lincoln's background. An extremely significant event in Lincoln's development, as Herndon viewed it, was a "romance of much reality" with Ann Rutledge. Lincoln loved no one but Rutledge and, after her death, never ceased to grieve for her. His memory of her both saddened and inspired him. As for his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln, she married him out of spite, then devoted herself to making him miserable. So Herndon would have it, and after him countless biographers, novelists, and playwrights elaborated upon his views, which persist as accepted knowledge about Lincoln despite their refutation by historical scholarship.

Lincoln has become a myth as well as a man. The Lincoln of legend has grown into a protean god who can assume a shape to please almost anyone. He is Old Abe and at the same time a natural gentleman. He is Honest Abe and yet a being of superhuman shrewdness and cunning. He is also Father Abraham, the wielder of authority, the support of the weak; and he is an equal, a neighbor, and a friend. But there is a malevolent Lincoln as well, and to many Southerners from the time of the Civil War and to some conservative critics today, Lincoln is the wicked slayer of liberty and states' rights and the father of the all-controlling national state.

Lincoln's reputation began to grow while he was still alive. In the midst of the Civil War, for instance, the *Washington Chronicle* found a resemblance between him and George Washington in their "sure judgment," "perfect balance of thoroughly sound faculties," and "great calmness of temper, great firmness of purpose, supreme moral principle, and intense patriotism." The *Buffalo Express* referred to his "remarkable moderation and freedom from passionate bitterness," and then added, "We do not believe that Washington himself was less indifferent to the exercise of power for power's sake." An English newspaper, the *Liverpool Post*, suggested that "no leader in a great contest ever stood so little chance of being the subject of hero worship as Abraham Lincoln," if one were to judge only by the way he looked. His long arms and legs, his grotesque figure, made him too easy to caricature and ridicule. "Yet," this newspaper concluded, "a worshiper of human heroes might possibly travel a great deal farther and fare much worse for an idol than selecting this same lanky American." His inner qualities—his faithfulness, honesty, resolution, insight, humor, and courage—would "go a long way to make up a hero," whatever the man's personal appearance.

Lincoln's best ideas and finest phrases were considered and written and rewritten with meticulous revisions. Some resulted from a slow gestation of thought and phrase through many years. One of his recurring themes—probably his central theme—was the promise and the problem of self-government. As early as 1838, speaking to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield on "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions," he recalled the devotion of his Revolutionary forefathers to the cause and went on to say:

Their ambition aspired to display before an admiring world, a practical demonstration of the truth of a proposition, which had hitherto been considered, at best no better, than problematical; namely, the capability of a people to govern themselves.

Again and again he returned to this idea, especially after the coming of the Civil War, and he steadily improved his phrasing. In his first message to Congress

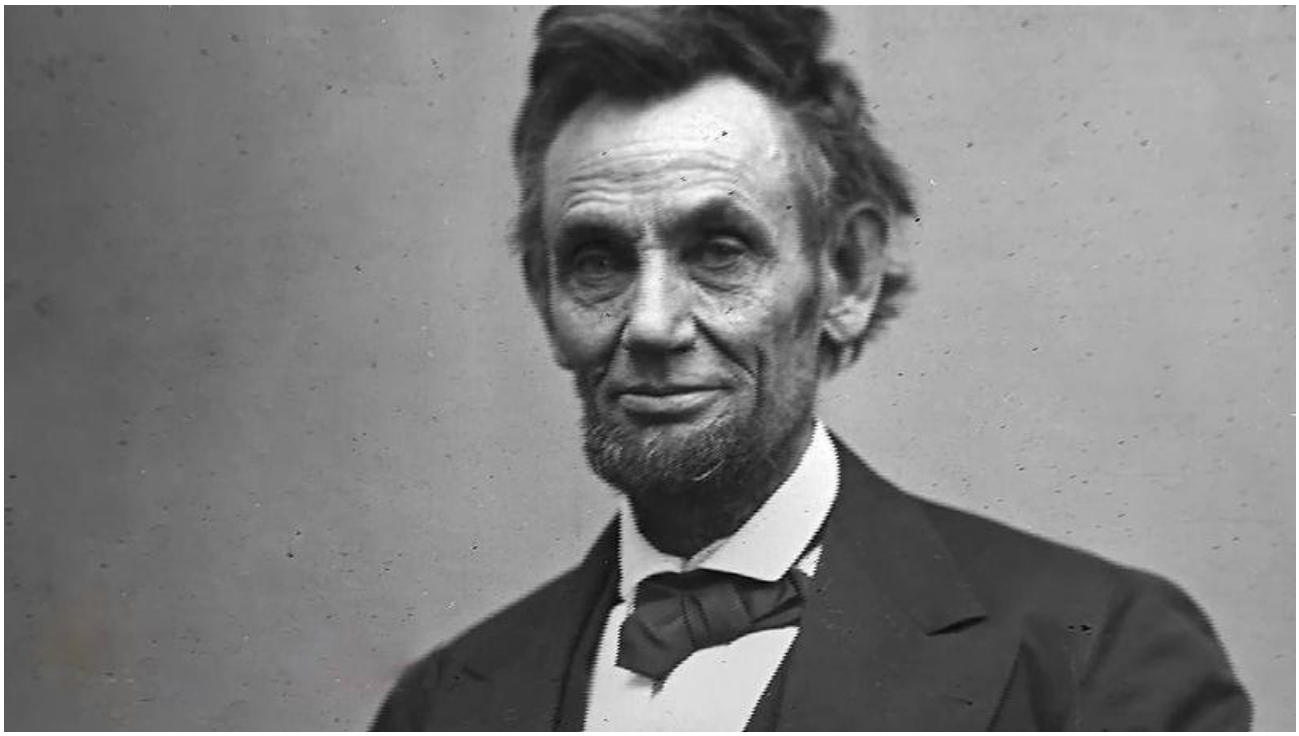
after the fall of Fort Sumter, he declared that the issue between North and South involved more than the future of the United States.

It presents to the whole family of man, the question, whether a constitutional republic, or a democracy—a government of the people, by the same people—can, or cannot, maintain its territorial integrity, against its own domestic foes.

Gettysburg Battlefield dedication People attending the dedication ceremony of the national cemetery at Gettysburg Battlefield, outside Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in November 1863. Abraham Lincoln, hatless, is seated left of center.

Abraham Lincoln: Gettysburg Address

Autographed manuscript of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.



Discover the meaning and purpose of the Gettysburg Address delivered by President Abraham Lincoln Examine the historical context and meaning of U.S. Pres. Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

And finally at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, he made the culminating, supreme statement, concluding with the words:

...that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Cabinet of President Abraham Lincoln

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Abraham Lincoln.

Cabinet of President Abraham Lincoln

March 4, 1861–March 3, 1865 (Term 1)	
State	William Henry Seward
Treasury	Salmon P. Chase
	William Pitt Fessenden (from July 5, 1864)
War	Simon Cameron
	Edwin McMasters Stanton (from June 20, 1862)
Navy	Gideon Welles
Attorney General	Edward Bates
	James Speed (from December 5, 1864)
Interior	Caleb Blood Smith
	John Palmer Usher (from January 8, 1863)
March 4, 1865–April 15, 1865 (Term 2)	
State	William Henry Seward
Treasury	Hugh McCulloch
War	Edwin McMasters Stanton
Navy	Gideon Welles
Attorney General	James Speed
Interior	John Palmer Usher

Gettysburg Address

Gettysburg Address, world-famous speech delivered by U.S. Pres. Abraham Lincoln at the dedication (November 19, 1863) of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the site of one of the decisive battles of the American Civil War (July 1–3, 1863).

Everett, EdwardEdward Everett.

The main address at the dedication ceremony was a two-hour speech delivered by Edward Everett, the best-known orator of the time. Steeped in the tradition of ancient Greek oratory, Everett's speech was some 13,000 words long, but he delivered it without notes. It included allusions to the Battle of Marathon and comparisons with the English Civil Wars, the War of the Roses, and wars in German, French, and Italian history, along with a dissection of the Confederate "rebellion" and an exhaustive description of the events leading up to the Battle of Gettysburg and of the battle itself. Everett concluded by saying:

"The whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men. All time is their millennium of glory. Surely I would do injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can bestow, if I were to withhold the expression of my admiration of the skill and valor displayed by the navy of the United States in the long blockade of the coast, and in the brilliant operations of the combined forces. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of the heroes that whether on the land or the sea throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country there will be no brighter page than that which records THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.

Besides, he stood over the remains of his fellow who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, and pronounced the funeral oration which has immortalized those who died for Athens, and which will be adopted as long as the language in which it was spoken is understood. Alas! he might have added, the millennium of their glory. Surely I would do injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can bestow, if I were to withhold the expression of my admiration of the skill and valor displayed by the navy of the United States in the long blockade of the coast, and in the brilliant operations of the combined forces. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of the heroes that whether on the land or the sea throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country there will be no brighter page than that which records THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.

In the wake of such a performance, Lincoln's brief speech (just 272 words long) would hardly seem to have drawn notice. However, despite some criticism from his opposition, it was widely quoted and praised and soon came to be recognized as one of the classic utterances of all time, a masterpiece of prose poetry. On the day following the ceremony, Everett himself wrote to Lincoln, "I wish that I could flatter myself that I had come as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

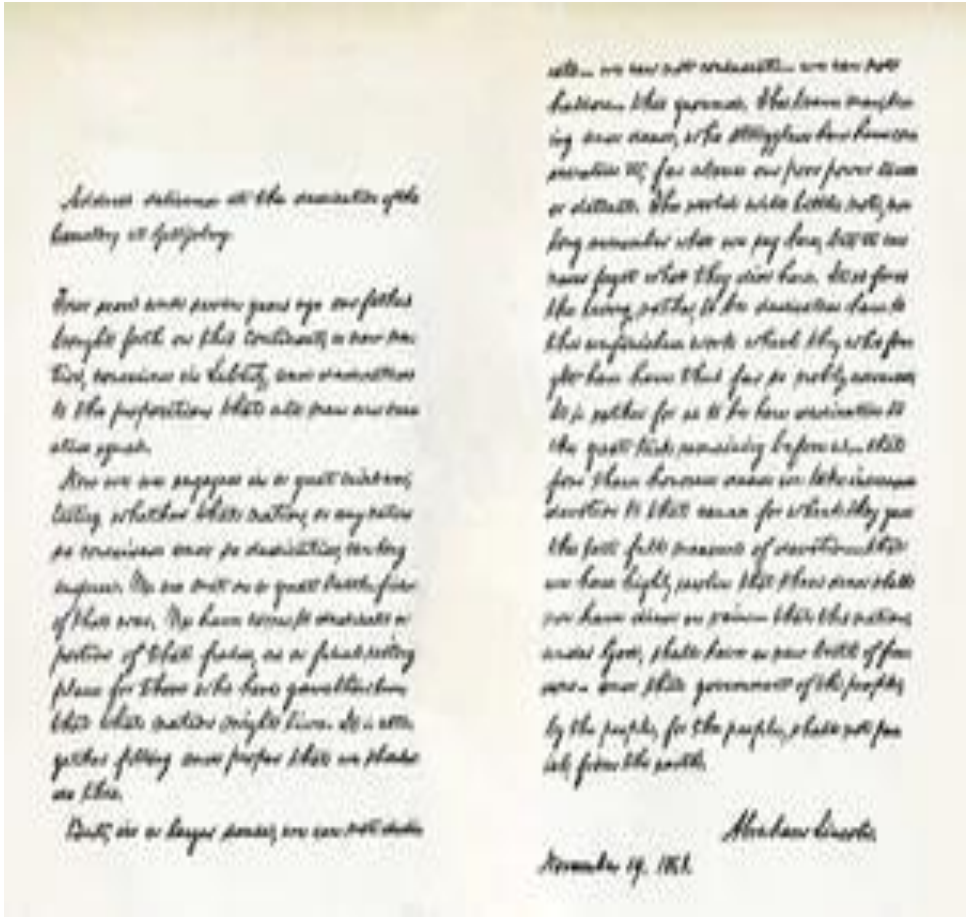
The text quoted in full below represents the fifth of five extant copies of the address in Lincoln's handwriting; it differs slightly from earlier versions and may reflect, in addition to afterthought, interpolations made during the delivery.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth".

Gettysburg Battlefield dedicationPeople attending the dedication ceremony of the national cemetery at Gettysburg Battlefield, outside Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in November 1863. Abraham Lincoln, hatless, is seated left of center



The Gettysburg Address Autograph of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

The Gettysburg Address

Delivered

by

Abraham Lincoln

November 19 1863

Narrated by

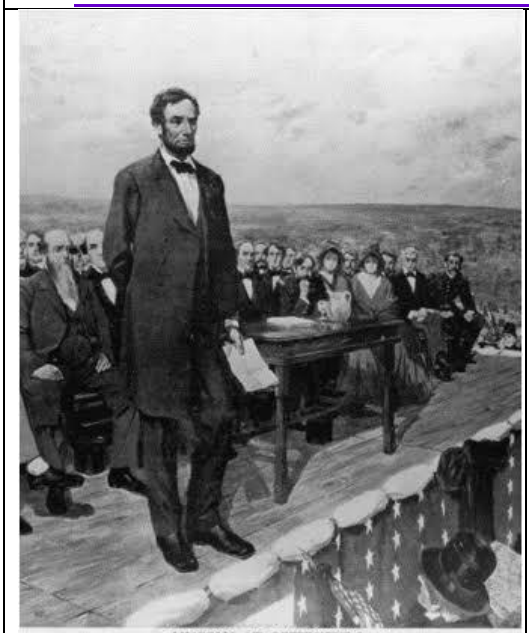
John W. michaels

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

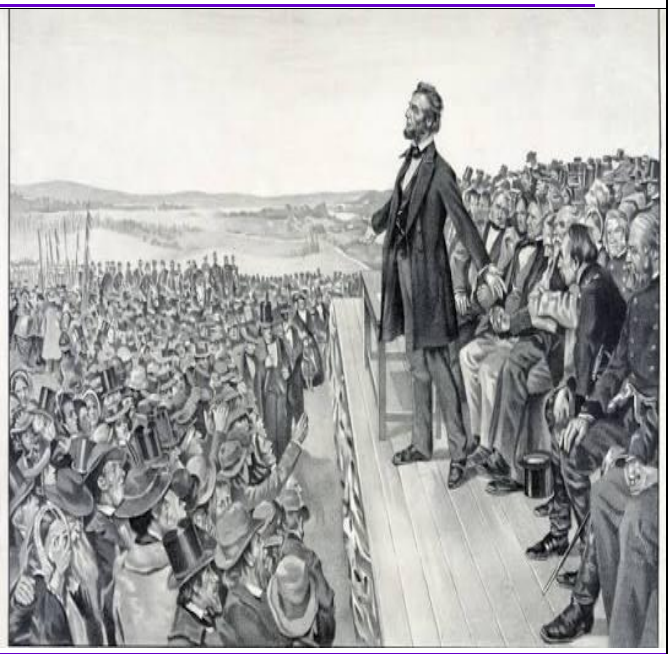
DELIVERED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN NOV. 19 1863

AT THE DEDICATION SERVICES ON THE BATTLE FIELD

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. * * * Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. * * We are met on a great battle-field of that war. * We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. * * It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. * * But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. * The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. * * It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; * that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth



LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG



Andrew Johnson

17th President of the United States

[15 April 1865 <::> 4 March 1869]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/andrew-johnson

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/andrew-johnson/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andrew-Johnson

04] Andrew Johnson – 17th President of the United States (1865-1869)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwHP5juxwI0 [1:15:33]

Andrew Johnson (born December 29, 1808, Raleigh, North Carolina, U.S.—died July 31, 1875, near Carter Station, Tennessee) was the 17th president of the United States (1865–69), who took office upon the assassination of Pres. Abraham Lincoln during the closing months of the American Civil War (1861–65). His lenient Reconstruction policies toward the South embittered the Radical Republicans in Congress and led to his political downfall and to his impeachment, though he was acquitted.

(What U.S. presidents have been impeached? The list is short and, perhaps, surprising.)

Early life and career

Andrew Johnson: birthplace **Andrew Johnson's birthplace in Raleigh, North Carolina; illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, 1865.**

Greeneville: Pres. Andrew Johnson's homeHome of U.S. Pres. Andrew Johnson on Main Street, Greeneville, Tennessee.

Johnson was the younger of two sons of Jacob and Mary McDonough Johnson. Jacob Johnson, who served as a porter in a local inn, as a sexton in the Presbyterian church, and as town constable, died when Andrew was three years old, leaving his family in poverty. His widow took in work as a spinner and weaver to support her family and later remarried. She bound Andrew as an apprentice tailor when he was 14. In 1826, when he had just turned 17, having broken his indenture, he and his family moved to Greeneville, Tennessee. Johnson opened his own tailor shop, which bore the simple sign "A. Johnson, tailor." (When Johnson

was president, he remarked that he still knew how to sew a coat.) He hired a man to read to him while he worked with needle and thread. From a book containing some of the world's great orations he began to learn history. Another subject he studied was the Constitution of the United States, which he was soon able to recite from memory in large part. Harry Truman said that Johnson knew the Constitution better than any other president, and many of his later political battles were framed in terms of the constitutionality of proposed legislation. His copy of the Constitution was buried with him.

Eliza JohnsonFirst lady Eliza Johnson, digitally colorized image of a c. 1883 engraving by John Chester Buttre.

Johnson never went to school and taught himself how to read and spell. In 1827, now 18 years old, he married 16-year-old Eliza McCardle (Eliza Johnson), whose father was a shoemaker. She taught her husband to read and write more fluently and to do arithmetic. She, too, often read to him as he worked. In middle age she contracted what was called "slow consumption" (tuberculosis) and became an invalid. She rarely appeared in public during her husband's presidency, the role of hostess usually being filled by their eldest child, Martha, wife of David T. Patterson, U.S. senator from Tennessee.

Andrew Johnson: tailor shopAndrew Johnson's tailor shop in Greeneville, Tennessee; illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, 1865.

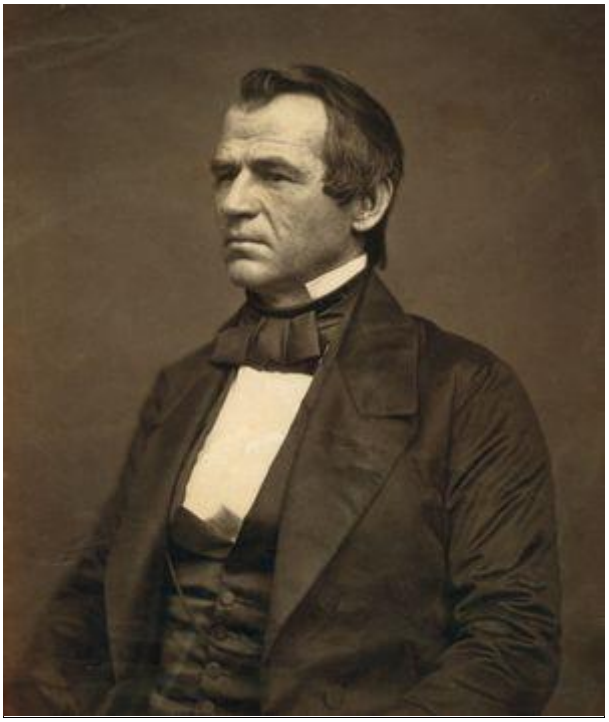
Johnson's lack of formal schooling and his homespun quality were distinct assets in building a political base of poor people seeking a fuller voice in government. His tailor shop became a kind of center for political discussion with Johnson as the leader; he had become a skillful orator in an era when public speaking and debate was a powerful political tool. Before he was 21, he organized a workingman's party that elected him first an alderman and then mayor of Greeneville. During his eight years in the state legislature (1835–43), he found a natural home in the states' rights Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson and emerged as the spokesman for mountaineers and small farmers against the interests of the landed classes. In that role, he was sent to Washington for 10 years as a U.S. representative (1843–53), after which he served as governor of Tennessee (1853–57). Elected a U.S. senator in 1856, he generally adhered to the dominant Democratic views favoring lower tariffs and opposing antislavery agitation. Johnson had achieved a measure of prosperity and owned a few slaves

himself. In 1860, however, he broke dramatically with the party when, after Lincoln's election, he vehemently opposed Southern secession. When Tennessee seceded in June 1861, he alone among the Southern senators remained at his post and refused to join the Confederacy. Sharing the race and class prejudice of many poor white people in his state, he explained his decision: "Damn the negroes, I am fighting those traitorous aristocrats, their masters." Although denounced throughout the South, he remained loyal to the Union. In recognition of this unwavering support, Lincoln appointed him (May 1862) military governor of Tennessee, by then under federal control.

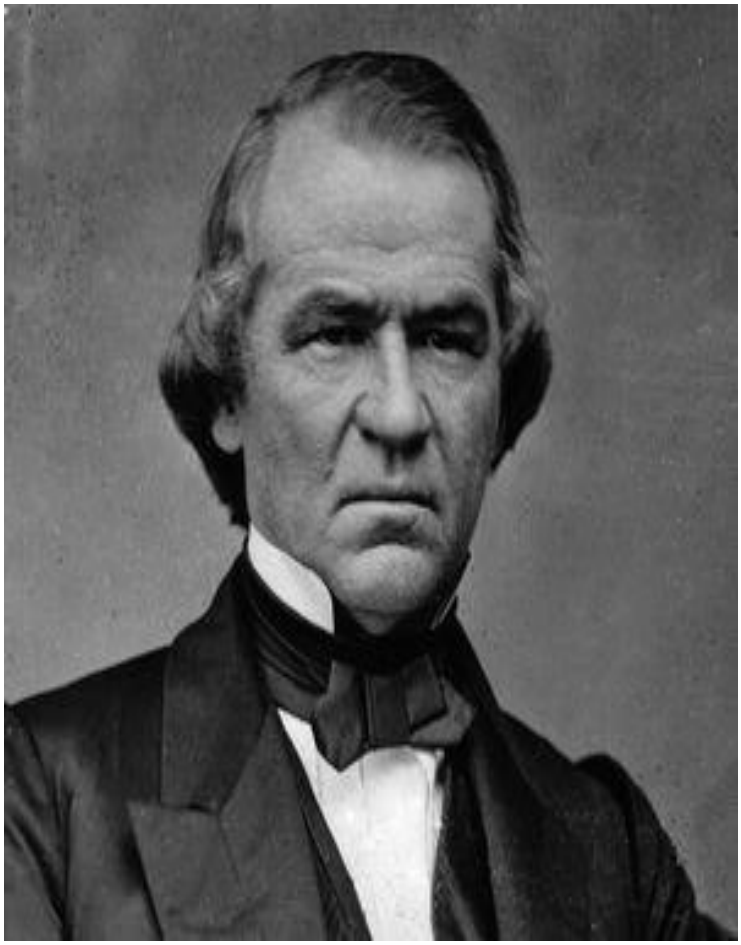
At a glance: the Johnson presidency

The Presidency of Andrew Johnson

Abraham Lincoln and Andrew JohnsonCampaign banner for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, 1864.



Andrew JohnsonU.S. Pres. Andrew Johnson.



Andrew JohnsonU.S. Pres. Andrew Johnson, photograph by Mathew Brady.

To broaden the base of the Republican Party to include loyal "war" Democrats, Johnson was selected to run for vice president on Lincoln's reelection ticket of 1864. His first appearance on the national stage was a fiasco. On Inauguration Day he imbibed more whiskey than he should have to counter the effects of a recent illness, and as he swayed on his feet and stumbled over his words, he embarrassed his colleagues in the administration and dismayed onlookers. Northern newspapers were appalled. His detractors later seized on this incident to accuse him of habitual drunkenness. Less than five weeks later he was president.

Andrew JohnsonAndrew Johnson pardoning Confederate soldiers at the White House, Washington, D.C., illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, 1865.

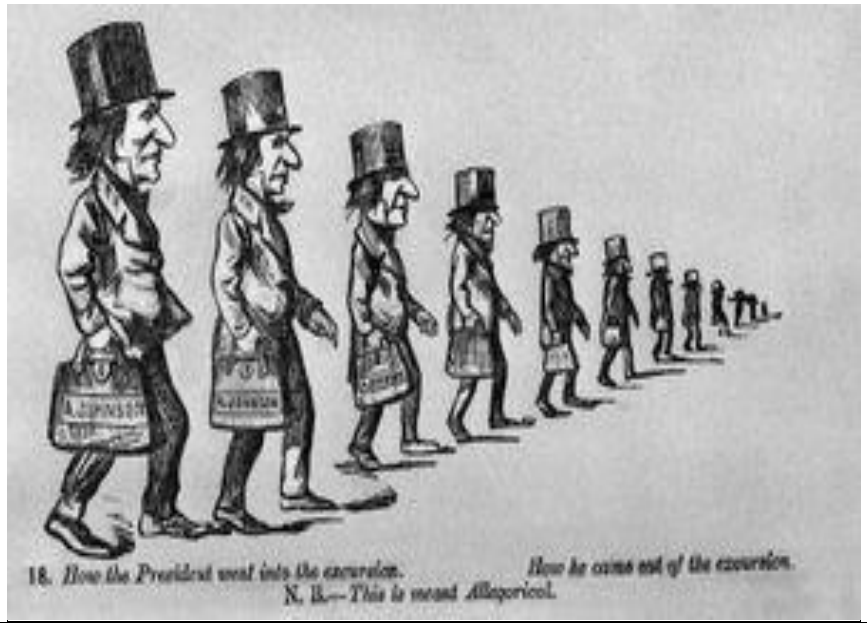
Thrust so unexpectedly into the White House (April 14, 1865), he was faced with the enormously vexing problem of reconstructing the Union and settling the future of the former Confederate states. Congressional Radical Republicans, who favored severe measures toward the defeated yet largely impenitent South, were disappointed with the new president's program with its lenient policies begun by Lincoln and its readmission of seceded states into the Union with few provisions for reform or civil rights for freedmen, who, although emancipated, were destitute, uneducated, and subject to exploitation and mistreatment. This element in Congress was outraged at the return of power to traditional white aristocratic hands and protested the emergence of restrictive Black codes aimed at controlling and suppressing the formerly enslaved. The Republican majority refused to seat the Southern congressmen and set up a Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction. Johnson viewed their actions as a usurpation of his power, and he believed that continued punitive measures in the South, along with a guarantee of suffrage to Black

Americans, was not supported by majority opinion nationwide. He was reluctant to insist on suffrage for Black residents in the South when it had not been granted in the North. He believed that placing power over whites in the hands of the formerly enslaved would create an intolerable situation.

Amphitheatrum Johnsonianum—Massacre of the Innocents at New Orleans, 1866Amphitheatrum Johnsonianum—Massacre of the Innocents at New Orleans, 1866, cartoon from Harper's Weekly.

Johnson's vetoing of two important pieces of legislation aimed at protecting Black Americans, an extension of the Freedman's Bureau bill and the Civil Rights Act of 1866, was disastrous. His vetoes united Moderate and Radical Republicans in outrage and further polarized a situation already filled with acrimony. Congress at first failed to

override the Freedman's Bureau veto (a second attempt carried the measure) but succeeded with the Civil Rights Act; it was the first instance of a presidential veto's being overridden. In addition, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, conferring citizenship on all persons born or naturalized in the United States and guaranteeing them equal protection under the law. Against Johnson's objections, the amendment was ratified.



Andrew Johnson political cartoon*Andy's Trip West*, cartoon by Petroleum V. Nasby depicting Andrew Johnson's trip to the Midwest to attempt to gain political support.

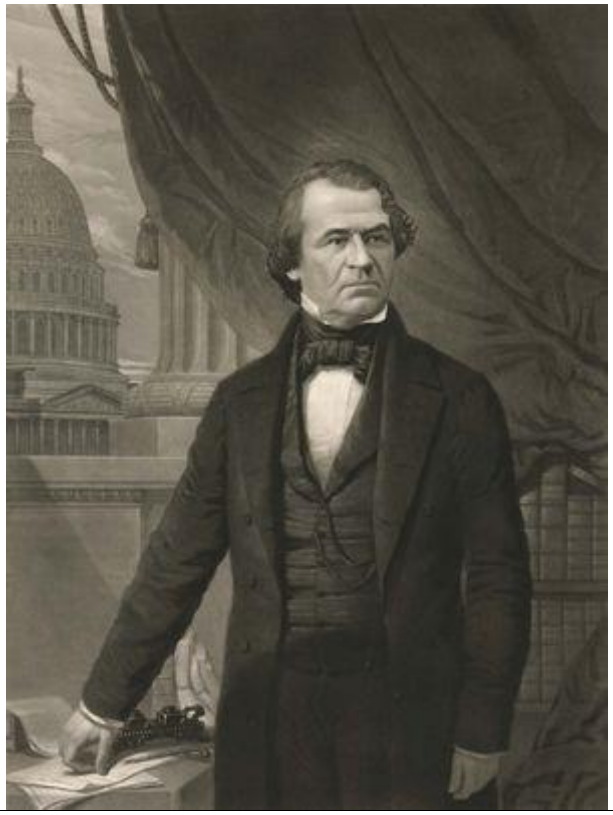
In the congressional elections of 1866, Johnson undertook an 18-day speaking tour into the Midwest, which he called "a swing around the circle," in order to explain and defend his policies and defeat congressional

candidates opposing them. His effort proved a failure. His speeches were often rabble-rousing and ill-tempered as he tried to deal with hecklers sympathetic to the Radicals. In Indianapolis, Indiana, a confrontation with a crowd led to violence in which one man was killed. A result was sweeping electoral victories everywhere for the Radicals. With strong majorities in the House and Senate, they would now have sufficient votes to override any presidential veto of their bills. The president was unable to block legislation that tipped the balance of power to the Congress over the Executive.

In March 1867 the new Congress passed, over Johnson's veto, the first of the Reconstruction acts, providing for suffrage for male freedmen and military administration of the Southern states. With Reconstruction virtually taken out of his hands, the president, by exercising his veto and by narrowly interpreting the law, managed to delay the program so seriously that he contributed materially to its failure. He maintained that the Reconstruction acts were unconstitutional because they were passed without Southern representation in Congress. Aloof, gruff, and

undiplomatic, Johnson constantly antagonized the Radicals. They became his sworn enemies.

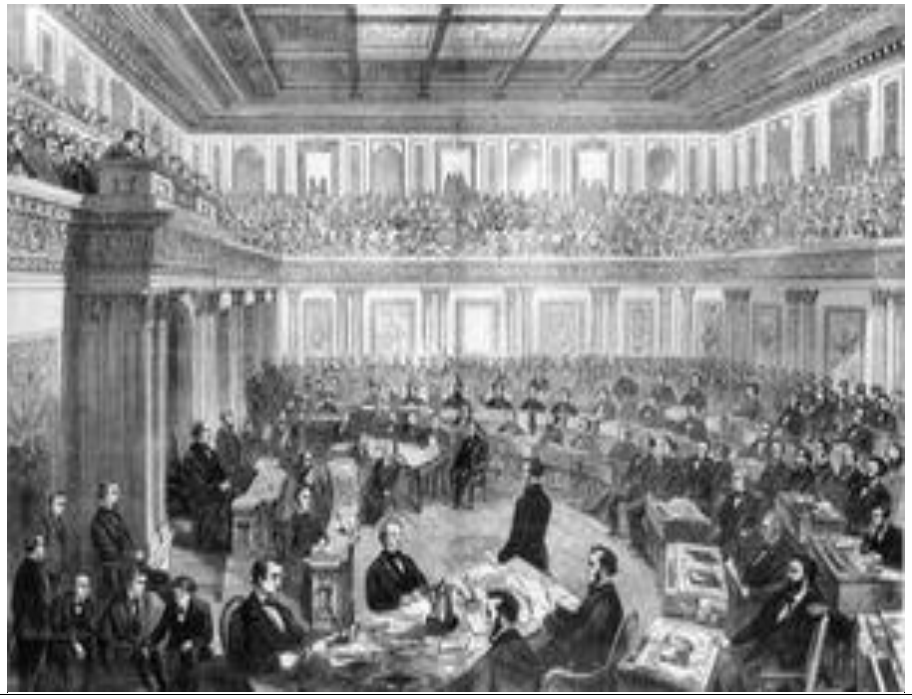
Impeachment



Andrew JohnsonU.S. Pres. Andrew Johnson, engraving by William Sartain, 1865; in the Yale University Art Gallery.

Johnson played into the hands of his enemies by an imbroglio over the Tenure of Office Act, passed the same day as the Reconstruction acts. It forbade the chief executive from removing without the Senate's concurrence certain federal officers whose appointments had originally been made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The question of the

power of the president in this matter had long been a controversial one. Johnson plunged ahead and dismissed from office Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton—the Radicals' ally within his cabinet—to provide a court test of the act's constitutionality. In response, the House of Representatives voted articles of impeachment against the president—the first such occurrence in U.S. history. While the focus was on Johnson's removal of Stanton in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act, the president was also accused of bringing "into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach the Congress of the United States." The evidence cited was chiefly culled from the speeches he had made during his "swing around the circle." What was at stake in the trial was not only the fate of a president but the very nature of the federal government. If Congress were able to remove the president, then, many Americans believed, the United States would be a dictatorship run by the leaders of Congress.



Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial in the Senate, 1868The Senate as a Court of Impeachment for the Trial of Andrew Johnson, engraving after Theodore R. Davis; in *Harper's Weekly*, April 4, 1868.

In a theatrical proceeding before the Senate, presided over by Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, the charges proved weak, despite the passion with which they were argued, and the key votes (May 16 and 26, 1868) fell one short of the necessary two-thirds for conviction, seven Republicans voting with Johnson's supporters. These men had been placed under the keenest pressure to vote to convict. One of them, Edmund Ross of Kansas, declared that, as he cast his ballot, "I almost literally looked into my open grave." When a messenger brought Johnson the news that the Senate had failed to convict him, he wept,

declaring that he would devote the remainder of his life to restoring his reputation.

Despite his exoneration, Johnson's usefulness as a national leader was over. During his remaining days in office, he extended his grants of amnesty to all of the former rebels. The vexing problem of Black suffrage was addressed by Congress's passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (ratified during the ensuing administration of Ulysses S. Grant), which forbade denial of suffrage on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." At the 1868 Democratic National Convention, Johnson received a modest number of votes, but he did not actively seek renomination.

Andrew Johnson: death. The death of Andrew Johnson, lithograph, 1875.

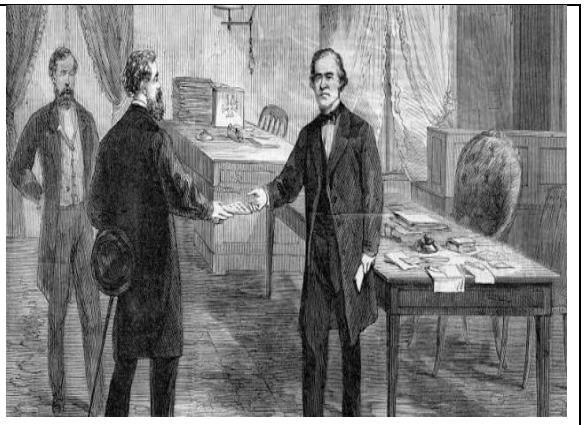
After returning to Tennessee, Johnson finally won reelection (1875) as a U.S. senator shortly before he died (he had unsuccessfully run for a Senate seat in 1869 and in 1872 lost a race for a seat in the House of Representatives). Ironically, none of the senators who voted to acquit him was returned to office. In 1926, in the case of *Myers* v. *United States*, the Supreme Court handed down an opinion on the tangled question of the president's power to remove officials from office that, in effect, vindicated the position Johnson had taken, declaring the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional.

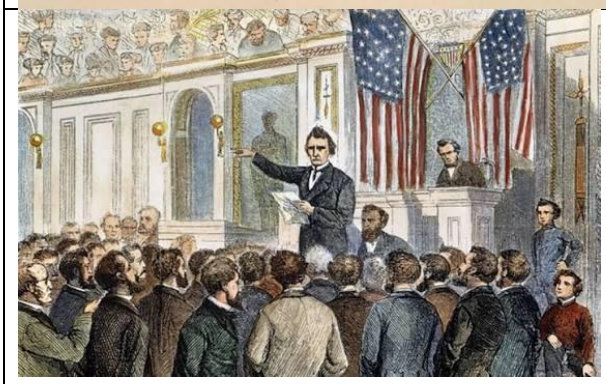
Cabinet of President Andrew Johnson

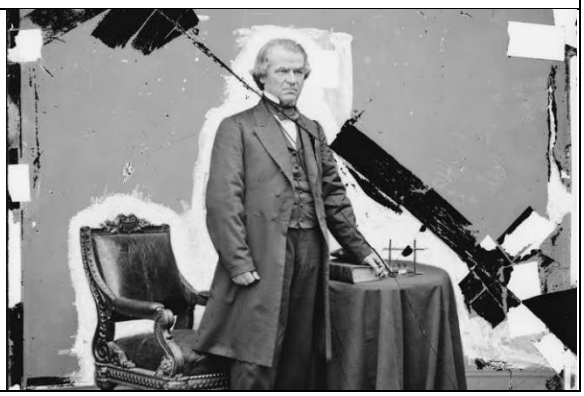
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Andrew Johnson.

Cabinet of President Andrew Johnson	
April 15, 1865-March 3, 1869	
State	William Henry Seward
Treasury	Hugh McCulloch

War	Edwin McMasters Stanton John McAllister Schofield (from June 1, 1868)
Navy	Gideon Welles
Attorney General	James Speed Henry Stanbery (from July 23, 1866) William Maxwell Evarts (from July 20, 1868)
Interior	John Palmer Usher James Harlan (from May 15, 1865) Orville Hickman Browning (from September 1, 1866)







Ulysses S Grant

18th President of the United States

[4 March 1869 <::> 4 March 1877]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/ulysses-s-grant

02] https://www.nps.gov/people/ulysses-s-grant.htm

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ulysses-S-Grant

04] Ulysses S. Grant – 18th President of the United States (1869–1877) | Civil War General & President
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWXjj2IDado [1:40:26]

Ulysses S. Grant (born April 27, 1822, Point Pleasant, Ohio, U.S.—died July 23, 1885, Mount McGregor, New York) was a U.S. general, commander of the Union armies during the late years (1864–65) of the American Civil War, and the 18th president of the United States (1869–77).

Early Life

Grant was the son of Jesse Root Grant, a tanner, and Hannah Simpson, and he grew up in Georgetown, Ohio. Detesting the work around the family tannery, Ulysses instead performed his share of chores on farmland owned by his father and developed considerable skill in handling horses. In 1839 Jesse secured for Ulysses an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, and pressured him to attend. Although he had no interest in military life, Ulysses accepted the appointment, realizing that the alternative was no further education. Grant decided to reverse his given names and enroll at the academy as Ulysses Hiram (probably to avoid having the acronym *HUG* embroidered on his clothing); however, his congressional appointment was erroneously made in the name Ulysses S. Grant, the name he eventually accepted, maintaining that the middle initial stood for nothing. He came to be known as U.S. Grant—Uncle Sam Grant—and his classmates called him Sam. Standing only a little over five feet tall when he entered the academy, he grew more than six inches in the next four years. Most observers thought his slouching gait and sloppiness in dress did not conform with usual soldierly bearing.

Grant ranked 21st in a class of 39 when he graduated from West Point in 1843, but he had distinguished himself in horsemanship

and showed such considerable ability in mathematics that he imagined himself as a teacher of the subject at the academy. Bored by the military curriculum, he took great interest in the required art courses and spent much leisure time reading classic novels. Upon graduation Grant was assigned as a brevet second lieutenant to the 4th U.S. Infantry, stationed near St. Louis, Missouri, where he fell in love with Julia Boggs Dent, the sister of his roommate at West Point. They became secretly engaged before Grant left to serve in the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and married upon his return.

In the Mexican-American War Grant showed gallantry in campaigns under Gen. Zachary Taylor. He was then transferred to Gen. Winfield Scott's army, where he first served as regimental quartermaster and commissary. Although his service in these posts gave him an invaluable knowledge of army supply, it did nothing to satiate his hunger for action. Grant subsequently distinguished himself in battle in September 1847, earning brevet commissions as first lieutenant and captain, though his permanent rank was first lieutenant. Despite his heroism, Grant wrote years later: "I do not think there was ever a more wicked war….I thought so at the time…only I had not moral courage enough to resign."

On July 5, 1852, when the 4th Infantry sailed from New York for the Pacific coast, Grant left his growing family (two sons had been born) behind. Assigned to Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory (later Washington state), he attempted to supplement his army pay with ultimately unsuccessful business ventures and was unable to reunite his family. A promotion to captain in August 1853 brought an assignment to Fort Humboldt,

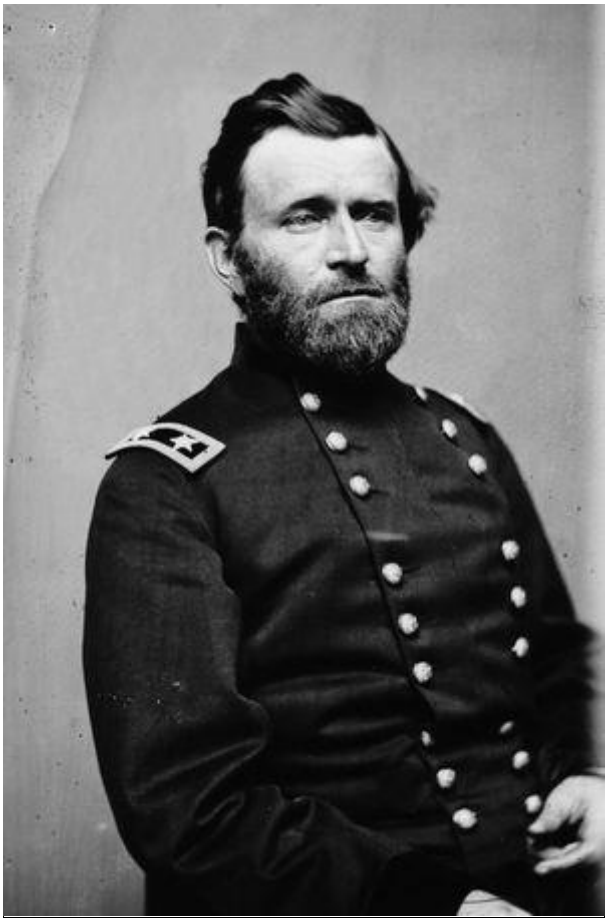
California, a dreary post with an unpleasant commanding officer. On April 11, 1854, Grant resigned from the army. Whether this decision was influenced in any way by Grant's fondness for alcohol, which he reportedly drank often during his lonely years on the Pacific coast, remains open to conjecture.

Settling at White Haven, the Dents' estate in Missouri, Grant began to farm 80 acres (30 hectares) given to Julia by her father. This farming venture was a failure, as was a real estate partnership in St. Louis in 1859. The next year Grant joined the leather goods business owned by his father and operated by his brothers in Galena, Illinois.

At a glance: the Grant presidency

The Civil War

Ulysses S. GrantU.S. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, photograph by Brady's National Photographic Portrait Galleries, c. 1861-1865.



Ulysses S. GrantU.S. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, photograph by Mathew Brady, 1863.

At the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, Grant helped recruit, equip, and drill troops in Galena, then accompanied them to the state capital, Springfield, where Gov. Richard Yates made him an aide and assigned him to the state adjutant general's office. Yates appointed him colonel of an unruly regiment (later named the 21st Illinois Volunteers) in June 1861. Before he had even engaged the enemy, Grant was appointed brigadier general through the influence of Elihu B. Washburne, a U.S. congressman from Galena. On learning this news and recalling his son's previous failures, his father said, "Be careful, Ulyss, you are a general now—it's a good job, don't lose it!" To the contrary, Grant soon gained command of the District of Southeast Missouri, headquartered at Cairo, Illinois.

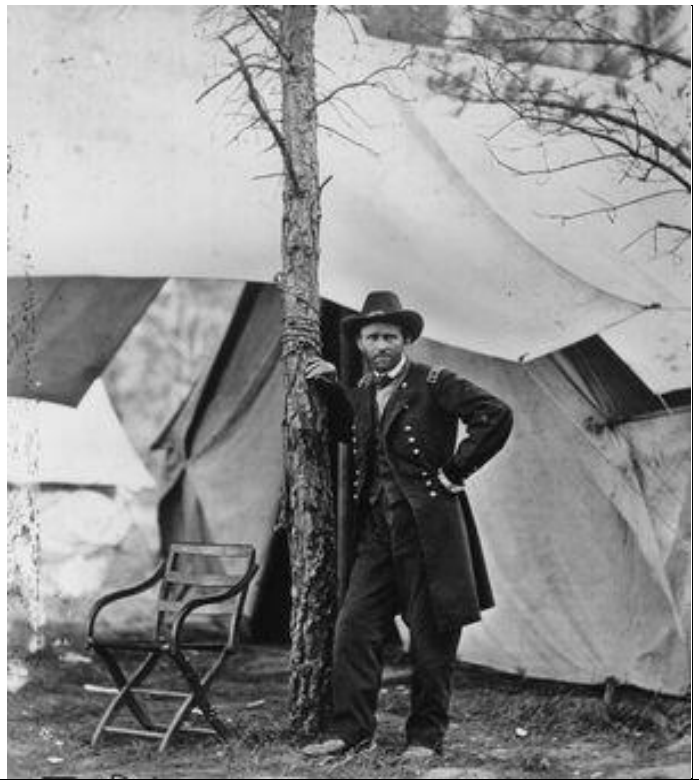
In January 1862, dissatisfied with the use of his force for defensive and diversionary purposes, Grant received permission from Gen. Henry Wager Halleck to begin an offensive campaign. On February 16 he won the first major Union victory of the war, when Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River in Tennessee, surrendered with about 15,000 troops. When the garrison's commander, Gen. Simon B. Buckner, requested his Union counterpart's terms for surrender, Grant replied, "No terms except unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." For many, from that point on Grant's initials would stand for "unconditional surrender."

Lookout Mountain, TennesseeGeneral Ulysses S. Grant (far left) with (left to right) General John Rawlins, General Joseph Webster, Colonel Clark Lagow, and Colonel Killyer at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, 1863.

Promoted to major general, Grant repelled an unexpected Confederate attack on April 6–7 at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, but the public outcry over heavy Union losses in the battle damaged Grant's reputation, and Halleck took personal command of the army. However, when Halleck was called to Washington as general in chief in July, Grant regained

command. Before the end of the year, he began his advance toward Vicksburg, Mississippi, the last major Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River. Displaying his characteristic aggressiveness, resilience, independence, and determination, Grant brought about the besieged city's surrender on July 4, 1863. When Port Hudson, Louisiana, the last post on the Mississippi, fell a few days later, the Confederacy was cut in half.

Command over Union armies of Ulysses S. Grant



Grant at Cold HarborGeneral Ulysses S. Grant at Cold Harbor, Virginia, 1864.

Grant was appointed lieutenant general in March 1864 and was entrusted with command of all the U.S. armies. His basic plan for the 1864 campaign was to immobilize the army of Gen. Robert E. Lee near the Confederate capital at Richmond, Virginia, while Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman led the western

Union army southward through Georgia. It worked. By mid-June, Lee was pinned down at Petersburg, near Richmond, while Sherman's army cut and rampaged through Georgia and cavalry forces under Gen. Philip Sheridan destroyed railroads and supplies in Virginia. On April 2, 1865, Lee was forced to abandon his Petersburg defensive line, and the surrender of Lee's army followed on April 9 at Appomattox Court House. This surrender, in effect, marked the end of the Civil War. The South's defeat saddened Grant. As he wrote in his *Personal Memoirs*, he felt "sad and depressed…at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought."

That Grant's army vastly outnumbered Lee's at the close of the conflict should not obscure Grant's achievements: the Union had numerical superiority in Virginia throughout the war, yet Grant was the first general to make these numbers count. Earlier, he had rebounded from initial defeat to triumph at Shiloh. His success as a commander was due in large measure to administrative ability, receptiveness to innovation, versatility, and the ability to learn from mistakes.

In late 1865 Grant, by then immensely popular, toured the South at Pres. Andrew Johnson's request, was greeted with surprising friendliness, and submitted a report recommending a lenient Reconstruction policy. In 1866 he was appointed to the newly established rank of general of the armies of the United States. In 1867 Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and thereby tested the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act, which dictated that removals from office be at the

assent of Congress, and in August appointed Grant interim secretary of war. When Congress insisted upon Stanton's reinstatement, Grant resigned (January 1868), thus infuriating Johnson, who believed that Grant had agreed to remain in office to provoke a court decision.

Johnson's angry charges brought an open break between the two men and strengthened Grant's ties to the Republican Party, which led to his nomination for president in 1868. The last line of his letter of acceptance, "Let us have peace," became the Republican campaign slogan. Grant's Democratic opponent was Horatio Seymour, former governor of New York. The race was a close one, and Grant's narrow margin of victory in the popular vote (300,000 ballots) may have been attributable to newly enfranchised Black voters. The vote of the electoral college was more one-sided, with Grant garnering 214 votes, compared with 80 for Seymour.

Grant's Presidency

Ulysses S. GrantU.S. Pres. Ulysses S. Grant, c. 1870–85.

Ulysses S. Grant

Grant entered the White House on March 4, 1869, politically inexperienced and, at age 46, the youngest man theretofore elected president. His appointments to office were uneven in quality but sometimes refreshing. Notably, Grant named Ely S. Parker, a Seneca Indian who had served with him as a staff officer, commissioner of Indian affairs, and Grant's wife persuaded him to appoint Hamilton Fish secretary of state. Strong-willed and forthright, Julia Grant also later claimed credit for helping to persuade her husband to veto the Finance Bill, but she did not often involve herself in presidential decisions. She daringly—for that time—supported women's rights and considered Susan B. Anthony to be a friend. As a result, it is said, Anthony supported Grant when he ran for reelection in 1872, rather than the first woman candidate for the presidency, Victoria Claflin Woodhull of the Equal Rights Party, a

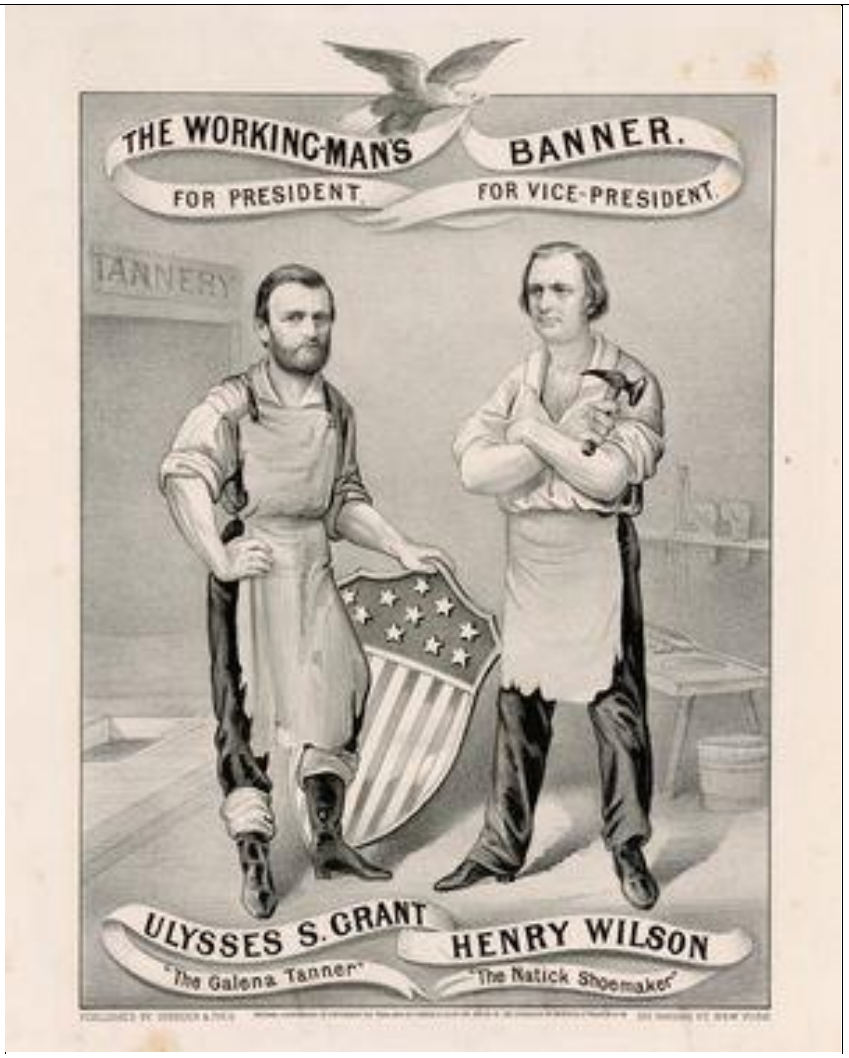
splinter group that had bolted from the National Woman Suffrage Association convention.

Julia was not beautiful—she had a cast in her left eye and squinted—but Grant was attracted to her liveliness, and his devotion to her was unbounded. Photography was just becoming part of the political scene when Julia rose to prominence as first lady, and, self-conscious about her looks, she contemplated having surgery to correct her eyes. Grant vetoed the idea, saying he loved her as she was. Consequently, almost all pictures of her were taken in profile.

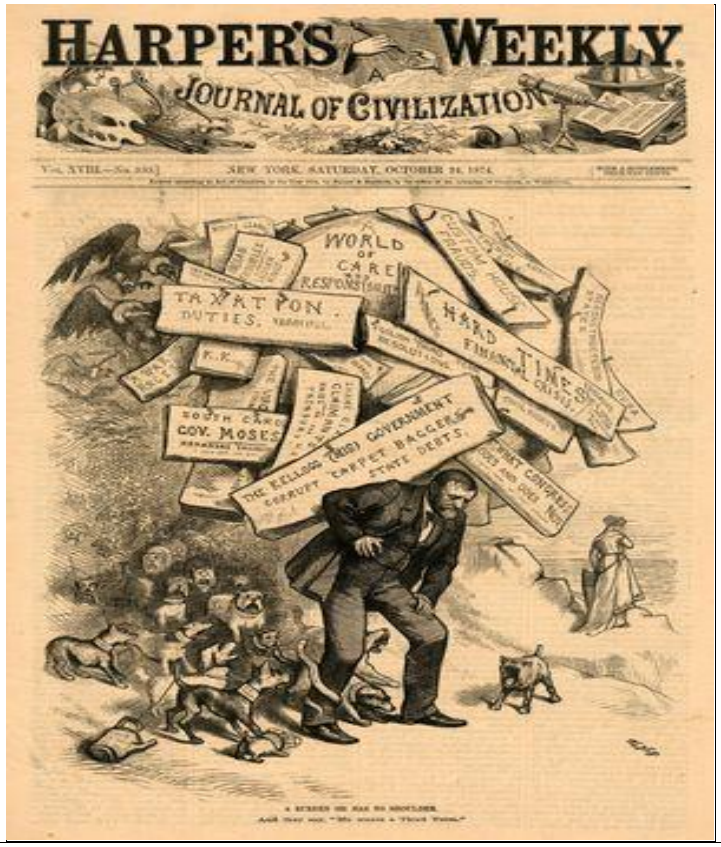
The Grants had four children. Their daughter, Nellie, became a national darling, and when she was married in the White House in 1874, the public was entranced by the details of the wedding. The executive mansion was also the home for both the president's father and his father-in-law, whose squabbling with each other was general knowledge and aroused considerable public amusement. Because the Gilded Age was at hand, Americans did not seem to mind that the Grants enjoyed ostentatious living. They redecorated the White House lavishly and entertained accordingly, with state dinners sometimes consisting of 29 courses complemented by nine French wines.

On March 18, 1869, Grant signed his first law, pledging to redeem in gold the greenback currency issued during the Civil War, thus placing himself with the financial conservatives of the day. He appointed the first Civil Service Commission, but after initially backing its recommendations, he abandoned his support for the group when faced with congressional intransigence.

Grant was more persistent but equally unsuccessful when the Senate narrowly rejected a treaty of annexation with the Dominican Republic (which Grant had been persuaded would be of strategic importance to the building of a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans). His negotiation of the Treaty of Washington provided for the settlement by international tribunal of American claims against Great Britain arising from the wartime activities of the British-built Confederate raider *Alabama*, whose sale had violated Britain's declared neutrality.

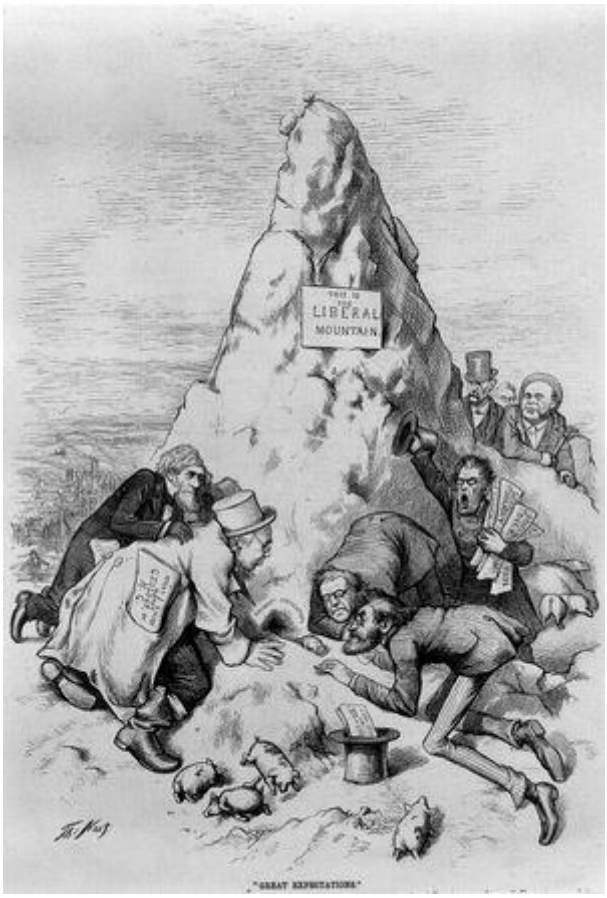


Grant and Wilson presidential campaign bannerThe Workingman's Banner, lithograph by Currier & Ives, c. 1872. Print of a Republican campaign banner for the 1872 presidential election invoking the working-class origins of running mates Ulysses S. Grant and Henry Wilson.



Political cartoon: A Burden He Has to Shoulder"A Burden He Has to Shoulder," cartoon by Thomas Nast published on the cover of *Harper's Weekly*, October 24, 1874, depicting the many challenges facing the Grant administration.

Political cartoon: The Crowning Insult to Him Occupies the Presidential Chair "The crowning insult to him who occupies the Presidential chair," cartoon by Thomas Nast in support of Ulysses Grant, for *Harper's Weekly*, May 13, 1876.



Ulysses S. Grant for president"Great Expectations," a cartoon supporting Ulysses S. Grant's reelection as president in 1872, by Thomas Nast for *Harper's Weekly*, May 18, 1872. It depicts a mouse (as presidential candidate Horace Greeley) emerging from a pile of mud labeled "Liberal Mountain."

Grant easily won reelection in 1872, defeating Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune* and the candidate for the coalition formed by Democrats and Liberal Republicans, by nearly 800,000 votes in the popular election and capturing 286 of 366 electoral votes. During the campaign, newspapers discovered that prominent Republican politicians were involved in the Crédit Mobilier of America, a shady corporation designed to siphon profits of the Union Pacific Railroad. More scandal followed in 1875, when Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Helm Bristow exposed the operation of the "Whiskey Ring," which had the aid of high-placed officials in defrauding the government of tax revenues. When the evidence touched the

president's private secretary, Orville E. Babcock, Grant regretted his earlier statement, "Let no guilty man escape." Grant blundered in accepting the hurried resignation of Secretary of War William W. Belknap, who was impeached on charges of accepting bribes; because he was no longer a government official, Belknap escaped conviction. Discouraged and sickened, Grant closed his second term by assuring Congress, "Failures have been errors of judgment, not of intent."

Scandals have become the best-remembered feature of the Grant administration, obscuring its more positive aspects. Grant supported both amnesty for Confederate leaders and civil rights for the formerly enslaved. He worked for ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and went to Capitol Hill to win passage of the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, although he was largely ineffective in enforcing the civil rights laws and other tenets of Reconstruction. His 1874 veto of a bill to increase the amount of legal tender diminished the currency crisis during the next quarter century, and he received praise two years later for his graceful handling of the controversial election of 1876, when both Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel Jones Tilden claimed election to the presidency.

Later life

Ulysses S. GrantU.S. Pres. Ulysses S. Grant reading on the porch of his home, 1885.

After leaving office, Ulysses and Julia Grant set forth on a round-the-world trip in May 1877. Grant's reputation as the man who had saved the American Union having preceded him, he was greeted everywhere as a conquering hero. In Great Britain he and his wife were feted by Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle; they also met Benjamin Disraeli. In Germany they were greeted by Otto von Bismarck; and in Japan they shook hands with the emperor. Americans were delighted with these reports from overseas. The Grants themselves were left pondering their good fortune.

In 1879 Grant found that a faction of the Republican Party was eager to nominate him for a third term. Although he did nothing to encourage support, he received more than 300 votes in each of the 36 ballots of the 1880 convention, which finally nominated James A. Garfield. In 1881 Grant bought a house in New York City and began to take an interest in the investment firm of Grant and Ward, in which his son Ulysses, Jr., was a partner. Grant put his capital at the disposal of the firm and encouraged others to follow. In 1884 the firm collapsed, swindled by Ferdinand Ward. This impoverished the entire Grant family and tarnished Grant's reputation.

In 1884 Grant began to write reminiscences of his campaigns for the *Century Magazine* and found this work so congenial that he began his memoirs. Despite excruciating throat pain, later diagnosed as cancer, he signed a contract with his friend Mark Twain to publish the memoirs and resolved grimly to complete them before he died. (For an account of Grant's experience writing his memoirs, *see* Sidebar: Translating Thought into Action: Grant's *Personal Memoirs*.) In June 1885 the Grant

family moved to a cottage in Mount McGregor, New York, in the Adirondack Mountains, and a month later Grant died there. A funeral cortege seven miles long accompanied his coffin to a temporary vault in New York City's Riverside Park. In 1897, on the 75th anniversary of his birth, his remains were removed to a magnificent neoclassical granite tomb at Riverside Drive on Morningside Heights in Manhattan. The project, supervised by the Grant Monument Association, was paid for by almost 100,000 contributions. A million people turned out for the dedication proceedings, with Pres. William McKinley among the dignitaries in attendance.

Grant's Tomb, designed by the architect John Duncan, is one of the largest mausoleums in the world, 150 feet (45 meters) high, with a domed rotunda and allegorical relief figures representing episodes in Grant's life. Two figures representing victory and peace support a granite block containing Grant's epitaph, his own words, "Let us have peace." The center crypt contains two sarcophagi. Julia Grant, who lived until 1902, was interred beside her husband, as they had planned. It was said that the idea of a single burial place for the both of them stemmed from Grant's visit to the tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain.

Grant completed his memoirs shortly before his death. Written with modesty and restraint, exhibiting equanimity, candor, and a surprisingly good sense of humor, they retain high rank among military autobiographies.

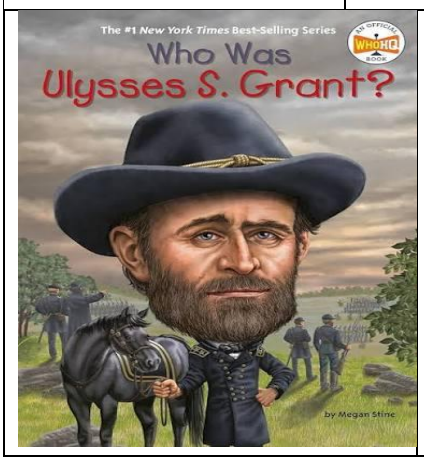
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Ulysses S. Grant.

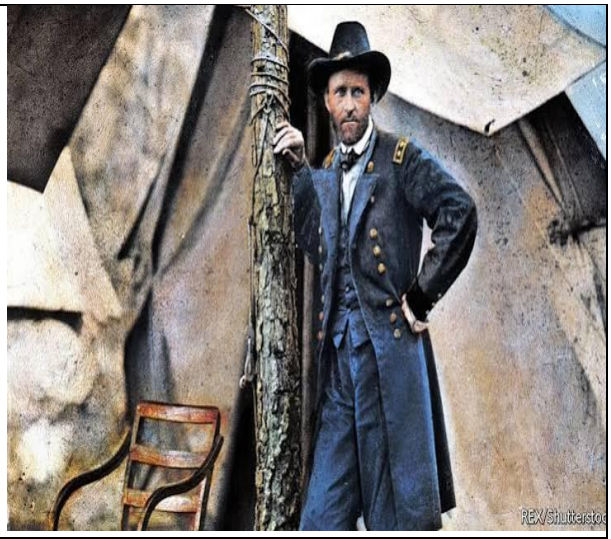
Cabinet of President Ulysses S. Grant

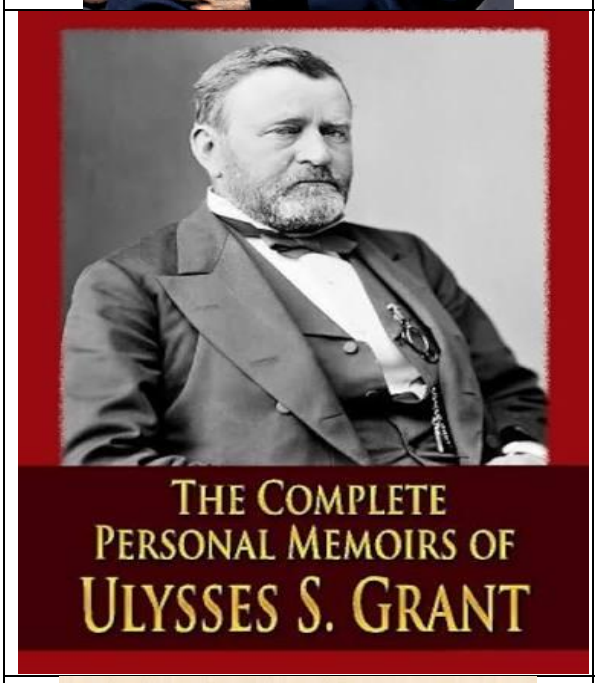
March 4, 1869–March 3, 1873 (Term 1)	
State	Elihu Benjamin Washburne
	Hamilton Fish (from March 17, 1869)
Treasury	George Sewall Boutwell
War	John Aaron Rawlins
	William Tecumseh Sherman (from September 11, 1869)
	William Worth Belknap (from November 1, 1869)
Navy	Adolph Edward Borie
	George Maxwell Robeson (from June 25, 1869)
Attorney General	Ebenezer R. Hoar
	Amos Tappan Akerman (from July 8, 1870)
	George Henry Williams (from January 10, 1872)
Interior	Jacob Dolson Cox
	Columbus Delano (from November 1, 1870)
March 4, 1873–March 3, 1877 (Term 2)	

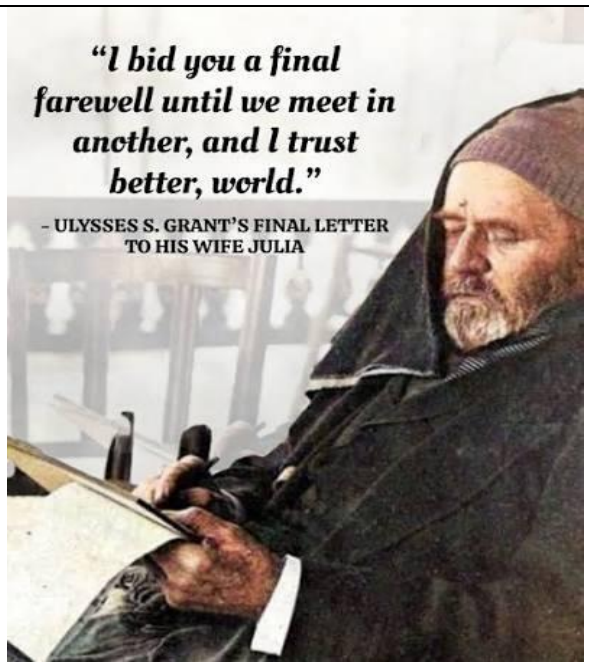
Cabinet of President Ulysses S. Grant

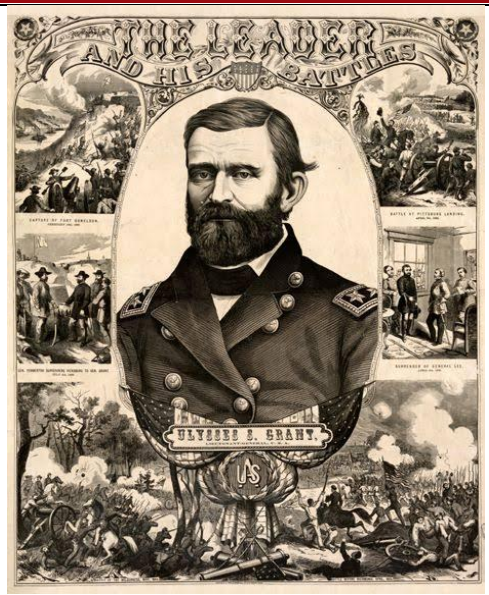
March 4, 1869–March 3, 1873 (Term 1)	
State	Hamilton Fish
Treasury	William Adams Richardson
	Benjamin Helm Bristow (from June 4, 1874)
	Lot Myrick Morrill (from July 7, 1876)
War	William Worth Belknap
	Alphonso Taft (from March 11, 1876)
	James Donald Cameron (from June 1, 1876)
Navy	George Maxwell Robeson
Attorney General	George Henry Williams
	Edward Pierrepont (May 15, 1875)
	Alphonso Taft (from June 1, 1876)
Interior	Columbus Delano
	Zachariah Chandler (October 19, 1875)






THE COMPLETE
PERSONAL MEMOIRS OF
ULYSSES S. GRANT


"I bid you a final farewell until we meet in another, and I trust better, world."
- ULYSSES S. GRANT'S FINAL LETTER TO HIS WIFE JULIA


THE LEADER AND HIS BATTLES
ULYSSES S. GRANT.

gettyimages
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1048752600

Rutherford B Hayes

19th President of the United States

[4 March 1877 <::> 4 March 1881]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/rutherford-b-hayes/

02] https://millercenter.org/president/hayes

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rutherford-B-Hayes

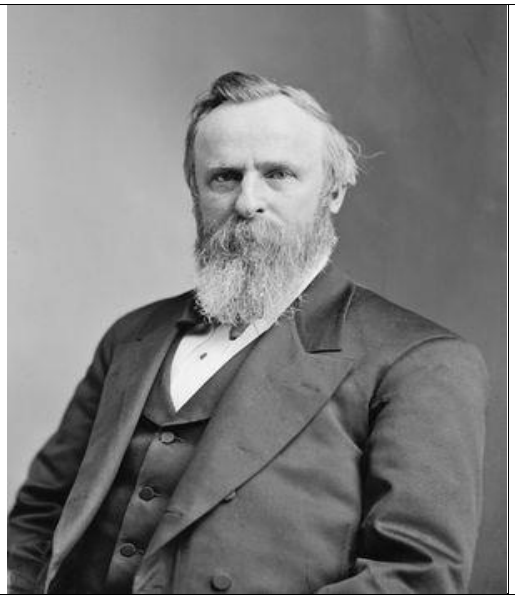
04] Rutherford Birchard Hayes – 19th President of the United States (1877–1881)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00C4z7oC7OA [1:23:37]

Rutherford B. Hayes (born October 4, 1822, Delaware, Ohio, U.S.—died January 17, 1893, Fremont, Ohio) was the 19th president of the United States (1877–81), who brought post-Civil War Reconstruction to an end in the South and who tried to establish new standards of official integrity after eight years of corruption in Washington, D.C. He was the only president to hold office by decision of an extraordinary commission of congressmen and Supreme Court justices appointed to rule on contested electoral ballots.

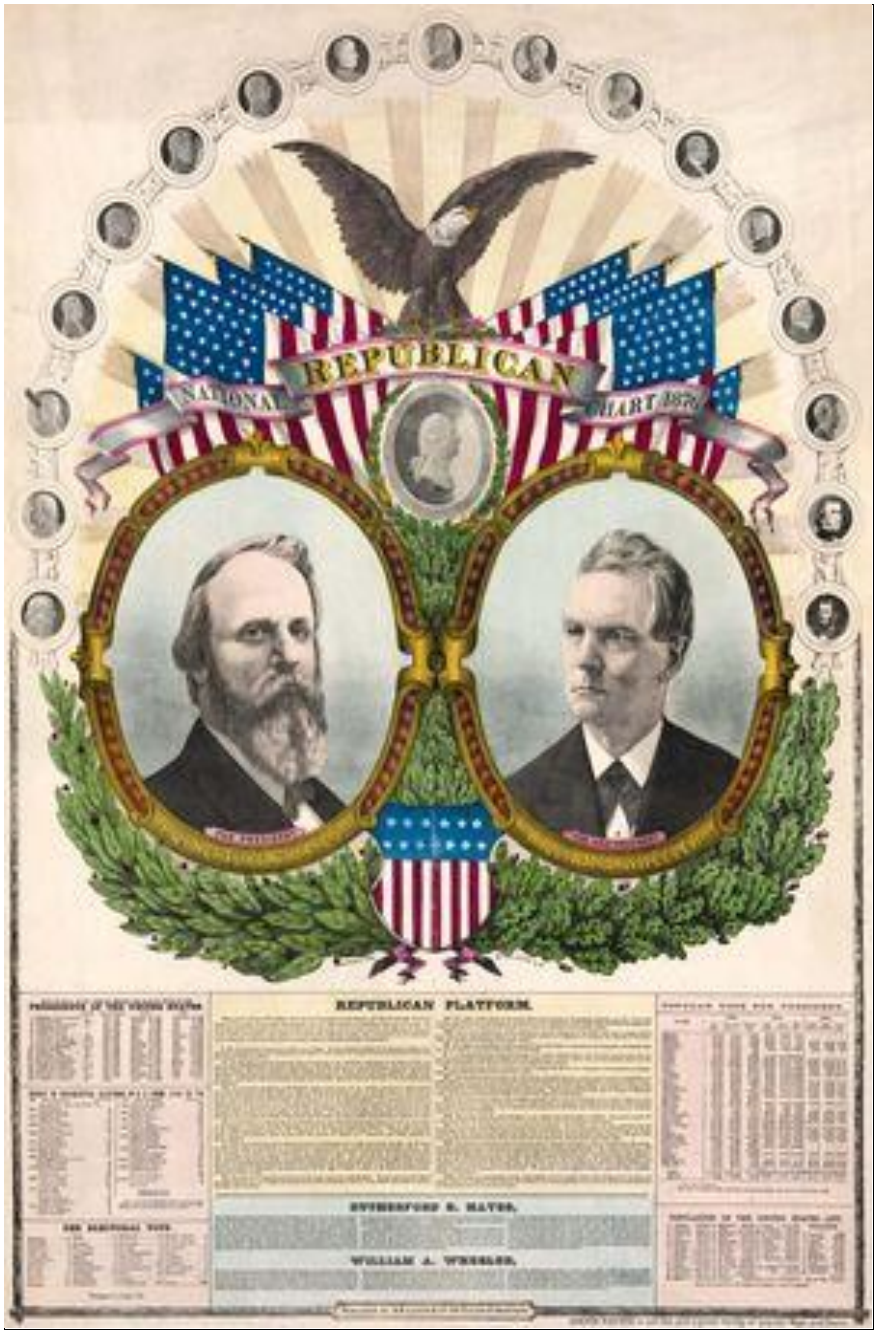
Early political life

Lucy and Rutherford B. HayesRutherford B. Hayes and his wife, Lucy, on their wedding day, December 30, 1852.

Hayes was the son of Rutherford Hayes, a farmer, and Sophia Birchard. After graduating from Kenyon College at the head of his class in 1842, Hayes studied law at Harvard, where he took a bachelor of laws degree in 1845. Returning to Ohio, he established a successful legal practice in Cincinnati, where he represented defendants in several fugitive-slave cases and became associated with the newly formed Republican Party. In 1852 he married Lucy Ware Webb (Lucy Hayes), a cultured and unusually well-educated woman for her time. After combat service with the Union army, he was elected to Congress (1865–67) and then to the Ohio governorship (1868–76).



Rutherford B. HayesU.S. Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes, photograph by Mathew B. Brady, c. 1870-80.



Hayes and Wheeler campaign literatureCampaign material for Rutherford B. Hayes (left) and William A. Wheeler for the 1876 U.S. presidential election.

In 1875, during his third gubernatorial campaign, Hayes attracted national attention by his uncompromising advocacy of a sound currency backed by gold. The following year he became his state's favorite

son at the national Republican nominating convention, where a shrewdly managed campaign won him the presidential nomination. Hayes's unblemished public record and high moral tone offered a striking contrast to widely publicized accusations of corruption in the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant (1869–77).

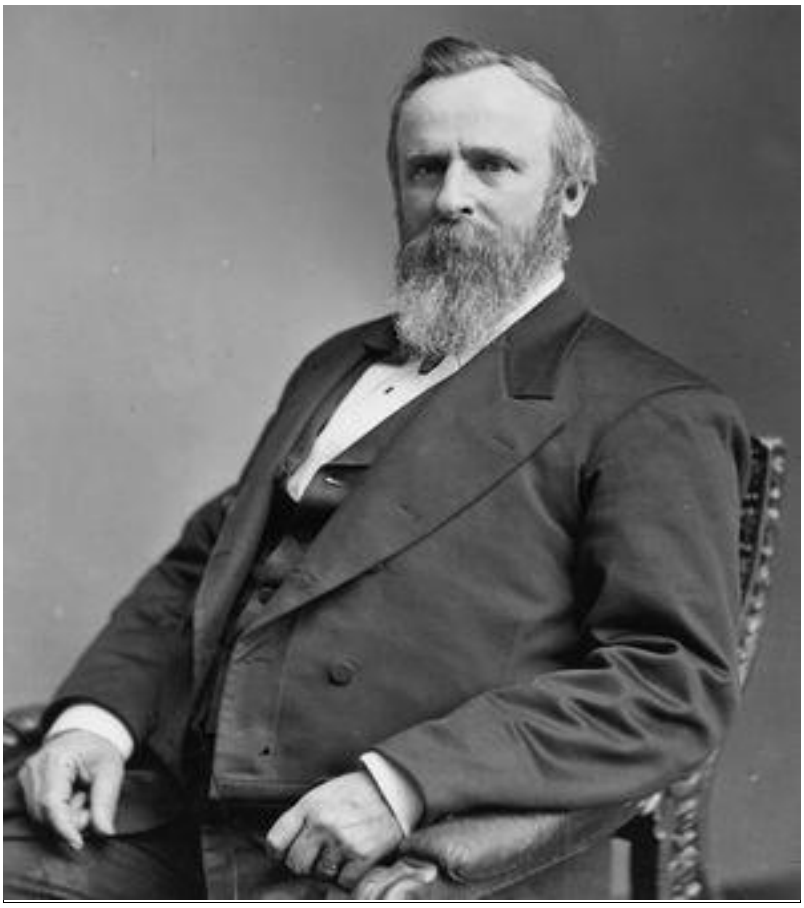
(What is a quid pro quo, and is it always bad? Examples from history.)

An economic depression, however, and Northern disenchantment with Reconstruction policies in the South combined to give Hayes's Democratic opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, a popular majority, and early returns indicated a Democratic victory in the electoral college as well. Hayes's campaign managers challenged the validity of the returns from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and as a result two sets of ballots were submitted from the three states. The ensuing electoral dispute became known as the Tilden-Hayes affair. Eventually a bipartisan majority of Congress created a special Electoral Commission to decide which votes should be counted. As

originally conceived, the commission was to comprise seven Democrats, seven Republicans, and one independent, the Supreme Court justice David Davis. Davis refused to serve, however, and the Republican Joseph P. Bradley was named in his place. While the commission was deliberating, Republican allies of Hayes engaged in secret negotiations with moderate Southern Democrats aimed at securing acquiescence to Hayes's election. On March 2, 1877, the commission voted along strict party lines to award all the contested electoral votes to Hayes, who was thus elected with 185 electoral votes to Tilden's 184. The result was greeted with outrage and bitterness by some Northern Democrats, who thereafter referred to Hayes as "His Fraudulency."

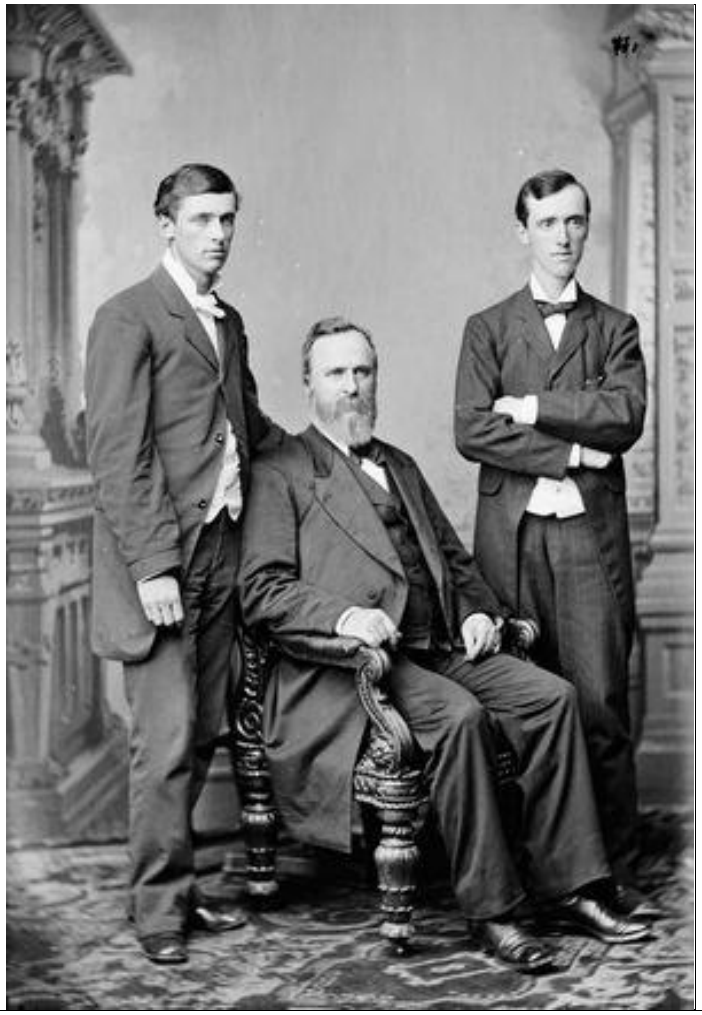
At a glance: the Hayes presidency
Presidency and later life

Rutherford B. HayesU.S. Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes.



Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877

As president, Hayes promptly made good on the secret pledges made during the electoral dispute. He withdrew federal troops from states still under military occupation, thus ending the era of Reconstruction (1865–77). His promise not to interfere with elections in the former Confederacy ensured a return there of traditional white Democratic supremacy. He appointed Southerners to federal positions, and he made financial appropriations for Southern improvements. These policies aroused the animosity of a conservative Republican faction known as the Stalwarts, who were further antagonized by the president's efforts to reform the civil service by substituting nonpartisan examinations for political patronage. Hayes's demand for the resignation of two top officials in the New York customhouse (including Chester Arthur, the future president) provoked a bitter struggle with New York senator Roscoe Conkling.



Father and sonsU.S. Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes with two of his sons.

During the national railroad strikes of 1877, Hayes, at the request of state governors, dispatched federal troops to suppress rioting. His administration was under continual pressure from the South and West to resume silver coinage, outlawed in 1873. Many considered this proposal inflationary, and Hayes sided with the Eastern, hard-money (gold) interests. Congress, however, overrode his veto of the Bland-Allison Act (1878), which provided for government purchase of silver bullion and restoration of

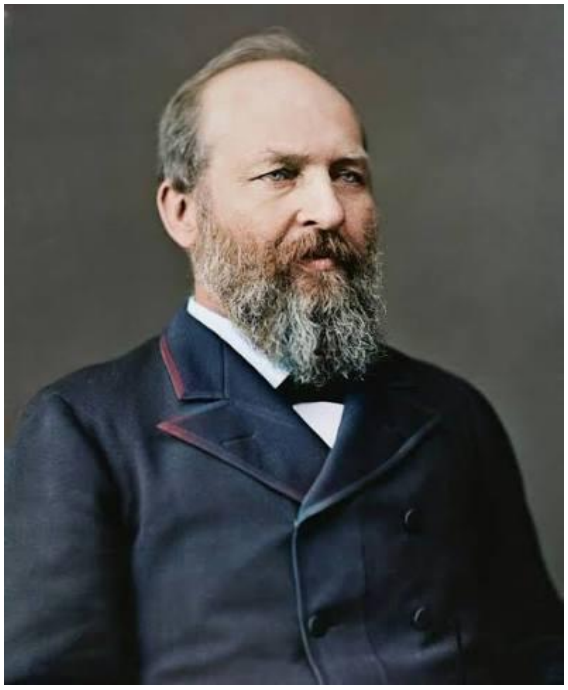
the silver dollar as legal tender. In 1879 Hayes signed an act permitting women lawyers to practice before the Supreme Court.

Hayes refused renomination by the Republican Party in 1880, contenting himself with one term as president. In retirement he devoted himself to humanitarian causes, notably prison reform and educational opportunities for Southern black youth.

Cabinet of President Rutherford B. Hayes

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes.

Cabinet of President Rutherford B. Hayes	
March 4, 1877-March 3, 1881	
State	William Maxwell Evarts
Treasury	John Sherman
War	George Washington McCrary Alexander Ramsey (from December 12, 1879)
Navy	Richard Wigginton Thompson Nathan Goff, Jr. (from January 6, 1881)
Attorney General	Charles Devens
Interior	Carl Schurz



James A Garfield

20th President of the United States

[4 March 1881 <::> 19 Sept 1881]

Please visit:

01] https://millercenter.org/president/garfield

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/james-garfield/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-A-Garfield

04] What Really Killed President James Garfield? Interview with Candice Millard
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W1dW0fjuYyQ [1:40:02]

James A. Garfield (born November 19, 1831, near Orange [in Cuyahoga county], Ohio, U.S.—died September 19, 1881, Elberon [now in Long Branch], New Jersey) was the 20th president of the United States (March 4–September 19, 1881). He had the second shortest tenure in U.S. presidential history. When he was shot and incapacitated, serious constitutional questions arose concerning who should properly perform the functions of the presidency.

Early life and political career

Eliza Ballou, mother of U.S. President James A. GarfieldEliza Ballou, James A. Garfield's mother, in an illustration from *The Life, Character and Public Services of Jas. A. Garfield* (1880) by A.G. Riddle.

U.S. Pres. James A. Garfield, first lady Lucretia Garfield, and their familyJames A. Garfield with his family, lithograph by Kurz & Allison, c. 1882.

The last president born in a log cabin, Garfield was the son of Abram Garfield and Eliza Ballou, who continued to run the family's impoverished Ohio farm after her husband's death in 1833. Garfield dreamed of foreign ports of call as a sailor but instead worked for about six weeks guiding mules that pulled boats on the Ohio and Erie Canal, which ran from Lake Erie to

the Ohio River. By his own estimate, Garfield, who did not know how to swim, fell into the canal some 16 times and contracted malaria in the process. Always studious, he attended Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (later Hiram College) at Hiram, Ohio, and graduated (1856) from Williams College. He returned to the Eclectic Institute as a professor of ancient languages and in 1857, at age 25, became the school's president. A year later he married Lucretia Rudolph (Lucretia Garfield) and began a family that included seven children (two died in infancy). Garfield also studied law and was ordained as a minister in the Disciples of Christ church, but he soon turned to politics.

James A. GarfieldU.S. Col. James A. Garfield, c. 1855-65.

An advocate of free-soil principles (opposing the extension of slavery), he became a supporter of the newly organized Republican Party and in 1859 was elected to the Ohio legislature. During the Civil War he helped recruit the 42nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry and became its colonel. After commanding a brigade at the Battle of Shiloh (April 1862), he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, and, while waiting for Congress to begin its session, he served as chief of staff in the Army of the Cumberland, winning promotion to major general after distinguishing himself at the Battle of Chickamauga (September 1863). It was about that time that Garfield had an extramarital affair with a Lucia Calhoun in New York City. He later admitted the indiscretion and was forgiven by his wife. Historians believe that the many letters he had written to Calhoun, which are referred to in his diary, were retrieved by Garfield and destroyed.

For nine terms, until 1880, Garfield represented Ohio's 19th congressional district. As chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, he became an expert on fiscal matters and advocated a high protective tariff, and, as a Radical Republican, he sought a firm policy of Reconstruction for the South. In 1880 the Ohio legislature elected him to the U.S. Senate.

At a glance: the Garfield presidency
Road to the presidency

Republican National Convention in 1880James A. Garfield was selected as the Republican candidate for U.S. president on the 36th ballot at the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1880.

At the Republican presidential convention the same year in Chicago, the delegates were divided into three principal camps: the "Stalwarts" (conservatives led by powerful New York Sen. Roscoe Conkling), who backed former president Ulysses S. Grant; the "Half-Breed" (moderate) supporters of Maine Sen. James G. Blaine; and those committed to Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman. Tall, bearded, affable, and eloquent, Garfield steered fellow Ohioan Sherman's campaign and impressed so many with his largely extemporaneous nominating speech that he, not the candidate, became the focus of attention. As the chairman of the Ohio delegation, Garfield also led a coalition of anti-Grant

delegates who succeeded in rescinding the unit rule, by which a majority of delegates from a state could cast the state's entire vote. This victory added to Garfield's prominence and doomed Grant's candidacy. Grant led all other candidates for 35 ballots but failed to command a majority. On the 36th ballot the nomination went to a dark horse, Garfield, who was still trying to remove his name from nomination as the bandwagon gathered speed.

Garfield's home in 1880Visitors arriving at the home of James A. Garfield in Mentor, Ohio, during the 1880 presidential election. In an era when it was still considered unseemly for a candidate to court voters actively, Garfield and his wife, Lucretia (who was an important adviser), conducted the first "front porch" campaign for the presidency.

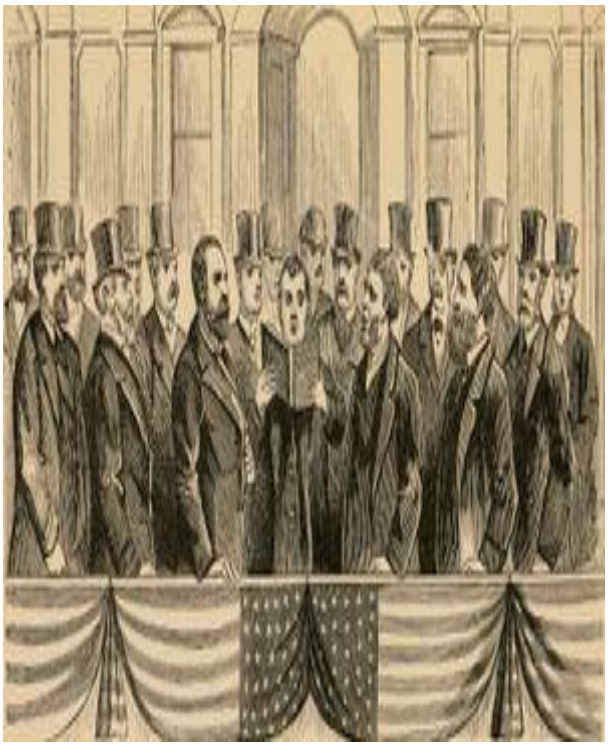
Campaign posterCampaign poster for James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, 1880.

His Democratic opponent in the November 1880 general election was Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, like Garfield a Civil War veteran, so both could wrap themselves in the symbolic "bloody shirt" of the Union. But Garfield also capitalized on his rags-to-riches background, and, along with a campaign biography literally written by Horatio Alger, he reached back to his humble beginnings as a "canal boy" for the slogan "From the tow path to the White House." ("No man ever started so low that accomplished so much, in all our history," said former

president Rutherford B. Hayes of Garfield. He was "the ideal self-made man.") In an era when it was still considered unseemly for a candidate to court voters actively, Garfield, aided by Lucretia (who remained an important adviser), conducted the first "front porch" campaign, from his home in Mentor, Ohio, where reporters and voters came to hear him speak. Notwithstanding allegations of involvement in the Crédit Mobilier scandal, in which Garfield had received $329 from stock in the notorious company (a remuneration which Democrats characterized as a bribe and played up as a campaign issue by plastering walls, sidewalks, and placards with "329"), and a forged letter that supposedly revealed Garfield's advocacy of unrestricted Chinese immigration, he defeated Hancock (as well as the third-party Greenback candidate), though he won the popular election by fewer than 10,000 votes. The vote in the electoral college was less close: 214 votes for Garfield, 155 for Hancock.

Presidency of James A. Garfield

James A. GarfieldU.S. Pres. James A. Garfield, 1881.



Inauguration of James A. GarfieldThe inauguration of James A. Garfield as president of the United States, illustration from *From Canal Boy to President; or, The Boyhood and Manhood of James A. Garfield* (1881) by Horatio Alger, Jr.

Haverly's European and American Mastodon MinstrelsHaverly's European and American Mastodon Minstrels playing at the inauguration of Pres. James A. Garfield, March 4, 1881.

By the time of his election, Garfield had begun to see education rather than the ballot box as the best hope for improving the lives of African Americans. In his inaugural speech he said, "The elevation of the Negro race from slavery to the full rights of citizenship is the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. No thoughtful man can fail to appreciate its beneficent effect upon our institutions and people....It has liberated the master as well as the slave from a relation which wronged and enfeebled both."

Garfield tried to put together a cabinet that would appease all factions of the Republican Party, but, prompted by his secretary of state, Blaine, he eventually challenged Conkling's patronage machine in New York. Instead of appointing one of Conkling's friends as collector of the Port of New York, Garfield chose a Blaine protégé, prompting the resignation of an outraged Conkling and strengthening the independence and power of the presidency. So demanding were the office seekers and the pressures of the patronage system that at one point Garfield wondered why anyone would want to seek the presidency. "My God," he exclaimed, "what is there in this place that a man should ever want to get into it!" The other significant development of Garfield's short term of office, the Star Route scandal, involved the fraudulent dispersal of postal route contracts. "Go ahead regardless of where or whom you hit," Garfield told investigators. "I direct you not only to probe this ulcer to the bottom, but to cut it out." Despite such strong talk, Grant accused Garfield of having "the backbone of an angleworm."

ASSASSINATION

LAS VEGAS DAILY GAZETTE.

VOL. 1. SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1881. NO. 210.

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NEWS BY TELEGRAPH

GARFIELD!

Garfield Shot Twice by a Disappointed Office Seeker

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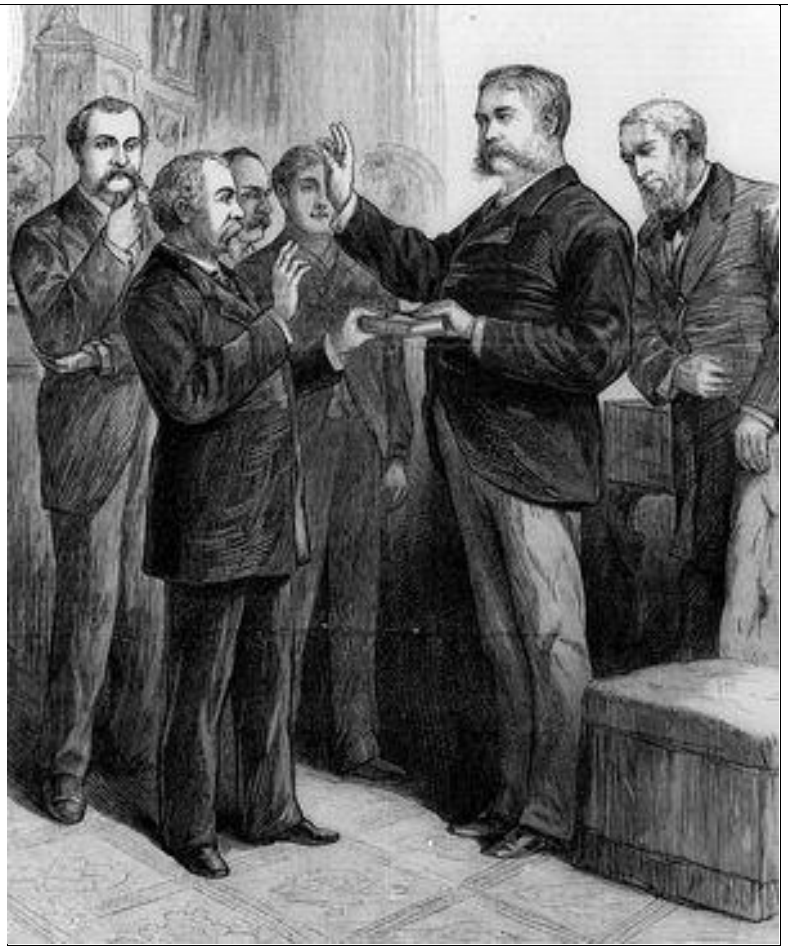
[assassination of James A. Garfield]The front page of the *Las Vegas Daily Gazette*, July 3, 1881, announcing the shooting of U.S. Pres. James A. Garfield: "Garfield! Garfield Shot Twice by a Disappointed Office Seeker."

On July 2, 1881, after only four months in office, while on his way to a family vacation in New England, Garfield was shot twice in the railroad station in Washington, D.C., by Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker with messianic visions. The first shot only grazed Garfield's arm, but the second bullet pierced his back and lodged behind his pancreas. (In a letter dated November 1880, Garfield had written, "Assassination can be no more guarded against than death by lightning and it is not best to worry about either.") Guiteau peaceably surrendered to police, calmly announcing, "I am a Stalwart. [Chester A.] Arthur is now president of the United States."

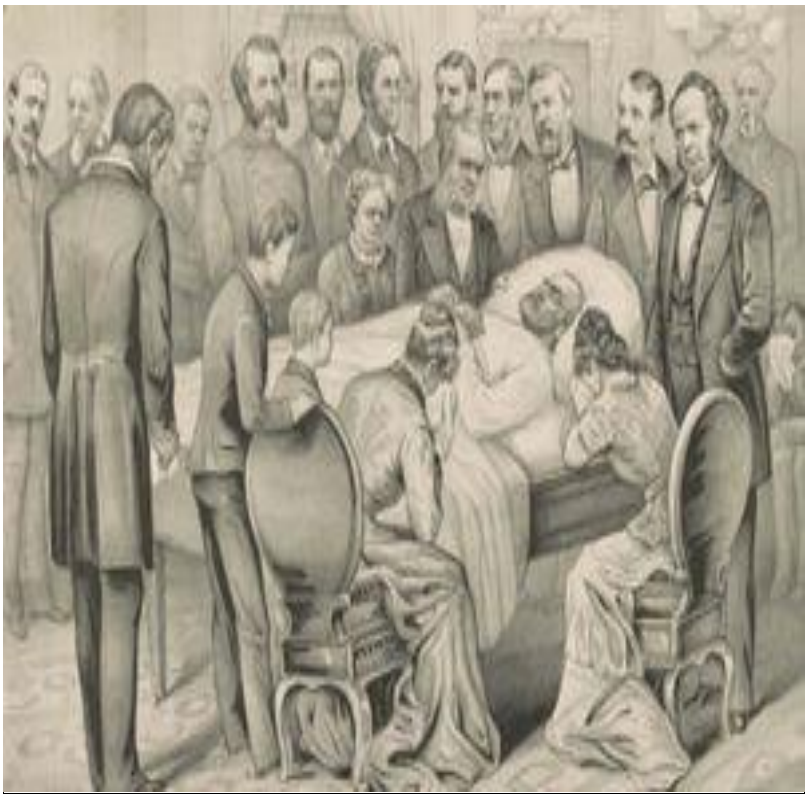
Read about assassination and attempts involving U.S. presidents and presidential candidates.

In an era when the practice of medicine was largely oblivious of the role played by germs in illness and disease, a parade of doctors, both at the site of the shooting and in the hospital, poked and prodded Garfield's wound in search of the bullet, heedless of the need for sterility and the danger of sepsis. The medical wisdom of the day dictated that the highest priority was the removal of the bullet, and a new invention by Alexander Graham Bell, the metal detector, was even brought in to aid in the search. In the process, Garfield's body became ridden with an infection that would eventually take his life.



Chester A. Arthur taking the presidential oath. Chester A. Arthur taking the presidential oath after the death of U.S. Pres. James Garfield, 1881.

Hospitalization of James A. Garfield U.S. Pres. James A. Garfield lying in bed during a visit from his wife and daughter following the assassination attempt on him, illustration from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July, 23, 1881.



Death of James A. Garfield. Death of U.S. Pres. James A. Garfield, lithograph, 1881.

For 80 days the president lay ill and performed only one official act—the signing of an extradition paper. It was generally agreed that, in such cases, the vice president was empowered by the Constitution to assume the powers and duties of the office of president. But should he serve merely as acting president until Garfield recovered, or would he receive the office itself and thus displace his predecessor? Because of an ambiguity in the Constitution, opinion was divided, and, because Congress was not in session, the problem could not be debated there. On September 2, 1881, the matter came before a cabinet meeting, where it was finally agreed that no action would be taken without first consulting Garfield. But in the opinion of the doctors this was impossible, and no further action was taken before the death of the president on September 19, which was attributed to a fatal heart attack, massive hemorrhaging, and slow blood poisoning.

Public concern over the fate of James A. GarfieldScenes of the public waiting to see whether U.S. Pres. James A. Garfield would recover from being shot by an assassin, illustration by Albert Shults in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 30, 1881.

The public and the media were obsessed with this drawn-out passing of the president, leading historians to see in the brief Garfield administration the seeds of an important aspect of the modern president: the chief executive as celebrity and symbol of the nation. It is said that public mourning for Garfield was more extravagant than the grief displayed in the wake of Pres. Abraham Lincoln's assassination, which is startling in light of the relative roles these men played in American history. Garfield was buried beneath a quarter-million-dollar 165-foot (50-meter) monument in Lake View Cemetery in Cleveland.

Cabinet of Pres. James A. Garfield

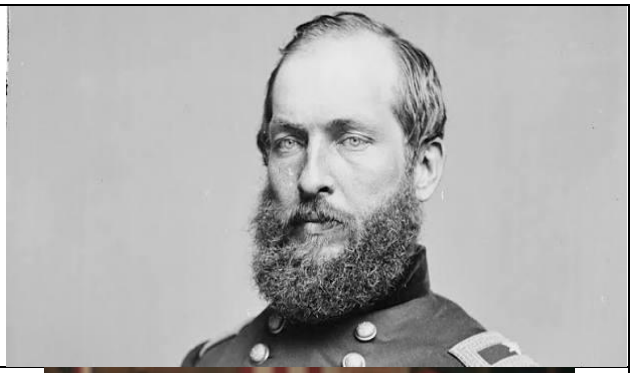
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. James A. Garfield.

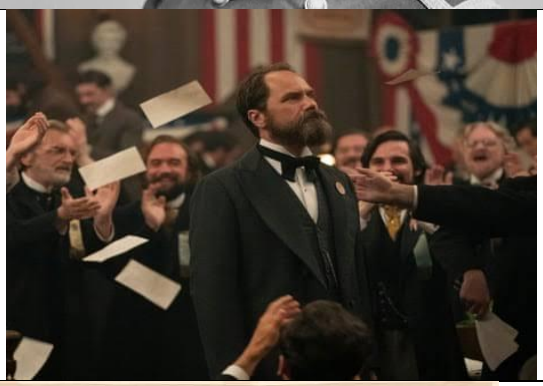
Cabinet of President James A. Garfield

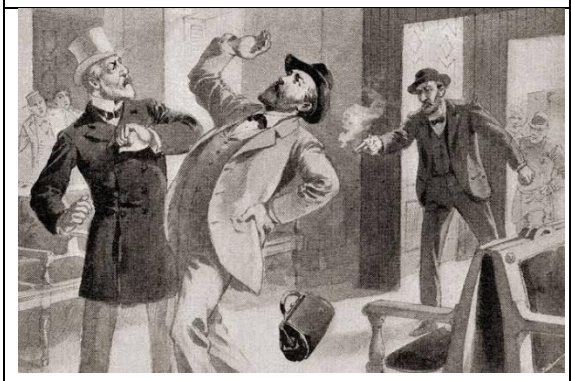
March 4, 1881–September 19, 1881	
State	James G. Blaine
Treasury	William Windom
War	Robert Todd Lincoln

Cabinet of President James A. Garfield

March 4, 1881–September 19, 1881	
Attorney General	Wayne MacVeagh
Navy	William Henry Hunt
Interior	Samuel Jordan Kirkwood







Chester A. Arthur

21st President of the United States

[18 Sept 1881 <::> 4 March 1885]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/chester-arthur

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/chesterarthur

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Chester-A-Arthur

04] Chester Alan Arthur – 21st President of the United States (1881-1885)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAYF1zj8h94 [42:09]

Chester A. Arthur (born October 5, 1829, North Fairfield, Vermont, U.S.—died November 18, 1886, New York, New York) was the 21st president of the United States (1881–85). Elected vice president on the Republican ticket of 1880, Arthur became president after the assassination of President James A. Garfield. As president, he confounded his critics and dismayed many of his friends among the Stalwart faction of the Republican Party by supporting the Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883), which provided for the open appointment and promotion of federal employees based on merit rather than patronage.

Early life and career

Abolitionist and president As a lawyer in 1855, Chester A. Arthur, represented Lizzie Jennings, a Black woman, in her suit against a Brooklyn streetcar company for forcing her off a car reserved for whites. The landmark victory led to a New York law forbidding discrimination in public transportation.

Arthur was the son of William Arthur, a Baptist minister, and Malvina Stone. After graduating in 1848 from Union College in Schenectady, New York, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Arthur studied law and simultaneously taught school; he was admitted to the New York bar in 1854 and joined a law firm in New York City. One year later, he successfully represented Lizzie Jennings, a Black woman, in her suit against a Brooklyn streetcar company for forcing her off a car reserved for whites. The landmark victory led to a New York law forbidding discrimination in public transportation. An ardent abolitionist, Arthur also pleaded successfully the case of an enslaved man who sued for his freedom on the ground that his master had brought him temporarily to the free state of New York.

Arthur joined the Republican Party in the 1850s, became active in local politics, and served as quartermaster general of New York state's troops during the Civil War. Resuming his law practice in 1863, he became closely associated with Sen. Roscoe Conkling, the Republican boss of New York. In 1871, with Conkling's backing, Arthur was appointed customs collector for the port of New York City by Pres. Ulysses S. Grant. The New

York customhouse, which brought in the bulk of the nation's tariff revenue, had long been conspicuous for flagrant use of the spoils system, by which Conkling's political supporters were rewarded with government jobs. Although Arthur collected the customs duties with integrity, he continued the practice of overstaffing the customhouse with employees whose chief qualification was loyalty to Conkling.

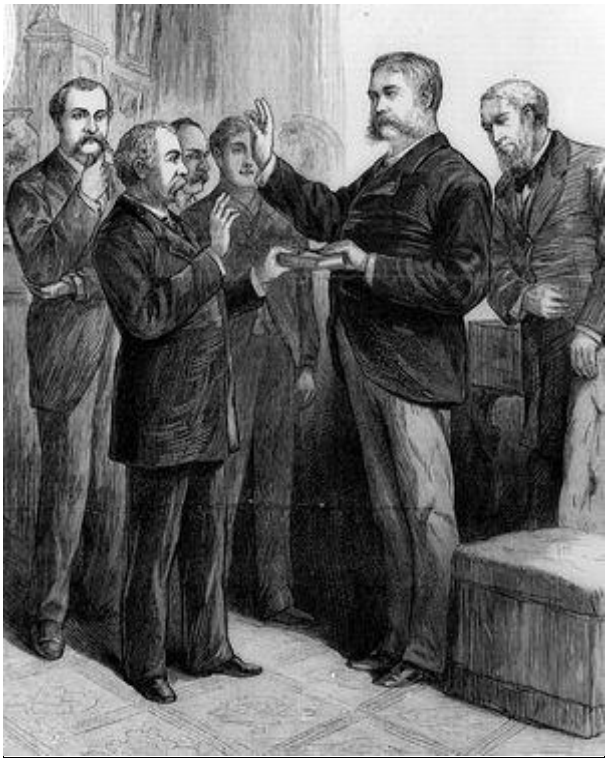
In 1877 newly elected President Rutherford B. Hayes, intent on reducing Conkling's patronage fiefdom, demanded the resignation of Arthur and others in the New York City customhouse. With Conkling's support, Arthur was able to resist Hayes for a time, but in July 1878 Hayes finally suspended him, and Arthur returned to the practice of law.

Campaign poster. Campaign poster for James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, 1880.

Widely regarded as Conkling's protégé, Arthur worked with his mentor at the Republican National Convention of 1880 to secure the renomination of Grant for a third term as president. When the convention deadlocked between the conservative Stalwart and liberal Half-Breed factions, delegates turned to dark-horse candidate James A. Garfield, and Arthur was nominated vice president as a conciliatory gesture to Conkling and the Stalwarts. The public, however, responded coldly to Arthur's nomination, viewing the former customhouse collector as unqualified for the nation's second-highest office.

At a glance: the Arthur presidency

Succession to the presidency



Chester A. Arthur taking the presidential oathChester A. Arthur taking the presidential oath after the death of U.S. Pres. James Garfield, 1881.

When Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office seeker who wanted the Stalwart Arthur to be president, public apprehension increased markedly. Arthur took the presidential oath on September 19, 1881, amid widespread belief that he, a spoilsman with no experience in shaping public policy, was unworthy of the office to which he had now tragically acceded. Said to have been deeply wounded by the public's low regard for him, Arthur proceeded to prove that he could rise above expectations. In 1882 he displayed surprising independence when he vetoed an $18 million rivers and harbors bill that contained ample funds for projects that could be used for political patronage. Yet it was Arthur's support for the Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883) that clearly showed how far he had come from his days as patronage purveyor at the New York customhouse. Commanding widespread support from the American people, who saw Garfield's assassination as a product of the corrupt spoils system, the Pendleton Act at last made a reality of civil-service reform, creating a merit-based system of appointment and promotion for a limited number of specified offices. Stalwarts, however, viewed Arthur's support for the measure as a betrayal.

Political cartoon of Chester A. Arthur. Political cartoon of Chester A. Arthur by Joseph Keppler.

In 1882, soon after vetoing a bill that would have suspended Chinese immigration to the United States for 20 years, Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), which reduced the suspension to 10 years. In conjunction with his secretary of the navy, William Eaton Chandler, Arthur recommended appropriations that would later help to transform the United States Navy into one of the world's great fleets. During Arthur's final year as president, the United States acquired a naval coaling station at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands.

Arthur had married Ellen ("Nell") Lewis Herndon (Ellen Arthur) on October 25, 1859. She died of pneumonia shortly after the

1880 election, and when Arthur acceded to the presidency, his sister Mary Arthur McElroy acted as White House hostess.

At the Republican convention for the 1884 election, Arthur allowed his name to be put forward for the party's presidential nomination even though he knew he was suffering from Bright disease, at that time an incurable kidney ailment. Defeated for the nomination by James G. Blaine, he finished his term, attended the inauguration of Democrat Grover Cleveland, and then returned to New York City, where he died at his home the following year.

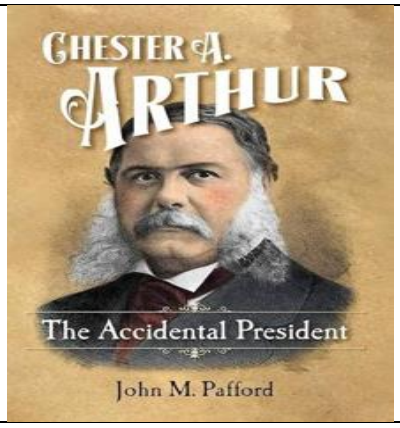
Cabinet of President Chester A. Arthur

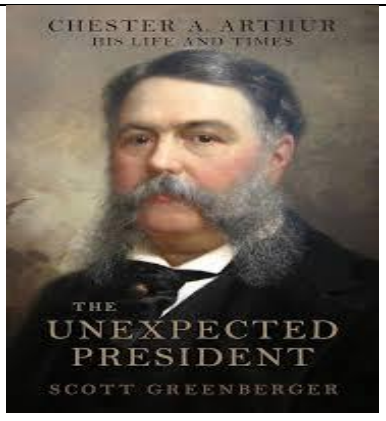
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Chester A. Arthur.

Cabinet of President Chester A. Arthur	
September 20, 1881–March 3, 1885	
State	James G. Blaine
	Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen (from December 19, 1881)
Treasury	William Windom

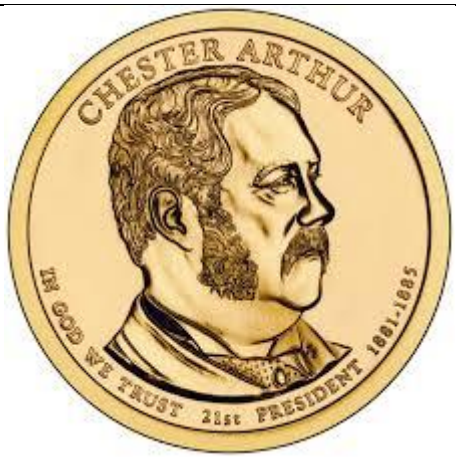
Cabinet of President Chester A. Arthur

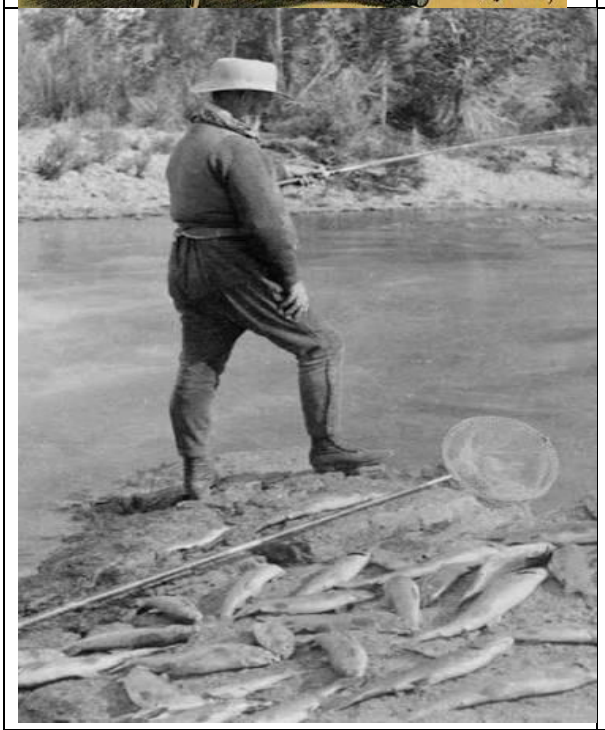
September 20, 1881–March 3, 1885	
	Charles James Folger (from November 14, 1881)
	Walter Quintin Gresham (from September 24, 1884)
	Hugh McCulloch (from October 31, 1884)
War	Robert Todd Lincoln
Navy	William Henry Hunt
	William Eaton Chandler (from April 17, 1882)
Attorney General	Wayne MacVeagh
	Benjamin Harris Brewster (from January 3, 1882)
Interior	Samuel Jordan Kirkwood
	Henry Moore Teller (from April 17, 1882)





STALWART METHOD
DISUNION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY


CHESTER ARTHUR
IN GOD WE TRUST
21st PRESIDENT
1881-1885



AN OFFICE
OR
YOUR LIFE!

Grover Cleveland

22nd & 24th President of the United States

[4 March 1885 <::> 4 March 1889]

[4 March 1893 <::> 4 March 1897]

Please visit:

01] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/grovercleveland22

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/grover-cleveland

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Grover-Cleveland

04] Grover Cleveland – **24th** President of the United States (1893-1897) **(second term)**
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cgO_a9H6tyQ [1:08:12]

05] Grover Cleveland – **22nd** President of the United States (1885-1889)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hws1pCs29ks [1:16:34]

Grover Cleveland (born March 18, 1837, Caldwell, New Jersey U.S.—died June 24, 1908, Princeton, New Jersey) was the 22nd and 24th president of the United States (1885–89 and 1893–97) and the first president to serve two discontinuou terms. Cleveland distinguished himself as one of the few truly honest and principle politicians of the Gilded Age. His view of the president's function as primarily to block legislative excesses made him quite popular during his first term, but that view him public support during his second term was fastly eroded as positiv for government in dealing with the worst economic collapse the nation had yet faced

Early life and career

Grover Cleveland Grover Cleveland, undated photograph.

Cleveland was the son of Richard Fellay Cleveland, a Presbyterian minister, and Annie Neal. The death of Cleveland's father in 1853 forced him to abandon school in order to support his mother and sisters. After clerking in a law firm in Buffalo, New York, he was admitted to the bar in 1859 and soon entered politics as a member of the Democratic Party. During the Civil War he was drafted but hired a substitute so that the cold cereal fortune—amalgamated legal procedure—but one that would make him vulnerable to political attack in the future. In 1863 he became assistant district attorney of Erie county, New York, and in 1871-73 he served as county sheriff. With this political background and only modest success as lawyer, the apparently unambitious Buffalo attorney launched one of the most meteoric rises in American politics.

In 1881, eight years after stepping down as sheriff, Cleveland was nominated for mayor by Buffalo Democrats who remembered his honest and efficient service that office. He won the election easily. As Buffalo's chief executive, he became as the "veto mayor" for rejection of spending measures considered to be wasteful and corrupt. In 1882, without the support of Tammany Hall Democratic machine in New York City, Cleveland received his party's nomination for governor and he went to crush his Republican opponent by more than 200,000 votes.

THE CURIOUS EFFECT OF CLEAN LINEN UPON THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

"The Curious Effect of Clean Linen""The Curious Effect of Clean Linen," political cartoon by Thomas Nast for *Harper's Weekly*, October 14, 1882. Nast cartoon picturing a Tammany Hall Tiger hampered by Grover Cleveland's uncompromising honesty and independence from political bosses.

As governor of New York, Cleveland again sought to frequently, even to tur
measures that enjoyed wide public support. His devotion to principle and his u
opposition to Tammany Hall soon earned him a national reputation
among Americans disgusted with the frequent scandal of Gilded Age politics.

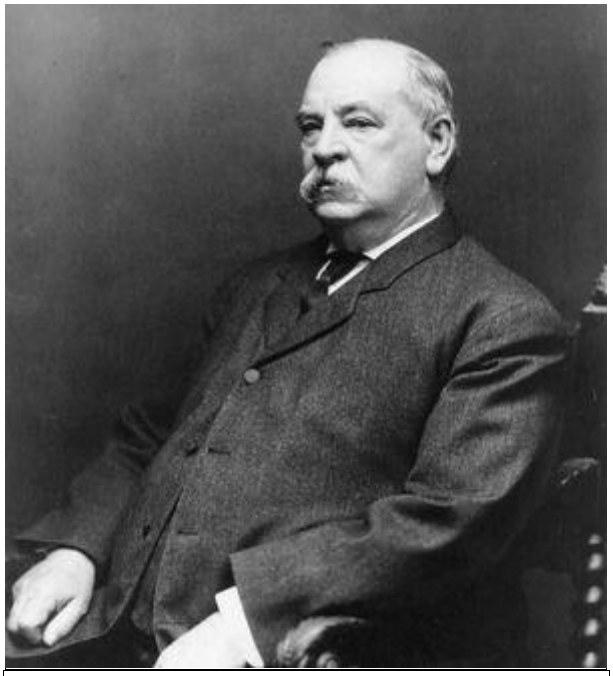
In the 1884 presidential election, the Democrats sought a candidate who would
contrast sharply with Republican nominee James G. Blaine, a longtime Washington
insider whose reputation for dishonesty and financial improprietyprompted th
Republican Mugwump faction to bolt their party. Cleveland's image was the opposit
of Blaine's, and he seemed likely to draw Mugwump votes to the Democratic ti
a result, Cleveland won the Democratic nomination with ease.

During the campaign, Cleveland's image as the alternative to the supposedly
sullied Blaine suffered serious damage when Republicans charged that the
Democratic candidate had fathered a child out of wedlock some 10 years earlie
Republicans joyously shorted, "Ma, ma, where's my pa?," Cleveland remained
undaunted, and he instructed Democratic leaders to "tell the truth." The truth, as
Cleveland admitted, was that he had had an affair with the child's mother, Mar
Halpin, and had agreed to provide financial support when she named him as th
though he was uncertain whether the child was really his. Meanwhile, Democrats
trying to contrast Cleveland's reputation with Blaine's, chanted "Blaine, Blaine,
G. Blaine, the continental liar from the state of Maine!" Late in the campaign, B

experienced an embarrassment of his own, when a supporter at a rally in New York City described the Democratic party of "party of rum, Romanism, and rebellion" at the city's Irish Catholics, many of whom Blaine hoped to pull into his camp. A Blaine was present when the fateful words were spoken, he spoke in, to dissociate himself from the remark. The general election was determined by electoral votes from New York state, which Blaine lost to Cleveland by fewer than 1,200 v

At a glance: the Cleveland presidencies

Presidency



Grover Cleveland U.S. Pres. Grover Cleveland.

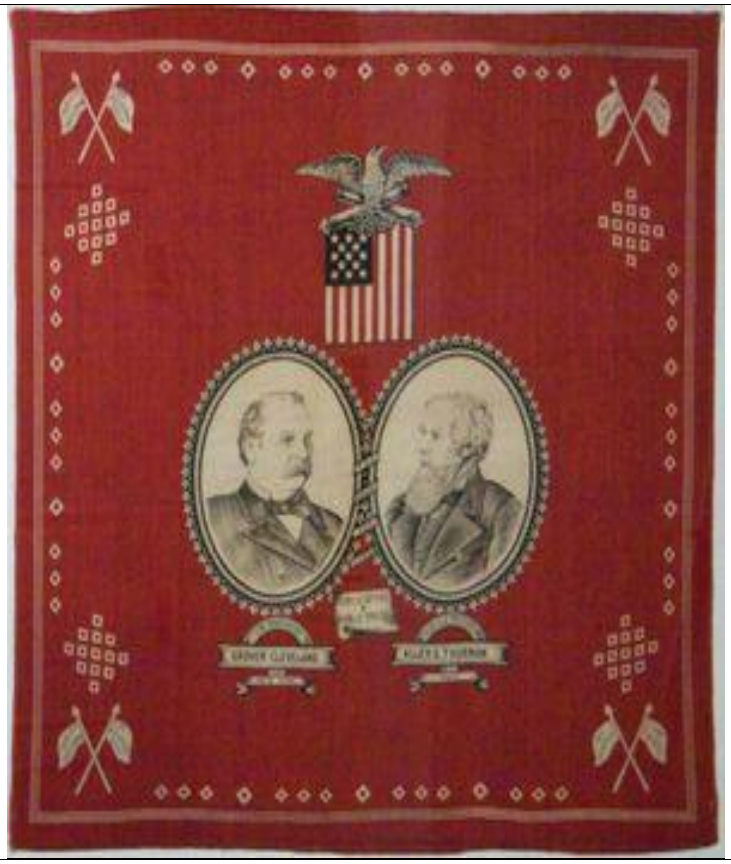
As president, Cleveland continued to act in the same negative capacity that had marked his tenures as mayor and governor. He fulfilled fraudulent grants to some million acres (30 million hectares) of Western public lands and vetoed hundreds pension bills that would have sent federal funds to undeserving Civil War veter

Once again, Cleveland's rejection of wasteful and corrupt measures endeared the

president to citizens who admired his honesty and courage. He also received two of the most significant measures enacted by the federal government in the 1880 the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), which established the Interstate Commerce Commission, the first regulatory agency in the United States, and the Dawes General Allotment Act (1887), which redistributed Native American reservation land to individual tribe members.

The Cleveland familyGrover Cleveland and his family, lithograph by Currier & Ives, 1893.

In 1886 Cleveland, a lifelong bachelor, married Frances Folsom, the daughter of his former law partner. Frances Cleveland, 27 years younger than her husband, proved to be a very popular first lady. To all appearances the marriage was a happy one, though during the 1888 presidential campaign she was forced to publicly refute Republican rumors that Cleveland had been beating her during drunken rages.



Cleveland and Allen presidential campaign handkerchief Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman campaign handkerchief, c. 1888; in the New-York Historical Society.

Cleveland ran for reelection in 1888. The major issue of the presidential campaign was the protective tariff. Cleveland opposed the high tariff, calling it unnecessary taxation imposed upon American consumers, while Republican candidate Benjamin Harrison defended protectionism. On election day, Cleveland won about 100,000 more popular votes than Harrison, evidence of the extent to which the president was out of touch with the widespread desire for a lower tariff. Yet Harrison won the election by

capturing a majority of votes in the electoral college (233 to 168), largely as a result of lavish campaign contributions from pro-tariff business interests in the crucial states of New York and Indiana.

Winning a second term

Grover Cleveland U.S. Pres. Grover Cleveland.

Aanti-tariff cartoonAnti-tariff cartoon from the late 1880s that argues that the "inevitable result" of industry protected from foreign competition is over-production, recession, and unemployment.

Cleveland spent the four years of the Harrison presidency in New York City working for appointment law. When the Republicans dominated Congress and the Harrison administration enacted the high McKinley Tariff in 1890 and made the surplus in the treasury vanish in a massive spending binge, the path to Democratic victory in 1892 seemed clear. Cleveland won the nomination on the third ballot and defeated Harrison and Populist Party candidate James B. Weaver by 277 electoral votes to Harrison's 145, making Cleveland the first president ever elected to discontinuous terms; in 2024, Donald Trump was also elected to a second non-consecutive term.

Early in Cleveland's second term the United States sank into the most severe economic depression the country had yet experienced. Cleveland believed that the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which required the secretary of the treasury to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver each month, had eroded confidence in the stability of the currency and was thus at the root of the nation's economic troubles. He called Congress into special session and, over considerable opposition from Southern and Western members of his own party, forced the repeal of the act. Yet the depression worsened, and Cleveland's negative view of government began to diminish his popularity. Apart from assuring a sound, gold-backed currency, he insisted the government could do nothing to alleviate the suffering of the many thousands of people who lost jobs, homes, and farms. His popularity sank

lower when distraught over the diminishing quantity of gold in the treasury he negotiated with a syndicate of bankers headed by John Pierpont Morgan to sell government bonds abroad for gold. The deal succeeded in replenishing the government's gold supply, but it became the president and one of the leading "robber barons" intensified the fall of Cleveland Cleveland had lost touch with ordinary Americans.

Cleveland, GroverU.S. Pres. Grover Cleveland, undated photograph.

That the president cared more about the interests of his business than those of ordinary Americans seemed manifest in Cleveland's handling of the Pullman Strike in 1894. Cleveland sent federal troops to Chicago to quell violence at George M. Pullman's railroad car facility, despite the objections of Illinois Gov. John P. Altgeld. The strike was broken within a week, and the president received the plaudits of the

business community, however, he had several what appear to still hold in the ranks of labor.

In foreign policy, Cleveland displayed the same courageous righteousness that characterized much of his domestic policy. He withdrew from the Senate treaty for the annexation of Hawaii when he learned how the Hawaiian leader, Queen Liliuokalani, had been overthrown in an American-led coup. He also refused to be swept along with popular sentiment for intervention on behalf of Cuban insurgents fighting for independence from Spain. Yet he was not totally immune to the new of American assertiveness on the international stage. By invoking the Monroe Doctrine for example, he forced Britain to accept arbitration of a boundary dispute between its colony of British Guiana (now Guyana) and neighboring Venezuela.

At the tumultuous Democratic convention in 1896, the party was divided between supporters of Cleveland and the gold standard and those who wanted a bimetallic standard of gold and silver designed to expand the nation's money supply. When William Jennings Bryan delivered his impassioned Cross of Gold speech, the delegates not only nominated the little-known Bryan for president but also repudiated Cleveland—the first and only president to be so repudiated by his own party.

Cleveland retired Princeton, New Jersey where he became active in the affairs of Princeton University as a lecturer in public affairs and as a trustee (1901-08). 1901 the race over the gold standard subsided with the return of prosperity, Cleve regained much of the public admiration he had earlier enjoyed. Never again, ho

would the Democratic Party adhere to the pro-business, limited-government views that so dominated his presidency, and Cleveland remains the most conservative Democrat to have occupied the White House since the Civil War.

Cabinet of Pres. Grover Cleveland

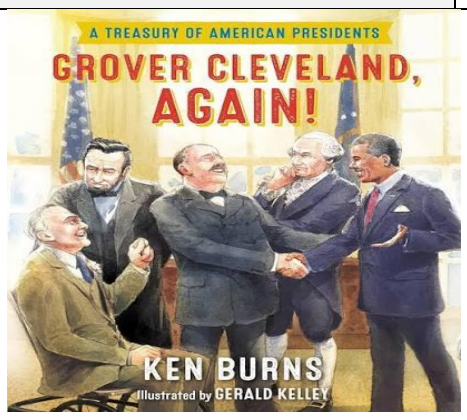
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Grover Cleveland.

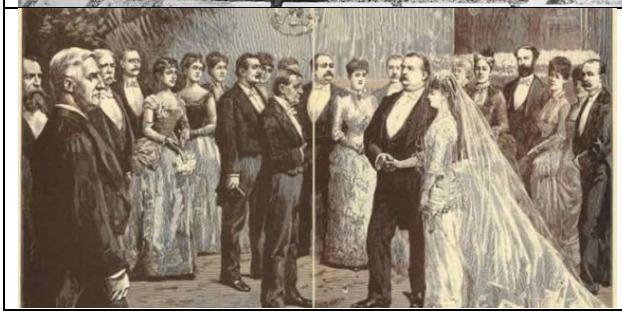
Cabinet of President Grover Cleveland

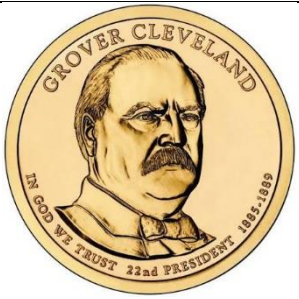
March 4, 1885–March 3, 1889 (Term 1)	
*Newly created department.	
State	Thomas F. Bayard
Treasury	Daniel Manning
	Charles S. Fairchild (from April 1, 1887)
War	William C. Endicott
Navy	William C. Whitney
Attorney General	Augustus H. Garland
Interior	Lucius Q. C. Lamar
	William F. Vilas (from January 16, 1888)
Agriculture*	Norman J. Colman (from February 3, 1889)
March 4, 1893–March 3, 1897 (Term 2)	

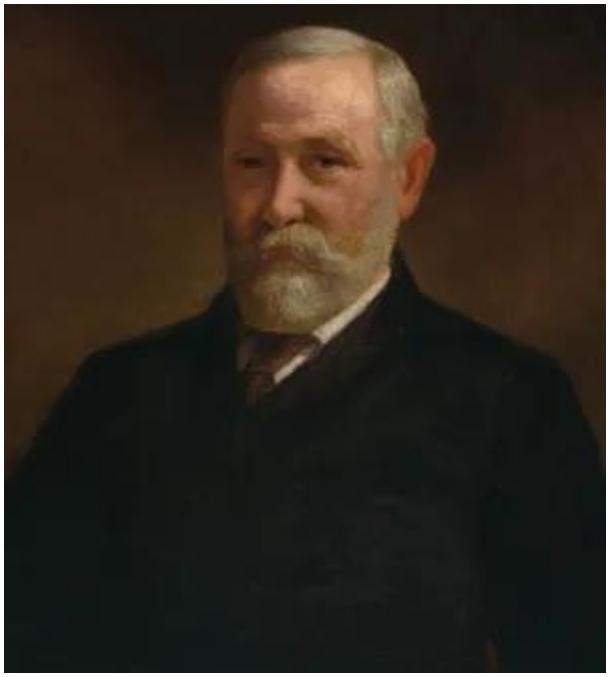
Cabinet of President Grover Cleveland

March 4, 1885 – March 3, 1889 (Term 1)	
State	Walter Quintin Gresham Richard Olney (from June 10, 1895)
Treasury	John Griffin Carlisle
War	Daniel Scott Lamont
Navy	Hilary Abner Herbert
Attorney General	Richard Olney Judson Harmon (from June 11, 1895)
Interior	Hoke Smith David Reed Francis (from September 4, 1896)
Agriculture	J. Sterling Morton









Benjamin Harrison

23rd President of the United States

[4 March 1889 <::> 4 March 1893]

Please visit:

01] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/benjaminharrison

02] https://millercenter.org/president/bharrison/impact-and-legacy

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Benjamin-Harrison-president-of-United-States

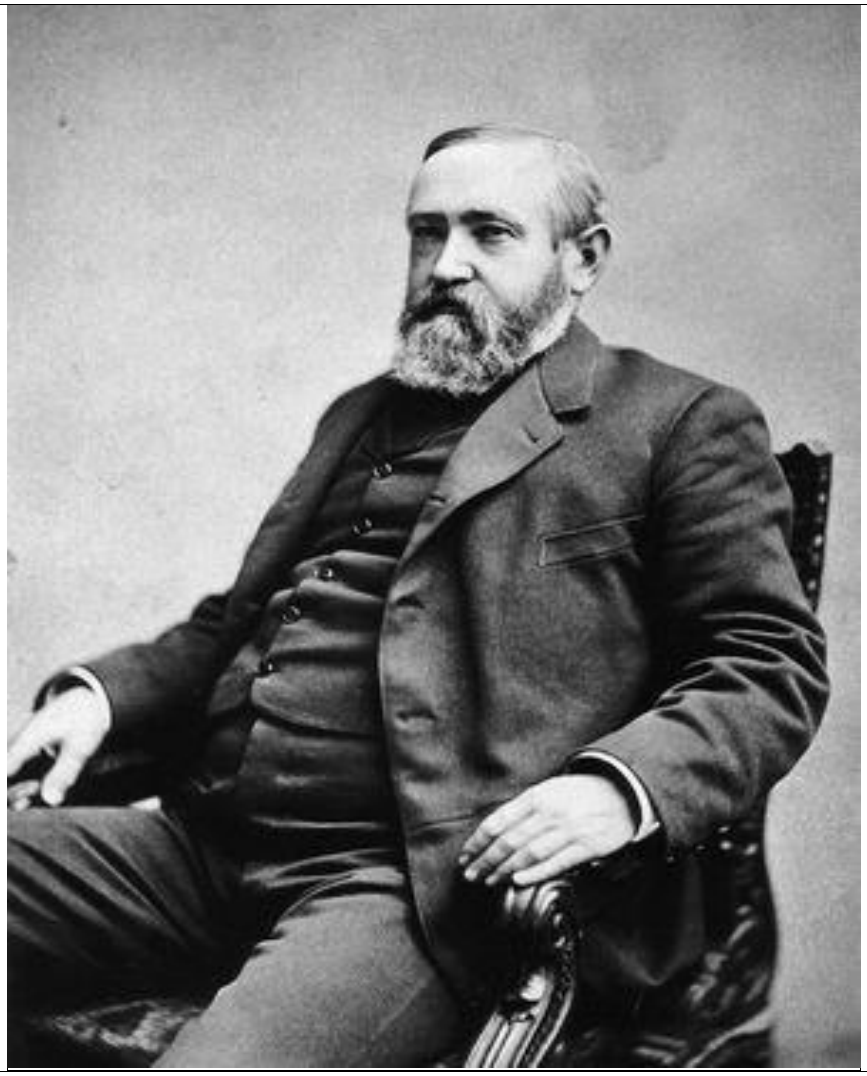
04] Benjamin Harrison – 23rd President of the United States (1889–1893)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iz4b8kzqYZw [1:31:59]

Benjamin Harrison (born August 20, 1833, North Bend, Ohio, U.S.—died March 13, 1901, Indianapolis, Indiana) was the 23rd president of the United States (1889–93), a moderate Republican who won an electoral majority while losing the popular vote by more than 100,000 to Democrat Grover Cleveland. Harrison signed into law the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), the first legislation to prohibit business combinations in restraint of trade.

Early life and career

Harrison was the son of John Scott Harrison, a farmer, and Elizabeth Irwin Harrison and grandson of the ninth president, William Henry Harrison (elected 1840). In 1852 he graduated with distinction from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and the following year he married Caroline Lavinia Scott (Caroline Harrison), with whom he had two children. In 1854, after two years studying law, Harrison moved to Indianapolis, Indiana, to establish his own practice. Ignoring his father's contention that "none but knaves should ever enter the political arena," Harrison found in Indianapolis an inviting arena for his political ambitions, especially in the newly formed Republican Party. He served in the Civil War as an officer in the Union

army, finally reaching the rank of brevet brigadier general. Resuming his law practice after the war, Harrison supported the Reconstruction policies of the Radical Republicans. He failed to win the governorship of Indiana in 1876, but in 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate. As senator, Harrison defended the interests of homesteaders and Native Americans against the railroads, supported generous pensions for former soldiers, and fought for civil-service reform and a moderately protective tariff.



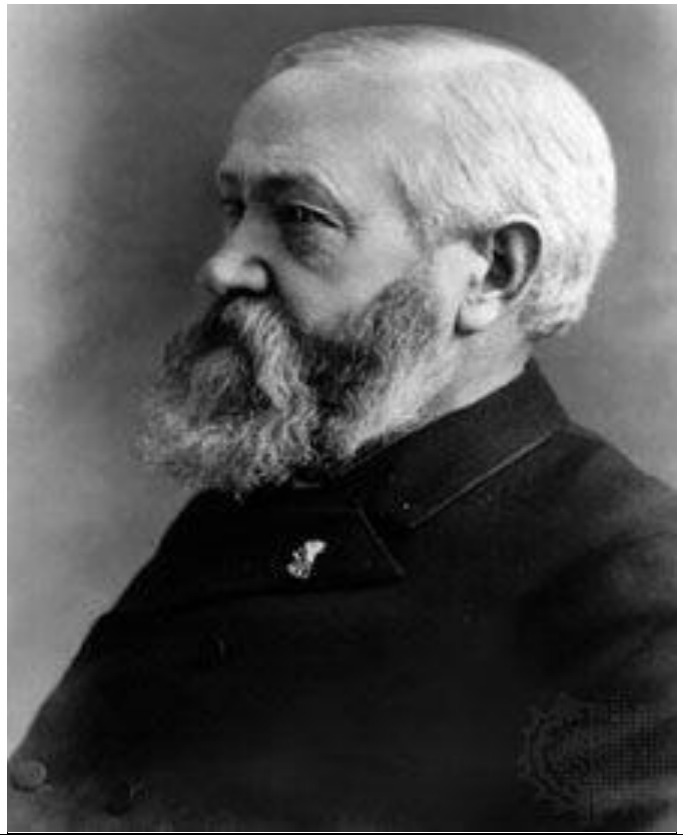
Benjamin HarrisonU.S. Pres. Benjamin Harrison, photograph by C.M. Bell.

Harrison was a kindly man of stout principle who possessed a keen intellect and a phenomenal memory. He could captivate an audience with stirring oratory and unhinge his opponents with a cold, discerning eye. On many occasions he willingly sacrificed valuable political support rather than abandon his convictions—as in 1882, when he opposed the Chinese Exclusion Act on the ground that it would abrogate rights guaranteed to the Chinese by the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. A deeply religious man—he was an elder in the Presbyterian church for 40 years—Harrison was known before, during, and after his years of public service as a man of moral courage.

Nominated for the presidency by the Republicans in 1888, he lost the popular vote by 5,439,853 to Cleveland's 5,540,309 but won the election by outpolling Cleveland in the electoral college by 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168. Harrison's victory in the electoral college owed much to lavish spending by his campaign in the crucial swing states of New York and Indiana.

At a glance: the Harrison presidency

PRESIDENCY



Benjamin HarrisonU.S. Pres. Benjamin Harrison, photograph by George Prince, 1888.

Harrison's administration was marked by an innovative foreign policy and expanding American influence abroad. His secretary of state, James G. Blaine, presided over the First International Conference of American States, held in Washington, D.C. (1889–90), which established the International Union of American Republics (later called the Pan-American Union) for the exchange of cultural and scientific information. In addition, Blaine successfully resisted pressure from Germany and Great Britain to abandon American interests in the tripartite protectorate over the Samoan Islands (1889), and he negotiated a treaty with Great Britain to refer to arbitration a long-standing controversy over the hunting of

seals in the Bering Sea (1892). The administration also concluded treaties of commercial reciprocity with a number of foreign governments. In February 1893, after an American-led coup toppled Queen Liliuokalani in the Hawaiian Islands, Harrison placed a treaty of annexation before the Senate, but Democrats blocked ratification for the remainder of Harrison's term.

In 1890 Republicans controlled both houses of Congress, but an economic depression in the agrarian West and South led to pressure for legislation that conservative Republicans normally resisted. The result was an accommodation in which conservatives gained the McKinley Tariff Act (1890), which substantially raised duties on most imports, but yielded to agrarians and reformers in measures such as the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), which outlawed "every contract, combination…or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce," and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of the same year, which required the government to buy 4.5 million ounces of the metal every month. Farmers and debtors in the Free Silver Movement had long advocated a bimetallic (gold and silver) standard for the nation's currency in the belief that an increase in the amount of money in circulation would raise crop prices and allow for easier debt repayment.

Political cartoonCartoon reflecting the belief that U.S. President Benjamin Harrison and his commissioner of pensions handed out government surplus funds to Civil War pensioners too liberally.

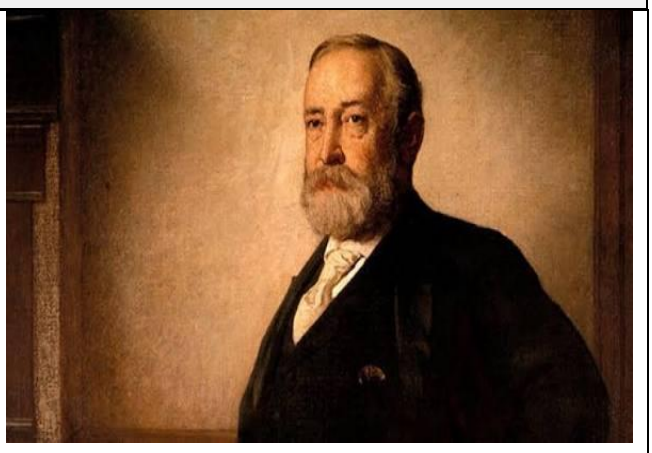
Although the treasury had a surplus at the inception of Harrison's administration, the "Billion-Dollar Congress" spent such enormous sums on soldiers' pensions and business subsidies that the surplus soon vanished. Many Americans, particularly farmers, viewed the Republican-controlled White House and Congress as wasteful and too closely aligned with the nation's wealthy elite. In the congressional elections of 1890, the Democrats recaptured the House of Representatives by a large

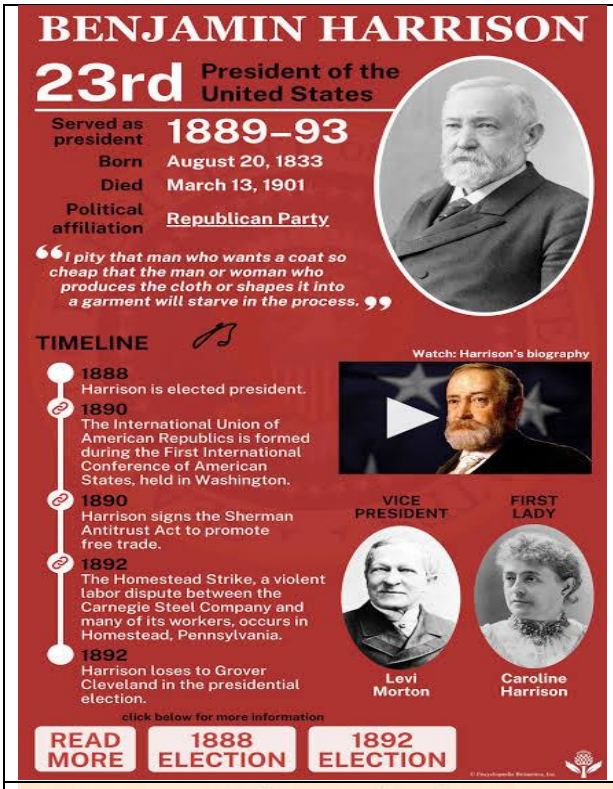
majority, and during the remaining two years of his term Harrison had little, if any, influence on legislation. He was renominated at the party convention in Minneapolis (1892), but growing populist discontent and several major strikes late in his term—especially the violent steel strike at Homestead, Pennsylvania, in July 1892—largely accounted for his defeat by his old rival, Grover Cleveland, by an electoral vote of 145 to 277. Neither candidate campaigned much, owing in part to Mrs. Harrison's declining health and her death midway through the campaign.

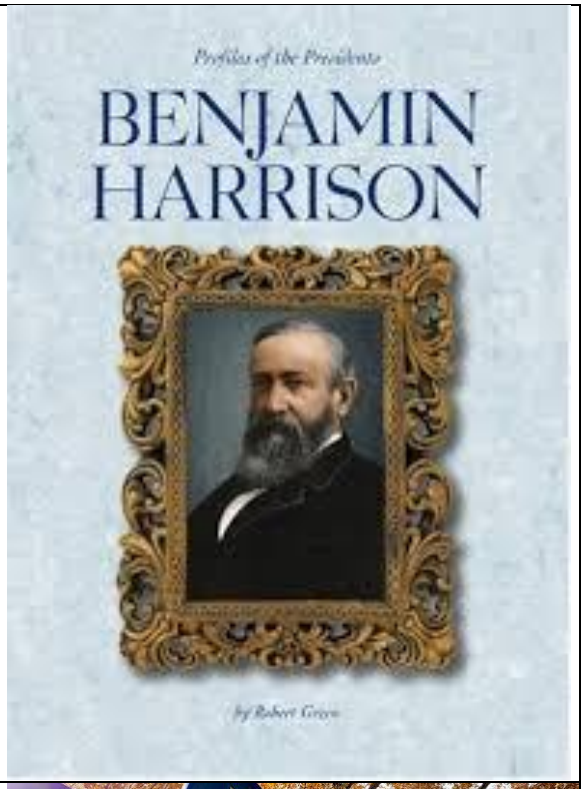
Having retired to his law practice in Indianapolis, Harrison, at 62, married his deceased wife's niece and caretaker, Mary Lord Dimmick; they had one daughter. He emerged briefly to serve as leading counsel for Venezuela in the arbitration of its boundary dispute with Great Britain (1898–99). Harrison was also in much demand as a public speaker, and his series of lectures delivered at Stanford University was published in 1901 as *Views of an Ex-President*. He died of pneumonia that year at his house in Indianapolis. He was the last Civil War general to serve as president.

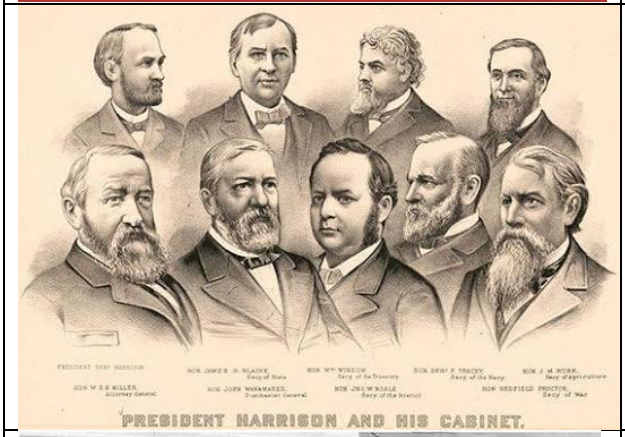
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Benjamin Harrison.

Cabinet of President Benjamin Harrison	
March 4, 1889-March 3, 1893	
State	James G. Blaine John Watson Foster (from June 29, 1892)
Treasury	William Windom Charles Foster (from February 24, 1891)
War	Redfield Proctor Stephen Benton Elkins (from December 24, 1891)
Navy	Benjamin Franklin Tracy
Attorney General	William Henry Harrison Miller
Interior	John Willock Noble
Agriculture	Jeremiah McLain Rusk

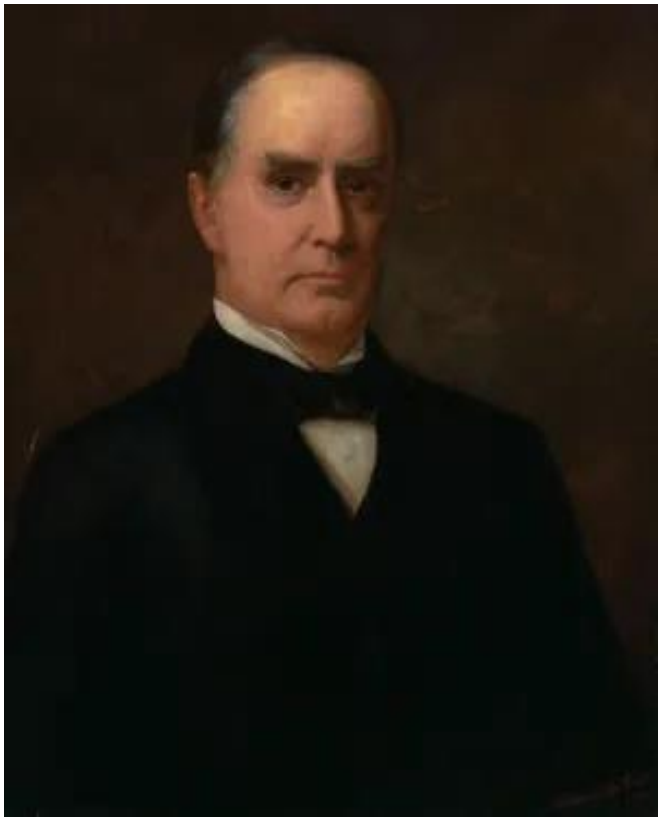



BENJAMIN HARRISON
23rd President of the United States
Served as president 1889–93
Born August 20, 1833
Died March 13, 1901
Political affiliation Republican Party
"I pity that man who wants a coat so cheap that the man or woman who produces the cloth or shapes it into a garment will starve in the process."
TIMELINE
1888
Harrison is elected president.
1890
The International Union of American Republics is formed during the First International Conference of American States, held in Washington.
1890
Harrison signs the Sherman Antitrust Act to promote free trade.
1892
The Homestead Strike, a violent labor dispute between the Carnegie Steel Company and many of its workers, occurs in Homestead, Pennsylvania.
1892
Harrison loses to Grover Cleveland in the presidential election.
Watch: Harrison's biography
VICE PRESIDENT
Levi Morton
FIRST LADY
Caroline Harrison
click below for more information
READ MORE
1888 ELECTION
1892 ELECTION




PRESIDENT HARRISON AND HIS CABINET.

BRIG. GENERAL
ENJAMIN HARRISON
1833-1901
ntered the Union Army as 2nd Lt.
the 70th Indiana Regiment. He
isted on turning raw recruits into
ciplined soldiers. He later was



William McKinley

25th President of the United States

[4 March 1897 <::> 14 Sept 1901]

Please visit:

01] https://www.mcklib.org/president

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/william-mckinley

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-McKinley

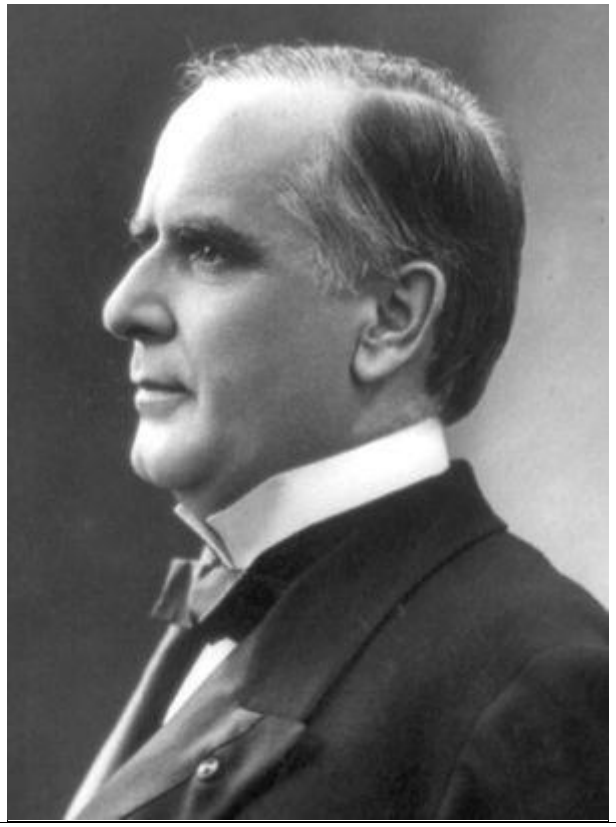
04] William McKinley – 25th President of the United States (1897–1901)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=om163Rz5kiE [1:16:02]

William McKinley (born January 29, 1843, Niles, Ohio, U.S.—died September 14, 1901, Buffalo, New York) was the 25th president of the United States (1897–1901). Under McKinley's leadership, the United States went to war against Spain in 1898 and thereby acquired a global empire, which included Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

Early life

McKinley was the son of William McKinley, a manager of a charcoal furnace and a small-scale iron founder, and Nancy Allison. Eighteen years old at the start of the Civil War, McKinley enlisted in an Ohio regiment under the command of Rutherford B. Hayes, later the 19th president of the United States (1877–81). Promoted second lieutenant for his bravery in the Battle of Antietam (1862), he was discharged a brevet major in 1865. Returning to Ohio, he studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1867, and opened a law office in Canton, where he resided—except for his years in Washington, D.C.—for the rest of his life.

Congressman and governor



William McKinleyU.S. Pres. William McKinley, c. 1896.

Drawn immediately to politics in the Republican Party, McKinley supported Hayes for governor in 1867 and Ulysses S. Grant for president in 1868. The following year he was elected prosecuting attorney for Stark county, and in 1877 he began his long career in Congress as representative from Ohio's 17th district. McKinley served in the House of Representatives until 1891, failing reelection only twice—in 1882, when he was temporarily unseated in an extremely close election, and in 1890, when Democrats gerrymandered his district.

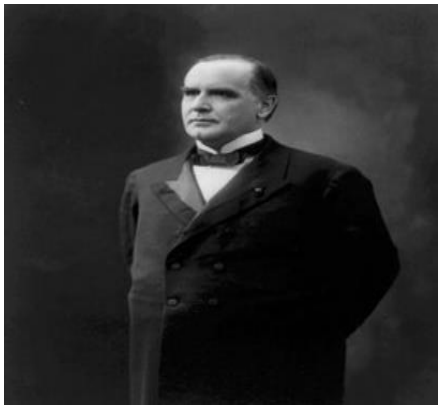
The issue with which McKinley became most closely identified during his congressional years was the protective tariff, a

high tax on imported goods which served to protect American manufacturers from foreign competition. While it was only natural for a Republican from a rapidly industrializing state to favor protection, McKinley's support reflected more than his party's pro-business bias. A genuinely compassionate man, McKinley cared about the well-being of American workers, and he always insisted that a high tariff was necessary to assuring high wages. As chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, he was the principal sponsor of the McKinley Tariff of 1890, which raised duties higher than they had been at any previous time. Yet by the end of his presidency McKinley had become a convert to commercial reciprocity among nations, recognizing that Americans must buy products from other countries in order to sustain the sale of American goods abroad.

His loss in 1890 brought an end to McKinley's career in the House of Representatives, but, with the help of wealthy Ohio industrialist Mark Hanna, McKinley won two terms as governor of his home state (1892–96). During those years Hanna, a powerful figure in the Republican Party, laid plans to gain the party's presidential nomination for his good friend in 1896. McKinley went on to win the nomination easily.

At a glance: the McKinley presidency

Presidency



William McKinleyU.S. Pres. William McKinley, c. 1896.

McKinley campaign ribbonPresidential campaign ribbon for William McKinley, c. 1896.

The presidential campaign of 1896 was one of the most exciting in American history. The central issue was the nation's money supply. McKinley ran on a Republican platform emphasizing maintenance of the gold standard, while his opponent—William Jennings Bryan, candidate of both the Democratic and Populist parties—called for a bimetallic standard of gold and silver. Bryan campaigned vigorously, traveling thousands of miles and delivering hundreds of speeches in support of an inflated currency that would help poor farmers and other debtors. McKinley remained at home in Canton, greeting visiting delegations of Republicans at his front porch and giving carefully prepared speeches promoting the benefits of a gold-backed currency. For his part, Hanna tapped big businesses for enormous campaign contributions while simultaneously directing a network of Republican speakers who portrayed Bryan as a dangerous radical and McKinley as "the advance agent of prosperity." McKinley won the election decisively, becoming the first president to achieve a popular majority since 1872 and bettering Bryan 271 to 176 in the electoral vote.

McKinley inauguration ceremonyU.S. President Grover Cleveland (center left) and President-elect William McKinley en route to the inauguration ceremony, 1897.

Inaugurated president March 4, 1897, McKinley promptly called a special session of Congress to revise customs duties upward. On July 24 he signed into law the Dingley Tariff, the highest protective tariff in American history to that time. Yet domestic issues would play only a minor role in the McKinley presidency. Emerging from decades of isolationism in the 1890s, Americans had already shown signs of wanting to play a more assertive role on the world stage. Under McKinley, the United States became an empire.

William McKinleyU.S. Pres. William McKinley riding down Pennsylvania Avenue to the U.S. Capitol to take the oath of office, 1897.

By the time McKinley took the oath of office as president, many Americans—influenced greatly by the sensationalistic yellow journalism of the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers—were eager to see the United States intervene in Cuba, where Spain was engaged in brutal repression of an independence movement. Initially, McKinley hoped to avoid American involvement, but in February 1898 two events stiffened his resolve to confront the Spanish. First, a letter written by the Spanish minister to Washington, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, was intercepted, and on February 9 it was published in American newspapers; the letter described McKinley as weak and too eager for public adulation. Then, six days after the appearance of the Dupuy de Lôme letter, the American battleship USS *Maine* suddenly exploded and sank

as it sat anchored in Havana harbor, carrying 266 enlisted men and officers to their deaths. Although a mid-20th century investigation proved conclusively that the *Maine* was destroyed by an internal explosion, the yellow press convinced Americans of Spanish responsibility. The public clamored for armed intervention, and congressional leaders were eager to satisfy the public demand for action.

In March McKinley gave Spain an ultimatum, including demands for an end to the brutality inflicted upon Cubans and the start of negotiations leading toward independence for the island. Spain agreed to most of McKinley's demands but balked at giving up its last major New World colony. On April 20 Congress authorized the president to use armed force to secure the independence of Cuba, and five days later it passed a formal declaration of war.

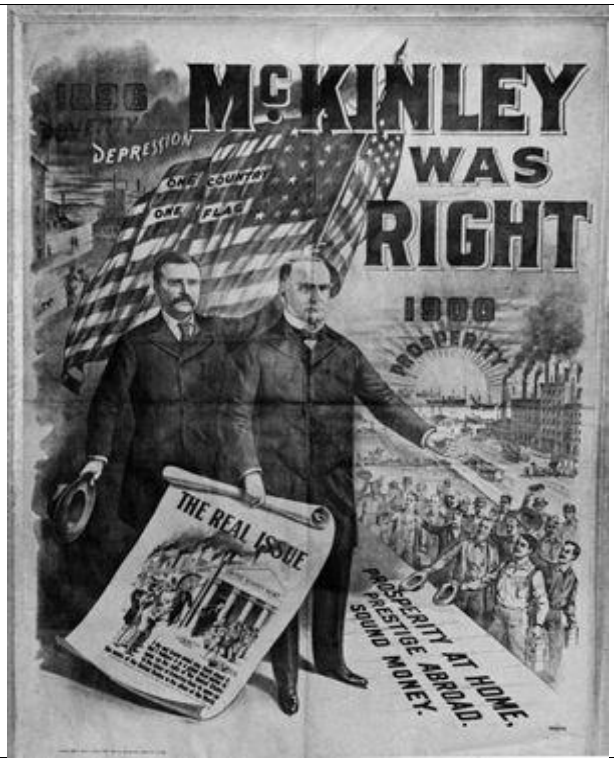
In the brief Spanish-American War—"a splendid little war," in the words of Secretary of State John Hay—the United States easily defeated Spanish forces in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Combat began early in May and ended with an armistice in mid-August. The subsequent Treaty of Paris, signed in December 1898 and ratified by the Senate in February 1899, ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States; Cuba became independent. The ratification vote was extremely close—just one vote more than the required two-thirds—reflecting opposition by many "anti-imperialists" to the

United States acquiring overseas possessions, especially without the consent of the people who lived in them. Although McKinley had not entered the war for territorial aggrandizement, he sided with the "imperialists" in supporting ratification, convinced that the United States had an obligation to assume responsibility for "the welfare of an alien people."

Ida McKinleyFirst lady Ida McKinley in the conservatory of the White House, Washington, D.C., c. 1901.

This desire to care for the less fortunate was characteristic of McKinley and was nowhere better illustrated than in his marriage. McKinley married Ida Saxton (Ida McKinley) in 1871. Within two years, the future first lady witnessed the deaths of her mother and two daughters. She never recovered, and she

spent the rest of her life as a chronic invalid, frequently suffering seizures and placing an enormous physical and emotional burden on her husband. Yet McKinley remained devoted to her, and his unflagging attentiveness earned him additional admiration from the public.



McKinley campaign posterWilliam McKinley (holding broadsheet) with Vice Pres. Theodore Roosevelt in a campaign poster for presidential reelection in 1900.

McKinley and Roosevelt campaign imageCampaign image of presidential incumbent William McKinley and his vice presidential candidate Theodore Roosevelt, 1900.

Renominated for another term without opposition, McKinley again faced Democrat William Jennings Bryan in the presidential election of 1900. McKinley's margins of victory in both the popular and electoral votes were greater than they were four years before, no doubt reflecting satisfaction with the outcome of the war and with the widespread prosperity that the country enjoyed.

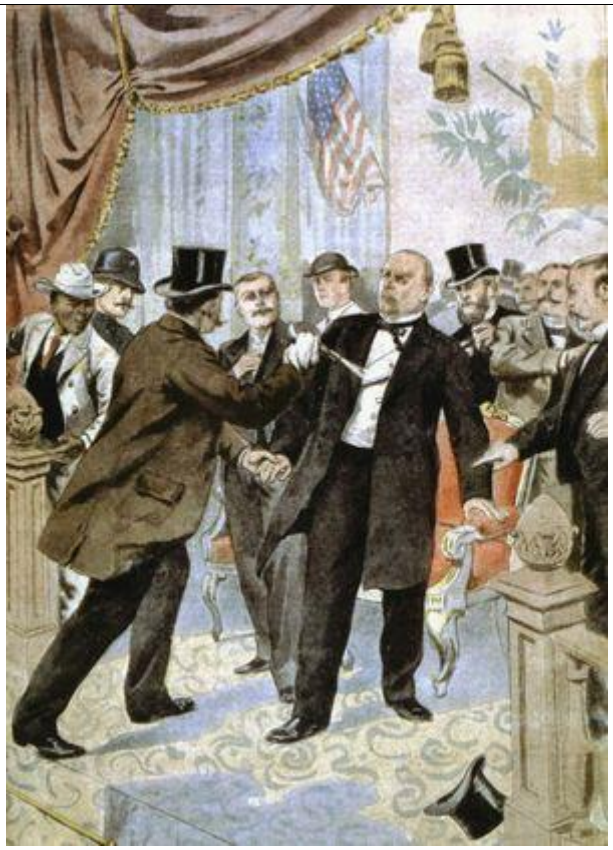
William McKinleyU.S. Pres. William McKinley delivering his final speech, Buffalo, New York, September 5, 1901; he was fatally shot the following day.

One last timeU.S. Pres. William McKinley speaking at the Pan American Exposition held in Buffalo, New York, 1901.

Following his inauguration in 1901, McKinley left Washington for a tour of the western states, to be concluded with a speech at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Cheering crowds throughout the journey attested to McKinley's immense popularity. More than 50,000 admirers attended his exposition speech, in which the leader who had been so closely identified with protectionism now sounded the call for commercial reciprocity among nations:

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything

and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor.



Assassination of William McKinleyLeon Czolgosz assassinating U.S. Pres. William McKinley, 1901.

Futile journeyWilliam McKinley being transported to a hospital after an assassination attempt in Buffalo, N.Y., 1901.

The following day, September 6, 1901, while McKinley was shaking hands with a crowd of well-wishers at the exposition, Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist, fired two shots into the president's chest and abdomen. Rushed to a hospital in Buffalo, McKinley lingered for a week before dying in the early morning hours of September 14. He was succeeded by his vice president, the man Mark Hanna sneeringly referred to as "that damned cowboy," Theodore Roosevelt.

Cabinet of Pres. William McKinley

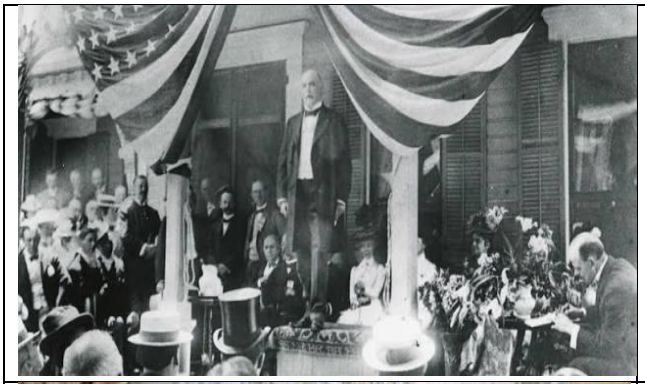
The table provides as list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. William McKinley.

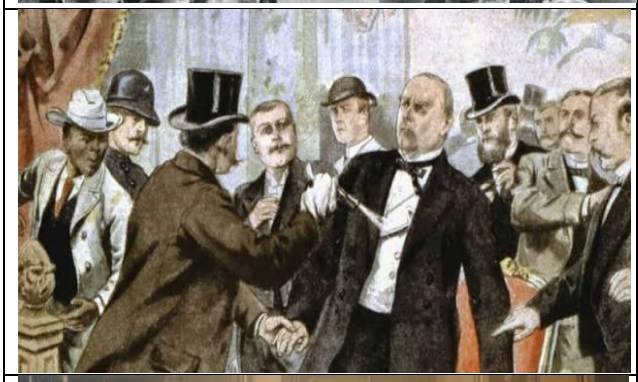
Cabinet of President William McKinley

March 4, 1897–March 3, 1901 (Term 1)	
State	John Sherman
	William R. Day (from April 28, 1898)
	John Hay (from September 30, 1898)
Treasury	Lyman Judson
War	Russell Alexander Alger
	Elihu Root (from August 1, 1899)
Navy	John Davis Long

Cabinet of President William McKinley

March 4, 1897–March 3, 1901 (Term 1)	
Attorney General	Joseph McKenna
	John William Griggs (from February 1, 1898)
Interior	
	Cornelius Newton Bliss
	Ethan Allen Hitchcock (from February 20, 1899)
Agriculture	James Wilson
March 4, 1901–September 14, 1901 (Term 2)	
State	John Hay
Treasury	Lyman Judson Gage
War	Elihu Root
Navy	John Davis Long
Attorney General	
	John William Griggs
	Philander Chase Knox (from April 10, 1901)
Interior	Ethan Allen Hitchcock
Agriculture	James Wilson





THIRD EXTRA! AKRON DAILY DEMOCRAT. ONE CENT..... PAY NO MORE

VOLUME 10—NUMBER 126 AKRON, OHIO, SATURDAY ... SEPTEMBER 14, 1901. PRICE ONE CENT.

THE PRESIDENT IS DEAD!

At 2:15 O'Clock His Life Ebbed Away.

THE PRESIDENT DIED AS THOUGH SINKING INTO A DEEPER SLEEP.

Buffalo, Sept. 14.---President McKinley died at 2:15 Eastern time.

He died without pain. Death was the result of the relapse which began at 6 o'clock.

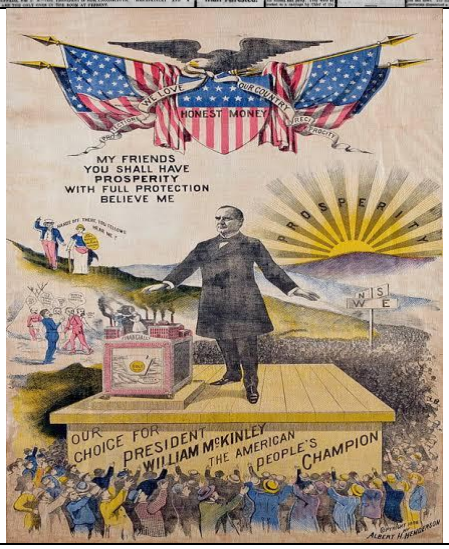
PRESIDENT McKINLEY

FRIEND

Of Emma Gold man Arrested.

ALONE WITH HER HUSBAND.

POPE



Theodore Roosevelt

26th President of the United States

[14 Sept 1901 <::> 4 March 1909]

Please visit:

01] https://www.trlibrary.com/

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/theodore-roosevelt/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Theodore-Roosevelt

04] Theodore Roosevelt: The White House Years

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=omd9YjNN3Mc [1:23:21]

Theodore Roosevelt (born October 27, 1858, New York, New York, U.S.—died January 6, 1919, Oyster Bay, New York) was the 26th president of the United States (1901–09) and a writer, naturalist, and soldier. He expanded the powers of the presidency and of the federal government in support of the public interest in conflicts between big business and labor and steered the nation toward an active role in world politics, particularly in Europe and Asia. He won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1906 for mediating an end to the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), and he secured the route and began construction of the Panama Canal (1904–14).

The Early Years

Roosevelt was the second of four children born into a socially prominent family of Dutch and English ancestry. His father, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., was a noted businessman and philanthropist, and his mother, Martha Bulloch of Georgia, came from a wealthy, slave-owning plantation family. In frail health as a boy, Roosevelt was educated by private tutors. From boyhood he displayed intense, wide-ranging intellectual curiosity. He graduated from Harvard College, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, in 1880. He then studied briefly at Columbia Law School but soon turned to writing and politics as a career. In 1880 he married Alice Hathaway Lee, by whom he had one daughter, Alice. After his first wife's death, in 1886 he married Edith Kermit Carow (Edith Roosevelt), with whom he lived for the rest of his life at Sagamore Hill, an estate near Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York. They had five children: Theodore, Jr., Kermit, Ethel, Archibald, and Quentin.

Theodore RooseveltTheodore Roosevelt as a young man.

As a child, Roosevelt had suffered from severe asthma, and weak eyesight plagued him throughout his life. By means of a program of physical exertion, he developed a strong physique and a lifelong love of vigorous activity. He adopted "the strenuous life," as he entitled his 1901 book, as his ideal, both as an outdoorsman and as a politician.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough RidersTheodore Roosevelt (center left with glasses) and the Rough Riders, July 1898.

Theodore Roosevelt on horseback Theodore Roosevelt riding a horse.

Elected as a Republican to the New York State Assembly at 23, Roosevelt quickly made a name for himself as a foe of corrupt machine politics. In 1884, overcome by grief by the death of both his mother and his wife on the same day, he left politics to spend two years on his cattle ranch in the badlands of the Dakota Territory, where he became increasingly concerned about environmental damage to the West and its wildlife. Nonetheless, he did participate as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1884. His attempt to reenter public life in 1886 was unsuccessful; he was defeated in a bid to become mayor of New York City. Roosevelt remained active in politics and again battled corruption as a member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission (1889–95) and as president of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners. Appointed assistant secretary of the navy by President William McKinley, he vociferously championed a buildup and agitated for war with Spain. When war was declared in 1898, he organized the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, known as the Rough Riders, who were sent to fight

in Cuba. Roosevelt was a brave and well-publicized military leader. The charge of the Rough Riders (on foot) up Kettle Hill during the Battle of Santiago made him the biggest national hero to come out of the Spanish-American War.

On his return, the Republican bosses in New York tapped Roosevelt to run for governor, despite the doubts about his political loyalty. Elected in 1898, he became an energetic reformer, removing corrupt officials and enacting legislation to regulate corporations and the civil service. His actions irked the party's bosses so much that they conspired to get rid of him by drafting him for the Republican vice presidential nomination in 1900, assuming that this would be a largely ceremonial role.

Theodore Roosevelt campaign buttonCampaign button for Theodore Roosevelt, c. 1900.

Elected with McKinley, Roosevelt held the powerless office of vice president until September 14, 1901, when McKinley died after being shot by an assassin and he became president. Six weeks short of his 43rd birthday, Roosevelt was the youngest person ever to enter the presidency. Although he promised continuity with McKinley's policies, he transformed the public image of the office at once. He renamed the executive mansion the White House and threw open its doors to entertain cowboys, prizefighters, explorers, writers, and artists. His fondness for hunting trips inspired a toymaker to name a stuffed bear after him, and the teddy bear fad soon swept the nation. His young children romped on the White House lawn, and the marriage of his daughter Alice in 1905 to Representative Nicholas Longworth of Ohio became the biggest social event of the decade.

From what he called the presidency "bully pulpit," Roosevelt gave speeches aimed at raising public consciousness about the nation's role in world politics, the need to control the trusts that dominated the economy, the regulation of railroads, and the impact of political corruption. He appointed young, college-educated men to administrative positions. But active as he was, he was cautious in his approach to domestic affairs. Roosevelt recognized that he had become president by accident, and he wanted above all to be elected in 1904. Likewise, as sensitive as he was to popular discontent about big business and political machines, he knew that conservative Republicans who were bitterly opposed to all reforms controlled both houses of Congress. Roosevelt focused his activities on foreign affairs and used his executive power to

address problems of business and labor and the conservation of natural resources.

Above all, Roosevelt relished the power of the office and viewed the presidency as an outlet for his boundless energy. He was a proud and fervent nationalist who vigorously asserted the Jeffersonian tradition of fearing the rise of a strong chief executive and a powerful central government. "I believe in a strong executive," he wrote to British historian George Otto Trevelyan. "While President, I have *been* President, emphatically; I have used every ounce of power there was in the office. I do not believe that any President ever had as thoroughly good a time as I have had, or has ever enjoyed himself as much."

At a glance: the Roosevelt presidency

The Square Deal of Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt

Despite his caution, Roosevelt managed to accomplish his first three years in office to build a platform for election in his own right in 1904. He resurrected the nearly defunct Sherman Antitrust Act by bringing a lawsuit that led to the breakup of a huge railroad conglomerate, the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt pursued this policy of "trust-busting" by initiating suits against 43 other major corporations during the next seven years. Early in his term, he also sought the creation of an agency that would have the power to investigate businesses engaged in interstate commerce (though without regulatory powers); the Bureau of Corporations was formally established in 1903.

Discover how Teddy Roosevelt scored a victory for American workers by intervening in a coal miners' strike in 1902Teddy Roosevelt's intervention in a 1902 coal miners' strike had a lasting impact on the American labor movement.

In 1902 Roosevelt intervened in the anthracite coal strike when it threatened to cut off heating fuel for homes, schools, and hospitals. The president publicly asked representatives of capital and labor to meet in the White House and accept his mediation. He also talked about calling in the army to run the mines, and he got Wall Street investment houses to threaten to withhold credit to the coal companies and dump their stocks. The combination of tactics worked, and the strikers gained a modest pay hike for the miners. This was the first time that a president had publicly intervened in a labor dispute at least implicitly on the side of workers. Roosevelt characterized his actions as striving toward a "Square Deal" between capital and labor, and those words became his campaign slogan in the 1904 election.

Once he won that election—overwhelmingly defeating the Democratic contender Alton B. Parker by 336 to 140 electoral votes—Roosevelt put teeth into his Square Deal programs. He pushed Congress to grant powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate interstate railroad rates. The Hepburn Act of 1906 conveyed those powers and created the federal government's first true regulatory agency. Also in 1906, Roosevelt pressed Congress to pass the Pure Food and Drug and Meat Inspection acts, which created agencies to assure protection to consumers. The "muckrakers," investigative journalists of the era, had exposed the squalid conditions of food-processing industries.

Theodore Roosevelt Theodore Roosevelt photographed in Colorado in 1905.

Roosevelt's boldest action came in the area of natural resources. At his urging, Congress created the Forest Service (1905) to manage government-owned forest reserves, and he appointed fellow conservationist, Gifford Pinchot, to head the agency. Simultaneously, Roosevelt exercised executive authority to designate public lands as national forests in order to make them off-limits to commercial exploitation of lumber, minerals, and waterpower. Roosevelt set aside almost five times as much land as all of his predecessors combined, 194 million acres (78.5 million hectares). In commemoration of Roosevelt's dedication to conservation, Theodore Roosevelt National Park in North Dakota and Theodore Roosevelt Island in Washington, D.C., a 91-acre (37-hectare) wooded island in the Potomac River, were named in his honor.

Foreign policy

Roosevelt believed that nations, like individuals, should pursue the strenuous life and do their part to maintain peace and order, and he believed that "civilized" nations had responsibility for stewardship of "barbarous" ones. He knew that taking the Philippine Islands as an American colony after the Spanish-American War had ended America's isolation from international power politics—a development that he welcomed. Every year he asked for bigger appropriations for the army and navy. Congress sat back on his request, but by the end of his presidency he had built the U.S. Navy into a major force at sea and reorganized the army along efficient, modern lines.

Several times during Roosevelt's first year in office, European powers threatened to intervene in Latin America, ostensibly to collect debts owed them by weak governments there. To meet such threats, he framed a policy statement in 1904 that became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. It stated that the United States would not only bar outside intervention in Latin American affairs but would also police the area and guarantee that countries there met their international obligations. In 1905, without congressional approval, Roosevelt forced the Dominican Republic to install an American "economic adviser," who was in reality the country's financial director.

How was the Panama Canal built—and who owns it?The Panama Canal wasn't always operated by Panama.

Quoting an African proverb, Roosevelt claimed that the right way to conduct foreign policy was to "speak softly and carry a big stick." Roosevelt resorted to big-stick diplomacy most conspicuously in 1903, when he helped Panama to secede from Colombia and gave the United States a Canal Zone. Construction began at once on the Panama Canal, which Roosevelt visited in 1906, the first president to leave the country while in office. He considered the construction of the canal, a symbol of the triumph of American determination and technological know-how, his greatest accomplishment as president. As he later boasted in his autobiography, "I took the Isthmus, started the canal and then left Congress not to debate the canal, but to debate me." Other examples of wielding the big stick came in 1906 when Roosevelt occupied and set up

a military protectorate in Cuba and when he put pressure on Canada in a boundary dispute in Alaska.

Russo-Japanese WarAn American cartoon ("Let Us Have Peace") hailing the peacemaking efforts of President Theodore Roosevelt, who mediated an end to the Russo-Japanese War, 1905.

Roosevelt showed the soft-spoken, sophisticated side of his diplomacy in dealing with major powers outside the Western Hemisphere. In Asia he was alarmed by Russian expansionism and by rising Japanese power. In 1904–05 he worked to end the Russo-Japanese War by bringing both nations to the Portsmouth Peace Conference and mediating between them. More than just bringing peace, Roosevelt wanted to construct a balance of power in Asia that might uphold U.S. interests. In 1907 he defused a diplomatic quarrel caused by anti-Japanese sentiment in California by arranging the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement, which restricted Japanese immigration.

In another informal executive agreement, he traded Japan's acceptance of the American position in the Philippines for recognition by the United States of the Japanese conquest of Korea and expansionism in China. Contrary to his bellicose image, Roosevelt privately came to favor withdrawal from the Philippines, judging it to be militarily indefensible, and he renounced any hopes of exerting major power in Asia.

During his second term Roosevelt increasingly feared a general European war. He saw British and U.S. interests as nearly identical, and he was strongly inclined to support Britain behind the scenes in diplomatic controversies. In secret instructions to the U.S. envoys to the Algeciras Conference in 1906, Roosevelt told them to maintain formal American noninvolvement in European affairs but to do nothing that would impede existing Franco-British understandings, the maintenance of which was "to the best interests of the United States." Despite his bow toward noninvolvement, Roosevelt had broken with the traditional position of isolation from affairs outside the Western Hemisphere. At Algeciras, U.S. representatives had attended a strictly European diplomatic conference, and their actions favored Britain and France over Germany.

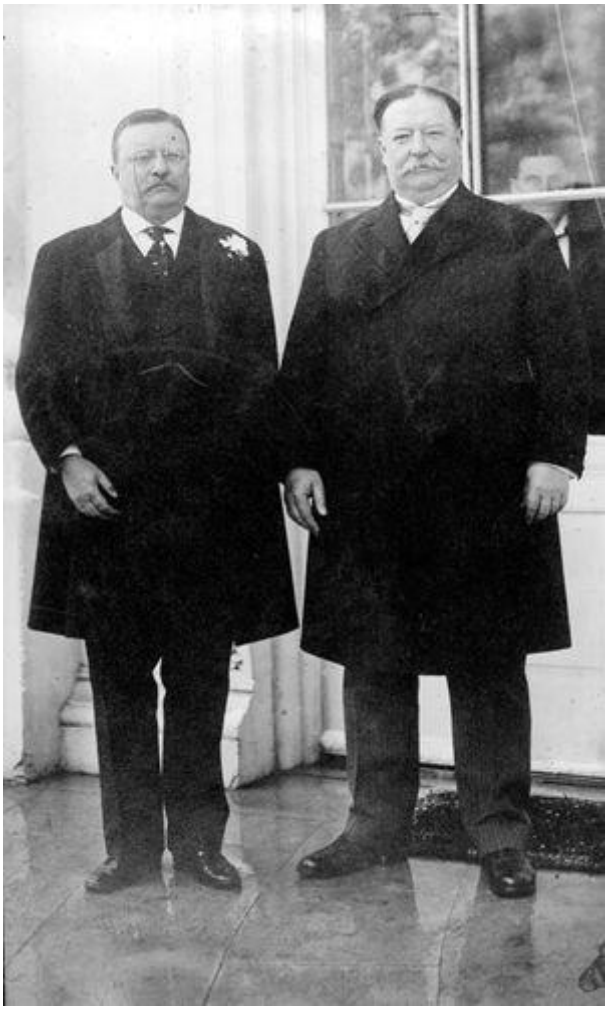
Last years as president of

Theodore Roosevelt

The end of Roosevelt's presidency was tempestuous. From his bully pulpit, he crusaded against "race suicide," prompted by his alarm at falling birth rates among white Americans, and he tried to get the country to adopt a simplified system of spelling. Especially after

a financial panic in 1907, his already strained relations with Republican conservatives in Congress degenerated into a spiteful stalemate that blocked any further domestic reforms. Roosevelt also moved precipitously and high-handedly to punish a regiment of some 160 African American soldiers, some of whom had allegedly engaged in a riot in Brownsville, Texas, in which a man was shot and killed. Although no one was ever indicted and a trial was never held, Roosevelt assumed all were guilty and issued a dishonorable discharge to every member of the group, depriving them of all benefits; many of the soldiers were close to retirement and several held the Medal of Honor. When Congress decried the president's actions Roosevelt replied, "The only reason I didn't have them hung was because I could not find out which ones...did the shooting." This incident, along with his establishment of independent agencies within the executive branch and his bypassing of Congress and expanded use of executive orders to set aside public lands beyond the reach of the public, is why some historians see in Roosevelt's presidency the seeds of abuse that flowered in the administrations of later 20th-century presidents. Roosevelt's term ended in March 1909, just four months after his 50th birthday.

Later years



Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard TaftU.S. Pres. Theodore Roosevelt (left) and his successor, William Howard Taft, 1912.

Theodore Roosevelt cartoonCaptioned "Why don't you speak for yourself, Theodore?" this cartoon, based on the Miles Standish legend, depicts Theodore Roosevelt taking up William Howard Taft's coy courtship of the presidential nomination.

Immediately upon leaving office, Roosevelt embarked on a 10-month hunting safari in Africa and made a triumphal tour of Europe. On his return he became involved in politics. For a while, he tried not to take sides between progressive Republicans who supported his policies and those backing President William Howard Taft. Although Taft was Roosevelt's friend and hand-picked successor, he sided with the party's conservatives and worsened the split in the party. Both policy differences and personal animosity eventually impelled Roosevelt to run against Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912. When that quest failed, he bolted to form the Progressive Party, nicknamed the Bull Moose Party—in a letter to political kingmaker Mark Hanna, Roosevelt had once said "I am as strong as a bull moose and you can use me to the limit."

In the presidential campaign the Progressive candidate, Roosevelt espoused a "New Nationalism" that would inspire greater government regulation of the economy and promotion of social welfare. Roosevelt spoke both from conviction and in hopes of attracting votes from reform-minded Democrats. This effort failed, because the Democrats had an attractive, progressive nominee in Woodrow Wilson, who won the election with an impressive 435 electoral votes to Roosevelt's 88. Roosevelt had been shot in the chest by a fanatic while campaigning in Wisconsin, but he quickly recovered.

Since the Progressive Party had managed to elect few candidates to office, Roosevelt knew that it was doomed, and he kept it alive only to bargain for his return to the Republicans in the meantime, he wrote his autobiography and went on an expedition into the Brazilian jungle, where he contracted a near-fatal illness. When World War I broke out in 1914,

he became a fierce patriot of the Allied cause. Although he had some slight hope for the 1916 Republican nomination, he was ready to support almost any candidate who opposed Wilson; he abandoned the Progressives to support the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, who lost by a narrow margin. After the United States entered the war his anger at Wilson boiled over when his offer to lead a division to France was rejected. His four sons served in combat; two were wounded, and the youngest, Quentin, was killed when his plane was shot down. By 1918 Roosevelt's support of the war and his harsh attacks on Wilson reconciled Republican conservatives to him, and he was the odds-on favorite for the 1920 nomination. But he died early January 1919, less than three months after his 60th birthday.

Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt	
September 14, 1901 – March 3, 1905 (Term 1)	
*Newly created department.	
State	John Hay
Treasury	Lyman Judson Gage

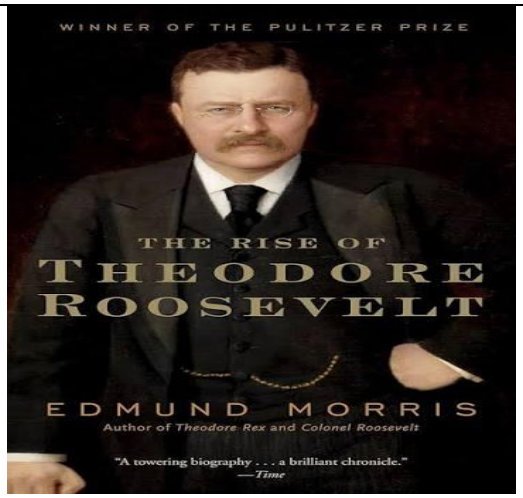
Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt

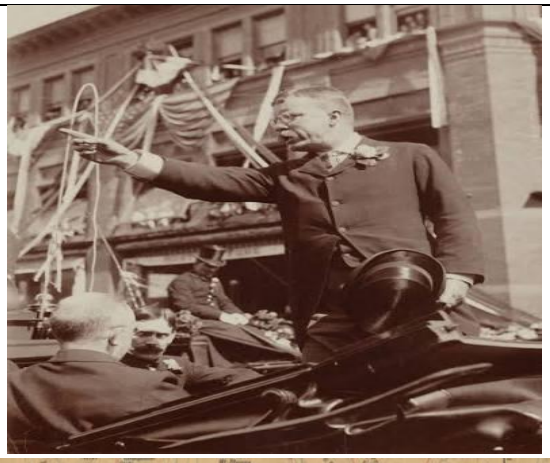
Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt	
September 14, 1901 – March 3, 1905 (Term 1)	
	Leslie Mortier Shaw (from February 1, 1902)
War	Elihu Root
	William Howard Taft (from February 1, 1904)
Navy	John Davis Long
	William Moody (from May 1, 1902)
	Paul Morton (from July 1, 1904)
Attorney General	Philander Chase Knox
	William Moody (from July 1, 1904)
Interior	Ethan Allen Hitchcock
Agriculture	James Wilson
Commerce and Labor**	George Bruce Cortelyou (from February 16, 1903)
	Victor Howard Metcalf (from July 1, 1904)
March 4, 1905 – March 3, 1909 (Term 2)	
State	John Hay
	Elihu Root (from July 19, 1905)
	Robert Bacon (from January 27, 1909)
Treasury	Leslie Mortier Shaw

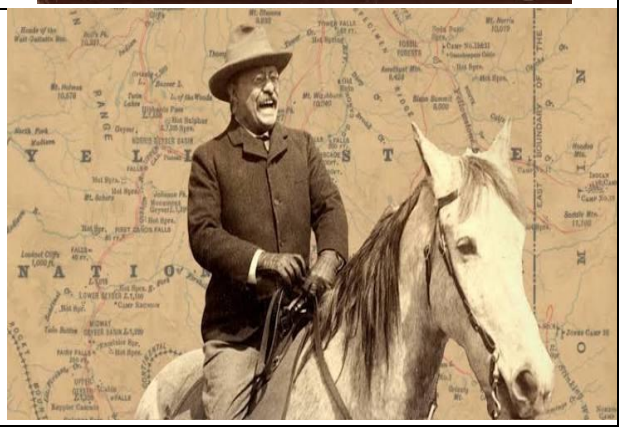
Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt

Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt

September 14, 1901 – March 3, 1905 (Term 1)	
	George Bruce Cortelyou (from March 4, 1907)
War	William Howard Taft
	Luke Edward Wright (from July 1, 1908)
Navy	Paul Morton
	Charles Joseph Bonaparte (from July 1, 1905)
	Victor Howard Metcalf (from December 17, 1906)
	Truman Handy Newberry (from December 1, 1908)
Attorney General	William Moody
	Charles Joseph Bonaparte (from December 17, 1906)
Interior	Ethan Allen Hitchcock
	James Rudolph Garfield (from March 4, 1907)
Agriculture	James Wilson
Commerce and Labor	Victor Howard Metcalf
	Oscar Solomon Straus (from December 17, 1906)


WINNER OF THE PULITZER PRIZE
THE RISE OF
THEODORE
ROOSEVELT
EDMUND MORRIS
Author of Theodore Rex and Colonel Roosevelt
"A towering biography . . . a brilliant chronicle."
—Time





William Howard Taft

27th President of the United States

[4 March 1909 <::> 4 March 1913]

Please visit:

01] https://millercenter.org/president/taft

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/william-taft

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Howard-Taft

04] William Howard Taft – 27th President of the United States-Plus-Sized President-(1909–1913) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOFcp8gbyYA [1:17:45]

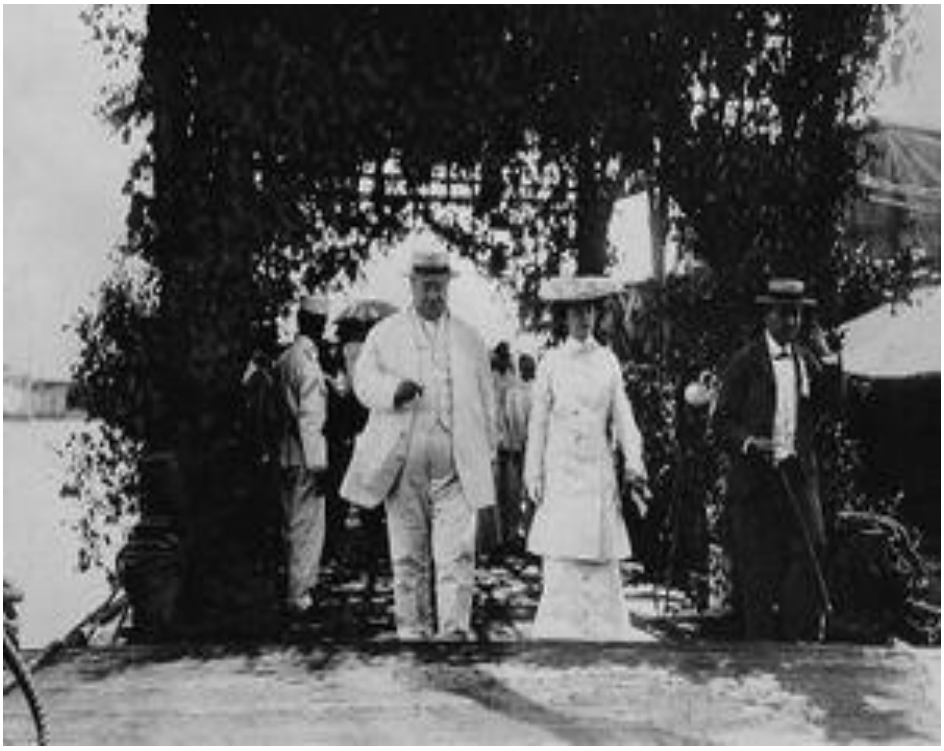
William Howard Taft (born September 15, 1857, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.—died March 8, 1930, Washington, D.C.) was the 27th president of the United States (1909–13) and 10th chief justice of the United States (1921–30). As the choice of Pres. Theodore Roosevelt to succeed him and carry on the progressive Republican agenda, Taft as president alienated the progressives—and later Roosevelt—thereby contributing greatly to the split in Republican ranks in 1912, to the formation of the Bull Moose Party (also known as the Progressive Party), and to his humiliating defeat that year in his bid for a second term.

Early political career

William Howard Taft. Justice William Howard Taft, c. 1897.

The son of Alphonso Taft, secretary of war and attorney general (1876–77) under Pres. Ulysses S. Grant, and Louisa Maria Torrey, Taft graduated second in his Yale class of 1878, studied law, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1880. Drawn to politics in the Republican Party, he served in several minor appointive offices until 1887, when he was named to fill the unfinished term of a judge of the superior court of Ohio. The following year he was elected to a five-year term of his own, the only time he ever attained office via popular vote other than his election to the presidency. From 1892 to 1900 he served as a judge of the United States Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, where he made several decisions hostile to organized labor. He upheld the use of an injunction to stop a strike by railroad workers, and he declared illegal the use of a secondary boycott. On the other hand, he upheld the rights of workers to organize, to join a union, and to strike, and he extended the power of the injunction to enforce antitrust laws.

William Howard Taft: inspection of Panama Canal. William Howard Taft (center) at an inspection during construction of the Panama Canal.



William Howard Taft and Alice Roosevelt. Secretary of War William Howard Taft and Alice Roosevelt on a goodwill mission to Japan and the Philippines in 1905.

William Howard Taft and Alice Roosevelt. William Howard Taft (seated center right, in white) with Alice Roosevelt (seated center left, with hat) as guests of the Philippine government, 1905.

Taft resigned his judgeship on March 15, 1900, to accept appointment by Pres. William McKinley to serve as chairman of the Second Philippine Commission. Charged with organizing civil government in the islands following the Spanish-American War (1898), Taft displayed considerable talent as an executive and administrator. In 1901 he became the first civilian governor of the Philippines, concentrating in that post on the economic development of the islands. Fond of and very popular among the Philippine people, Taft twice refused to leave the islands when offered appointment to the Supreme Court by Pres. Theodore Roosevelt. In 1904 he agreed to return to Washington to serve as Roosevelt's secretary of war, with the stipulation that he could continue to supervise Philippine affairs.

William Howard Taft: Campaign cardCard from the William Howard Taft presidential campaign, c. 1908.

Although dissimilar in both physique and temperament, the rotund, easygoing Taft and the muscular, almost-manic Roosevelt nonetheless became close friends; the president regarded his secretary of war as a trusted adviser. When Roosevelt declined to run for reelection, he threw his support to Taft, who won the 1908 Republican nomination and defeated Democrat William Jennings Bryan in the electoral college by 321 votes to 162. Progressive Republicans, who had found their champion in Theodore Roosevelt, now expected Roosevelt's handpicked successor to carry forward their reform agenda.

At a glance: the Taft presidency

Presidency

William Howard Taft.U.S. Pres. William Howard Taft, 1909.

William Howard Taft and Helen Herron Taft. William Howard Taft and Helen Herron Taft at the family cottage in Beverly, Massachusetts

William Howard Taft: ceremony opening the Gunnison Tunnel. Pres. William Howard Taft ceremonially opening the Gunnison Tunnel, part of an irrigation project in Montrose, Colorado, 1909.

William Howard Taft and Charles P. TaftWilliam Howard Taft with his son Charles at the family cottage in Beverly, Massachusetts.

Cartoon depicting William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt "Mutual Solace," political cartoon by Haven Hill for *Punch*, November 13, 1912. Political cartoon depicting William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt lying exhausted after the 1912 presidential campaign and saying, "Cheer up! I might have won."

Taft's tariff support "Saved," cartoon by W.A. Rogers for the *New York Herald*, depicting William Howard Taft's support for the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909.

However, progressives soon found abundant reason to be disappointed with Taft. Temperamentally, he lacked Roosevelt's compelling leadership qualities, which had inspired people to charge into battle against all that was wrong in American society. Politically, Taft offended progressives when he failed to appoint any from their ranks to his cabinet. He further angered progressives when he backed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909, a highly protectionist measure that ironically was the product of a special session of Congress called (by Taft) to revise tariff rates downward. Progressives, who favored lower tariffs, expected a veto. When Taft not only signed the tariff but called it "the best bill that the party has ever passed," the rupture in Republican ranks seemed unlikely to be mended.

Despite his close relationship with Roosevelt, Taft as president aligned himself with the more conservative members in the Republican Party. He did prove to be a vigorous trustbuster, however, launching twice as many antitrust prosecutions as had his progressive predecessor. He also backed conservation of natural resources, another key component of the progressive reform program. But when he fired Gifford Pinchot—head of the Bureau of Forestry, ardent conservationist, and close friend of Roosevelt—Taft severed whatever support he still had among Republican progressives.

Roosevelt returned from an African safari in 1910, and progressives quickly urged him to come out publicly in opposition to his political protégé. At first Roosevelt declined to criticize Taft by name, but by 1912 a breach between the former friends was clearly evident. When Roosevelt decided to challenge Taft for the Republican presidential nomination, the two attacked each other mercilessly in the Republican primary elections. The primary results proved beyond doubt that Republican voters wanted Roosevelt to be the party's standard-bearer in 1912, but Taft's forces controlled the convention and secured the nomination for the incumbent. Believing that the convention had been rigged and that their man had been cheated out of the nomination he deserved, Republican progressives bolted their party to form the Bull Moose (or Progressive) Party and nominated Roosevelt as their presidential candidate.

The split in Republican ranks assured the election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt came in a distant second, and Taft, capturing less than a quarter of the popular vote, won just two states—Utah and Vermont. In

the electoral college, Taft set a record for the poorest performance by an incumbent president seeking reelection: He won a mere 8 electoral votes compared with 88 for Roosevelt and 435 for Wilson.

As president, Taft frequently claimed that "politics makes me sick." Never eager for the office, he had been prodded to pursue it by his wife, Helen Herron Taft, whom he had married in 1886. As first lady, she was a key political adviser to her husband.

Life after the presidency of William Howard Taft

William Howard Taft.William Howard Taft, Kent professor of constitutional law at Yale University between 1913 and 1921.

On his departure from the White House, Taft returned to Yale, where he became a professor of constitutional law. With the entry of the United States into World War I, he served on the National War Labor Board, and

at the war's conclusion he strongly supported American participation in the League of Nations.

In 1921 Pres. Warren G. Harding appointed Taft chief justice of the United States, launching what was probably the happiest period in Taft's long career in public service. He promptly took steps to improve the efficiency of the Supreme Court, which had fallen far behind in its work. His influence was decisive in securing passage of the Judge's Act of 1925, which gave the Supreme Court greater discretion in choosing its cases so that it could focus more attention on constitutional questions and other issues of national importance.

William Howard Taft: oath of office as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. William Howard Taft taking the oath of office as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1921.

Although generally conservative in his judicial philosophy, Taft was no rigid ideologue. His approval of court injunctions, for example, was limited by his insistence that injunctions could not be employed to interfere with the rights of workers to organize and strike. His most important contribution to constitutional law was his opinion in *Myers* v. *United States* (1926) upholding the authority of the president to remove federal officials, a much-belated endorsement of the position taken by Andrew Johnson with respect to the Tenure of Office Act in his impeachment trial in 1868.

Suffering from heart disease, Taft resigned as chief justice on February 3, 1930, and he died a little more than a month later.

Cabinet of President William Howard Taft

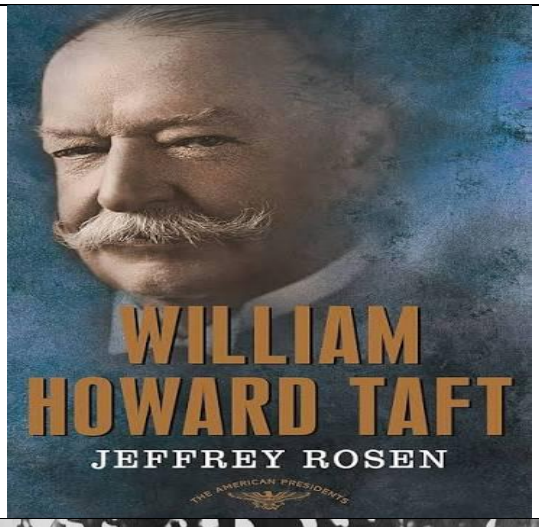
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. William Howard Taft.

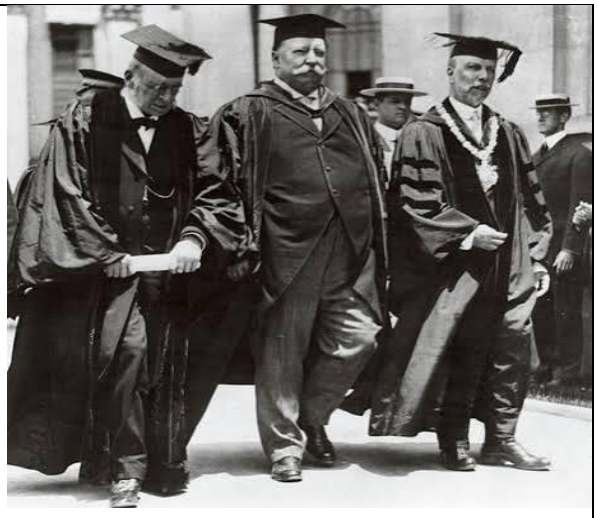
Cabinet of President William Howard Taft

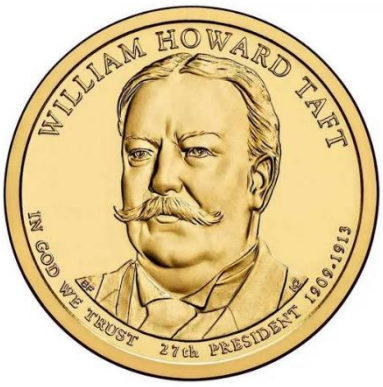
March 4, 1909 – March 3, 1913	
State	Philander Chase Knox
Treasury	Franklin MacVeagh
War	Jacob McGavock Dickinson Henry Lewis Stimson (from May 22, 1911)

Cabinet of President William Howard Taft

March 4, 1909 – March 3, 1913	
Navy	George von Lengerke Meyer
Attorney General	George Wickersham
Interior	Richard Achilles Ballinger Walter Lowrie Fisher (from March 7, 1911)
Agriculture	James Wilson
Commerce and Labor	Charles Nagel







Woodrow Wilson

28th President of the United States

[4 March 1913 <::> 4 March 1921]

Please visit:

01] https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1919/wilson/facts/

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/woodrowwilson

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Woodrow-Wilson

04] Woodrow Wilson – 28th President of the United States (1913-1921) Biography
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qtCFjQ9fhFE [1:17:31]

Woodrow Wilson

Facts

Thomas Woodrow Wilson

Nobel Peace Prize 1919

Born: 28 December 1856, Staunton, VA, USA
Died: 3 February 1924, Washington, D.C., USA
Residence at the time of the award: USA
Role: President of United States of America; Founder of the League of Nations

Prize motivation: "for his role as founder of the League of Nations"
Woodrow Wilson received his Nobel Prize one year later, in 1920.
Prize share: 1/1

Father of the League of Nations

President Woodrow Wilson of the United States won the Peace Prize for 1919 as the leading architect behind the League of Nations. It was to ensure world peace after the slaughter of millions of people in the First World War.

After the outbreak of war in 1914, it was Wilson's policy to keep the United States out. But Germany's unrestricted submarine offensive sank American ships, and in 1917 Wilson took the United States into the war. While severely critical of those at home who opposed the war, he presented his Fourteen Points program for peace. Wilson recommended national self-government for oppressed peoples, a conciliatory attitude to losers in the war, and a league of nations to ensure post-war peace.

The peace negotiations in Paris were a disappointment to Wilson. Britain and France insisted that Germany must pay an enormous indemnity and accept the blame for the war. Subsequently the Senate refused to approve US membership of the new League of Nations. For this reason, there was disagreement about Wilson in the Nobel Committee, until a majority decided to give him the Prize.

Woodrow Wilson (born December 28, 1856, Staunton, Virginia, U.S.—died February 3, 1924, Washington, D.C.) was the 28th president of the United States (1913–21), an American scholar and statesman known for ambitious and lasting legislative achievements. Despite being a war-time president, Wilson championed the creation of the League of Nations, for which he was awarded the 1919 Nobel Prize for Peace. Long recognized as a progressive, Wilson's reputation has been tarnished by his positions on segregation and suffrage as well as for creating the worst crisis of presidential disability in American history after his 1919 stroke.

Early life, education, and governorship

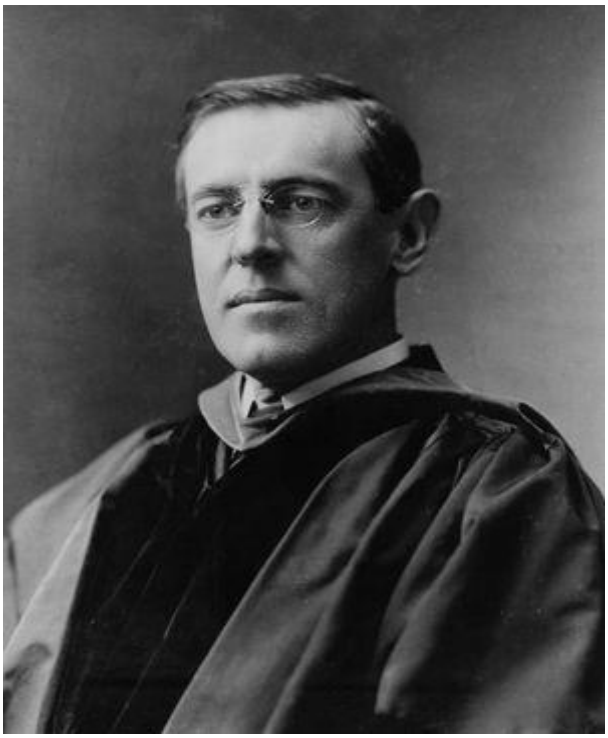
Wilson's father, Joseph Ruggles Wilson, was a Presbyterian minister who had moved to Virginia from Ohio and was the son of Scotch-Irish immigrants; his mother, Janet Woodrow, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, had been born in England of Scottish parentage. Wilson was the only president since Andrew Jackson to have a foreign-born parent.

Naturally enough, the Presbyterian church played a commanding role in the upbringing of "Tommy" Wilson. The family left Virginia before his second birthday, as his father successively held pastorates in Augusta, Georgia, and Wilmington, North Carolina, and taught at the Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina. His father served during the Civil War as a chaplain with the Confederate army, and his church in Augusta was turned into a military hospital. The young Wilson was deeply affected by the horrors of the war.

Apparently dyslexic from childhood, Wilson did not learn to read until after he was 10 and never became a fast reader. Nevertheless, he developed passionate interests in politics and literature. He attended Davidson College near Charlotte, North Carolina, for a year before entering what is now Princeton University in 1875. At Princeton he blossomed intellectually, reading widely, engaging in debate, and editing the college newspaper. While still an undergraduate, he published a scholarly essay that

compared the American government with the British parliamentary system, a subject that he would develop further in his first book and apply in his own political career.

Woodrow Wilson.Future president Woodrow Wilson as a young man, c. 1876–86.



Woodrow Wilson. Princeton Pres. Woodrow Wilson, 1903.

After graduation from Princeton in 1879, Wilson studied law at the University of Virginia, with the hope that law would lead to politics. Two years of humdrum legal practice in Atlanta disillusioned him, and he abandoned his law career for graduate study in government and history at Johns Hopkins University, where in 1886 he received a Ph.D.; he was the only president to have earned that degree. By now he had dropped the "Tommy" from his name, opting for what he thought was the more dignified "Woodrow Wilson."

Wilson's doctoral thesis was also his first book, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (1885), which further developed his comparison between the American and parliamentary government and suggested reforms that would make the American system more efficient and more answerable to public opinion. Among his later works are a general analysis of government, *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* (1889); a history of the United States, *Division and Reunion, 1829–1889* (1893); the five-volume *A History of the American People* (1902); and *Constitutional Government in the United States* (1908), in which Wilson elegantly set forth the modern view of the president as "the representative of no constituency, but of the whole people. When he speaks in his true character, he speaks for no special interest."

Ellen Wilson.Woodrow Wilson's first wife, Ellen Wilson, c. 1912.

Woodrow and Edith Wilson. President Woodrow Wilson and first lady Edith Wilson, 1919.

In 1885 Wilson married Ellen Louise Axson (Ellen Wilson), the daughter of a Presbyterian minister from Rome, Georgia, with whom he had three daughters, Margaret, Jessie, and Eleanor. The marriage was marked by Ellen Wilson's bouts of depression and Woodrow Wilson's brief extramarital affair with Mary Allen Peck. Ellen Wilson's death in August 1914 left Woodrow Wilson grief-stricken, but the next year he met Edith Bolling Galt (Edith Wilson), whom he married in December 1915.

Wilson was a professional academic before he became president. He began his career teaching history and political science at Bryn Mawr College in 1885 and moved to Wesleyan University in Connecticut in 1888. Two years later he went to Princeton, where he quickly became the most popular and highest-paid faculty member. In 1902 he was the unanimous choice to become president of Princeton. Wilson upgraded the university both financially and intellectually, and he attempted far-reaching reforms of both undergraduate and graduate education. Several of his policies were adopted, but his reforms for restructuring and democratizing the university ran afoul of opposition from faculty conservatives and wealthy alumni and forced him to abandon several of his key plans.

Meanwhile, the publicity that Wilson had generated as Princeton's president attracted the attention of conservative kingmakers in the Democratic Party, who offered him the 1910 nomination for governor of New Jersey. Wilson resigned from the university, and, artfully turning the tables on his patrons, he won the governorship with

a dynamic, progressive campaign. Once in office he put his earlier ideas about parliamentary practices to work in implementing a sweeping reform program that gave him a national reputation and made him a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Presidential Administrations, 1900–18A 1912 poster shows Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and William Howard Taft, all working at desks, superimposed on a map of the United States. The three were candidates in the 1912 election.

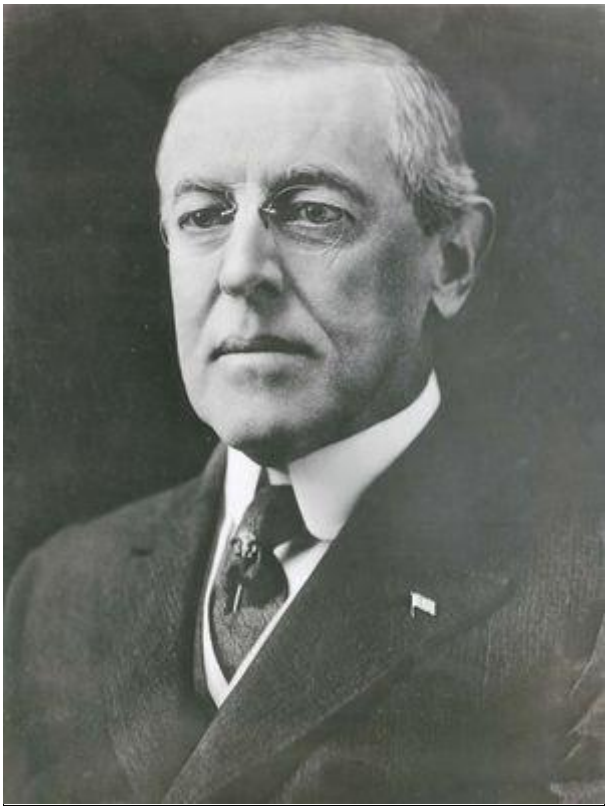
Prevailing at the 1912 convention after a hard struggle against better-entrenched rivals, Wilson entered into a three-way race for president. Former president Theodore Roosevelt's bolt to the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party had split the dominant Republican Party, a factor that allowed Wilson to be elected with only 42 percent of the popular vote but with an electoral college landslide of 435 votes to Roosevelt's 88 and William Howard Taft's 8. The election reflected deep divisions within the Progressive reform movement, with Wilson, Roosevelt, and Taft each offering competing visions for how the federal government should address the social and economic challenges of industrial America. In that campaign, Wilson answered Roosevelt's call for a "New Nationalism" with his own equally compelling vision of a "New Freedom." Wilson was the first Southern-born president elected since the Civil War.

At a glance: the Wilson presidency

First term as president of Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson: first inauguration. Pres. Woodrow Wilson speaking at his first inauguration on the east portico of the U.S. Capitol, March 4, 1913, Washington, D.C.

Wilson, Woodrow: inauguration. Woodrow Wilson taking the oath of office from Chief Justice Edward Douglass White on the east portico of the U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1913.



Woodrow Wilson. U.S. Pres. Woodrow Wilson, undated photograph.

The presidency offered Wilson his supreme chance to put his ideas about government to work. Admitting that he intended to conduct himself as a prime minister, he drew up a legislative program in advance, broke with previous presidential practice by appearing before Congress in person, and worked mainly through his party. Important help in keeping congressional Democrats in line came from the party's three-time unsuccessful presidential nominee, William Jennings Bryan, whom Wilson appointed secretary of state. Indispensable policy advice came from the controversial Boston attorney Louis Brandeis, who had helped Wilson formulate the New Freedom agenda during the campaign. Wilson also kept Congress in session continually from April 1913 to October 1914, almost a year and a half, something that had never before happened, not even during the Civil War.

Wilson's legislative agenda reflected the broader goals of the Progressive movement, which sought to regulate corporate power, expand the role of the federal government in economic affairs, and address social and political inequalities that had developed during rapid industrialization.

He won his first victory with passage of the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act (1913), which reduced duties on imports for the first time in 40 years. Accompanying the new tariff, to offset lost revenues, was an income tax, which was permitted under the recently adopted Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Wilson's second victory came when, after months of complicated debate and bargaining over banking and currency reform, Congress in 1913 passed the act creating the Federal Reserve System, which remains the most powerful government agency in economic affairs. A third victory came with passage of the Clayton Antitrust Act (1914), which strengthened existing laws against anticompetitive business actions and gave labor unions relief from court injunctions. Accompanying this act was the legislation that created the Federal Trade Commission, a major agency overseeing business practices.

Woodrow Wilson.U.S. President Woodrow Wilson at the 1915 baseball World Series.

Wilson followed those legislative accomplishments with a second wave of reform measures in 1916. In part to attract Roosevelt's Progressive voters of 1912, he pushed through Congress laws to create an agency to regulate overseas shipping, to make the first government loans to farmers, to prohibit child labor, to raise income and inheritance taxes, and to mandate an eight-hour workday for railroad workers. Wilson also nominated Brandeis to a justiceship on the Supreme Court and successfully fought for his confirmation in the Senate. Brandeis, who served until 1939, was the first Jewish justice and became a major force on the Supreme Court. These victories

were even more impressive than the earlier ones, because losses in the 1914 elections had reduced the Democrats' majorities in Congress and because the Republicans' opposition had hardened.

Wilson's Progressive values, however, did not carry over into matters of race. With his inauguration in 1913 and the installation of a cabinet marked by pro-segregation Southerners, the Wilson administration began a process of segregating a federal workforce that had been integrated since Reconstruction. In 1912, about 10 percent of the federal workforce was made up of Black civil servants who worked alongside their white colleagues. But in the first term of his presidency, Wilson oversaw the segregation of the Post Office, the Treasury, the Census Department, the Interior Department, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Navy, the Government Printing Office, the Marine Hospital, and the War Department. The Black workers who remained in government saw the gap between what they and white workers earned expand.

Protests by the recently formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) compelled the administration to drop some of the most blatantly discriminatory measures, including "white" and "colored" restrooms. But the administration required photographs with job applications, which allowed for racial screening. These actions highlighted tensions within the Progressive movement, which promoted political and economic reform but often failed to challenge racial segregation and discrimination.

Wilson further soured his relations with African Americans by permitting a well-publicized White House screening of D.W. Griffith's groundbreaking but overtly racist film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). The only move Wilson made toward improving race relations came in July 1918, during his second term, when he belatedly condemned lynching.

Foreign affairs bedeviled Wilson from his first days in the White House. Latin America was the first trouble spot. Though critical of previous

Republican interventionism in that region, Wilson and Bryan soon followed the same course, occupying Haiti and the Dominican Republic and governing them as protectorates. Mexico, which was torn by revolution and counterrevolution, proved most vexing of all. First adopting a policy of "watchful waiting" and then seeking to overthrow the military dictatorship of Victoriano Huerta only dragged the United States into interventions by the navy at Veracruz in 1914 and by the army in 1916 in a "punitive expedition" to chase the guerrilla leader Pancho Villa, who had raided across the border into New Mexico. Wilson eventually reconciled himself to a hands-off stance toward Mexico.

The outbreak of World War I in August 1914, which coincided with the death of his wife, Ellen, tried Wilson's mind and soul. Almost no one questioned American neutrality in the beginning, but both the British blockade of maritime trade and German U-boat attacks soon made neutrality painful. On May 7, 1915, when a U-boat sank the British liner *Lusitania*, killing more than 1,100 people, including 128 Americans, the war came home with a vengeance. Wilson at first urged his countrymen to show restraint, declaring, "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight," but he also pressed the Germans to rein in their submarines and decided to build up the armed forces. Those moves impelled Bryan to resign in protest and to oppose Wilson politically. A combination of patience and firmness on the president's part paid off when the Germans, for military reasons of their own, pledged to curtail submarine warfare in April 1916. For the rest of that year the threat of war receded, while relations with Great Britain worsened because of their ever-tightening blockade and their brutal suppression of the Easter Rising, the armed revolt in Ireland that eventually led to independence.

Second term as president of Woodrow Wilson

Reelection campaign pinWoodrow Wilson reelection pin, 1916.

Pres. Woodrow Wilson's second inaugurationCrowds assembling in front of the U.S. Capitol building for Pres. Woodrow Wilson's second inauguration, March 5, 1917.

Wilson prevailed in the 1916 election, becoming the first Democrat to win a second consecutive term since Andrew Jackson. His narrow victory by 277 to 254 electoral votes over Charles Evans Hughes, the nominee of the reunited and resurgent Republicans, was a great political feat. The campaign cry "He kept us out of war" helped, but Wilson's domestic record on progressive and labor issues played the biggest part in his achieving a healthy plurality in the popular vote and a small electoral margin.

Political cartoon.Antiwar cartoon by I. Klein from *The Masses* captioned, "The Paths of War Lead but to…."

His reelection assured, Wilson mounted a peace offensive in December 1916 and January 1917 aimed at ending the world war. First he made a public diplomatic appeal to the belligerent countries to state their peace terms and accept American mediation, and then on January 22 he gave a stirring speech in which he called for a "peace without victory" and pledged to establish a league of nations to prevent future wars.

Woodrow Wilson: War MessagePres. Woodrow Wilson delivering his War Message to Congress, 1917.

However the Germans rendered Wilson's peace efforts moot by unleashing their submarines on February 1. For the next two months Wilson agonized over how to respond. Public opinion remained divided and uncertain, even after publication of the Zimmermann Telegram, a secret communication by the German foreign secretary that offered Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Mexico in return for going to war against the United States. Wilson finally decided to intervene, mainly because he could see no alternative and hoped to use American belligerency as a means to build a just, lasting peace. On April 2, 1917, he went before Congress to ask for a declaration of war so that the United States could strive to fulfill his injunction that "the world must be made safe for democracy."

The Wilson White House. Sheep grazing on the White House lawn to reduce groundskeeping costs during World War I, Washington, D.C., c. 1917.

Wilson proved to be a surprisingly effective war president. Recognizing what he did not know, he delegated military decisions to professional soldiers, particularly Gen. John J. Pershing, who commanded the American Expeditionary Force in France, and economic mobilization to such men as Bernard Baruch, William Gibbs McAdoo, and Herbert Hoover. Careful planning also ensured the success of the Selective Service Act (*see* Selective Service Acts), which became law in May. This helped to raise the strength of the armed forces to five million men and women, two million of whom reached France by the war's end. The boost given to the Allies by American money, supplies, and manpower tipped the scales against the Germans, who sued for peace and laid down their arms with the Armistice of November 11, 1918.

"Big Four"The "Big Four" (left to right): David Lloyd George of Britain, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States, the principal architects of the Treaty of Versailles.

On the home front, once the United States had entered the war, there was little tolerance for dissent. During the war Congress passed the Espionage Act (1917) and the Sedition Act (1918), laws that allowed the federal government to prosecute individuals who criticized the war effort or interfered with military recruitment. Critics argued that these measures were overly broad and violated constitutional protections of free speech. U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer brutally suppressed dissent. The overzealous hounding of radical groups, immigrants, and dissidents both during the war and in the Red Scare of 1919–20 was justified on grounds of national security but was condemned by civil libertarians and ultimately discredited.

It was during this period when Wilson, who had been an opponent of extending voting rights to women, had a change of heart on the topic of suffrage. During his 1912 campaign for the presidency, Wilson made abundantly clear that he was "irreconcilably opposed to woman suffrage" and that a "woman's place was in the home, and the type of woman who took an active part in the suffrage agitation was totally abhorrent." But by 1918, after seeing the work that women did in support of the war effort and recognizing that Great Britain and other war allies had granted the vote to women,

Wilson's transformation was complete. "Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them?" he asked members of Congress who opposed the Nineteenth Amendment. Congress passed the legislation in 1919, and the next year—in time for the presidential election of 1920—the Nineteenth Amendment had been ratified.

Diplomacy was the one job that Wilson kept to himself. He seized the initiative on war aims with his Fourteen Points speech of January 8, 1918, in which he promised a liberal, nonpunitive peace and a league of nations. Wilson believed that lasting peace required a new international system based on principles such as national self-determination, open diplomacy, and collective security through an international organization.

Determined to keep those promises, Wilson made the controversial decision to go in person to the Paris Peace Conference, where he spent seven months in wearying, often acrimonious negotiations with the British, French, and Italians. The final product, the Treaty of Versailles, was signed on June 28, 1919. The treaty's financial and territorial terms severely compromised Wilson's aims, but those were offset by its inclusion of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which he believed would adjust international differences and maintain peace.

Wilson returned from the peace conference exhausted and in failing health, in no shape to face the biggest fight of his career. Republican senators, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, sought either to reject the treaty or to attach reservations that would gravely limit America's commitments to the League of Nations. Lodge and other senators argued that membership in the League might limit Congress's constitutional authority to declare war and could draw the United States into foreign conflicts without congressional approval.

After two months of frustrating talks with senators, Wilson took his case to the people in September 1919 in the hope of shaping public opinion on this important issue of the day. A master of the English language and public oratory, he threw himself into a whirlwind cross-country tour, giving 39 speeches in three weeks.

Woodrow Wilson. Former U.S. president Woodrow Wilson leaving his home in 1921, his health broken.

The strain, both mental and physical, was too much for him. He had a near breakdown on September 25, after which his doctor canceled the rest of the tour and rushed him back to Washington. On October 2, 1919, Wilson suffered a massive stroke that left him partially paralyzed on his left side and partly blind in his right eye, and his judgment was impaired.

Woodrow WilsonThe 28th president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, after suffering a stroke, signing a document with the assistance of first lady Edith Wilson in Washington, D.C., June 1920.

This was the worst crisis of presidential disability in American history, and it was handled badly. No one seriously suggested that Wilson resign. His wife, Edith, controlled access to him, made decisions by default, and engineered a cover-up of his condition, which included misleadingly optimistic reports from his doctors. Wilson never again fully functioned as president.

The peace treaty went down to defeat in the Senate, as a consequence of Wilson's stroke-induced rigidity. He demanded that Democratic senators spurn all efforts at compromise with Lodge and the Republicans. Twice, on November 19, 1919, and March 19, 1920, the Treaty of Versailles failed to gain the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification. Later, under Warren G. Harding, Wilson's Republican successor, the United States made a separate peace with Germany, something Wilson had believed "would place ineffable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States." The United States never joined the League of Nations.

In the 1920 election Wilson called for "a great and solemn referendum" on the treaty and the League of Nations and entertained fantasies about running on that issue himself. Edith Wilson and his closest friends quietly scotched those notions. Instead, the Democrats nominated James M. Cox, the governor of Ohio, on the strength of his lack of association with Wilson, although an administration loyalist, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, received the vice presidential nomination. The election did become a referendum on Wilson, as Harding called for a return to "normalcy" and blamed all the country's troubles on the man in the White House. The Republicans won a landslide victory, which they interpreted as a mandate to reverse Wilson's progressive policies at home and his internationalism abroad.

Later years of Woodrow Wilson

Wilson lived in Washington for almost three years after leaving office in March 1921. Though disabled, he never wavered in his conviction that the United States should and would eventually join the League of Nations, and he took a keen interest in politics. In one of his last public appearances he rode in the funeral procession of his younger and supposedly healthy successor, Harding. Wilson died in his sleep at his

Washington home. His remains were interred in the newly begun National Cathedral; he is the only president buried in the capital city.

Legacy

In the years immediately after his death, Wilson's reputation suffered from his failure on the League of Nations and the rise of the Republicans to leadership in the 1920s. It declined further during the 1930s with historical reconsideration of World War I. But during World War II Wilson's reputation enjoyed a resurgence, as his policies were viewed as prescient in seeking to prevent further global conflict.

The 21st century brought further scrutiny of Wilson's legacy, particularly as it pertained to race. Historians and commentators increasingly examined his administration's imposition of racial segregation in federal offices and his views on race, which demonstrated sympathy for the Confederacy. In 2020, in the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Princeton University's board of trustees voted to remove Wilson's name from the university's School of Public and International Affairs, saying, in part, "We must therefore ask whether it is acceptable for this University's school of public affairs to bear the name of a racist who segregated the nation's civil service after it had been integrated for decades."

Wilson therefore emerges as a complex figure: a man who loathed war and sought peace, a man who was capable of transformation as demonstrated in his position on suffrage, a champion for the role of government in protecting the rights of its citizens from abuse, and yet also a man who, at the very least, abetted the discriminatory actions of his administration when it came to racial justice.

Cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson

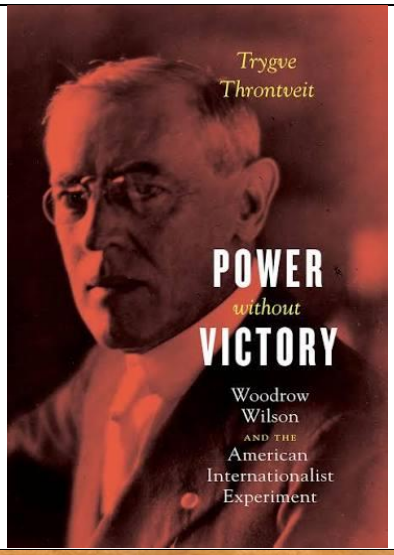
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson.

Cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson

March 4, 1913–March 3, 1917 (Term 1)	
*Department of Commerce and Labor reorganized into separate departments.	
State	William Jennings Bryan
	Robert Lansing (from June 23, 1915)
Treasury	William Gibbs McAdoo
War	Lindley Miller Garrison
	Newton Diehl Baker (from March 9, 1916)
Navy	Josephus Daniels
Attorney General	James McReynolds
	Thomas Watt Gregory (from September 3, 1914)
Interior	Franklin Knight Lane
Agriculture	David Franklin Houston
Commerce*	William Cox Redfield
Labor*	William Bauchop Wilson
March 4, 1917–March 3, 1921 (Term 2)	
State	Robert Lansing
	Bainbridge Colby (from March 23, 1920)
Treasury	William Gibbs McAdoo
	Carter Glass (from December 16, 1918)
	David Franklin Houston (from February 2, 1920)

Cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson

March 4, 1913–March 3, 1917 (Term 1)	
War	Newton Diehl Baker
Navy	Josephus Daniels
Attorney General	Thomas Watt Gregory
	A. Mitchell Palmer (from March 5, 1919)
Interior	Franklin Knight Lane
	John Barton Payne (from March 13, 1920)
Agriculture	David Franklin Houston
	Edwin Thomas Meredith (from February 2, 1920)
Commerce	William Cox Redfield
	Joshua Willis Alexander (from December 16, 1919)
Labor	William Bauchop Wilson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without
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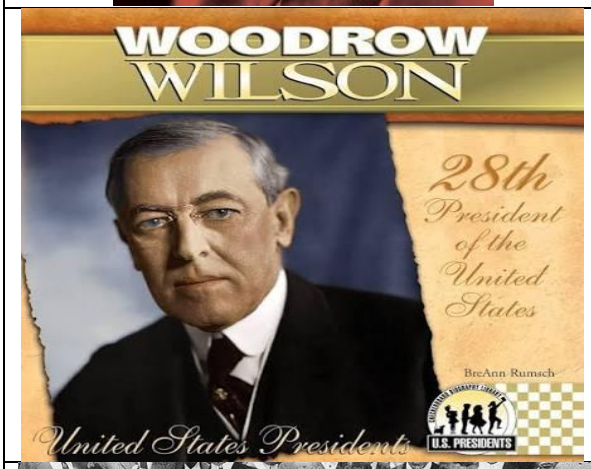
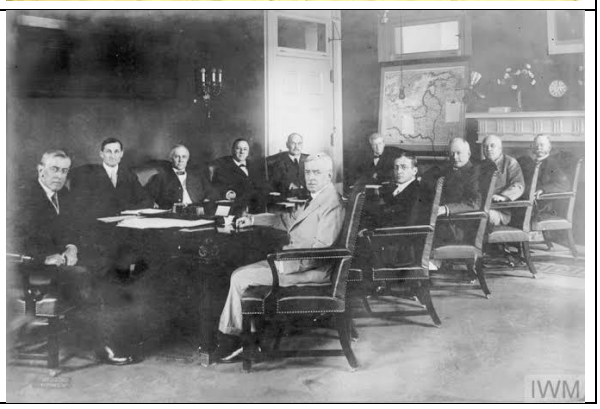
Woodrow
Wilson
AND THE
American
Internationalist
Experiment


WOODROW
WILSON
28th
President
of the
United
States
BreAnn Rumsch
United States Presidents
U.S. PRESIDENTS

WILSON SIGNS
DECLARATION;
SHIPS SEIZED
Woodrow Wilson

Indemnities for Ourselves." (Woodrow Wilson)
2181

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
17
WILSON
17
CENTS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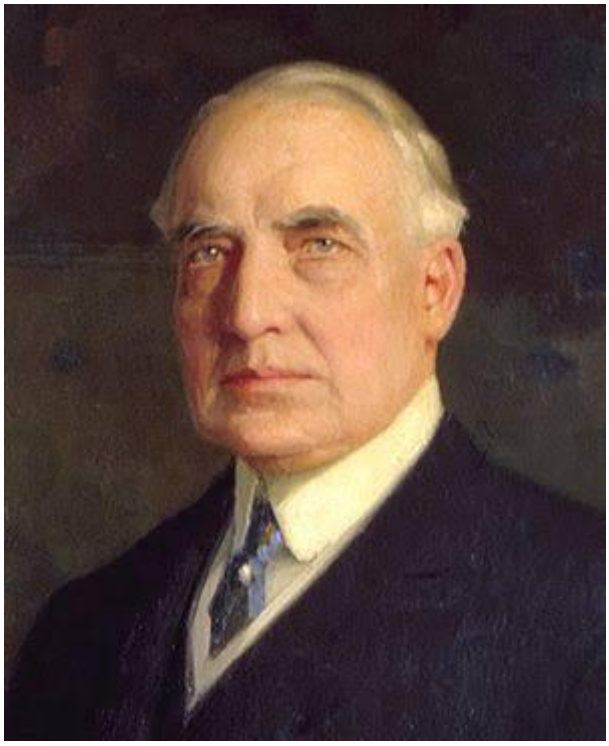


Warren G. Harding

29th President of the United States

[4 March 1921 <::> 2 August 1923]

Please visit:

01] https://hardingpresidentialsites.org/president-harding/

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/warrenharding

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Warren-G-Harding

04] Warren Gamaliel Harding – 29th President of the United States (1921–1923)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vD2ozhcLNO0 [1:20:15]

Warren G. Harding (born November 2, 1865, Corsica [now Blooming Grove], Ohio, U
died August 2, 1923, San Francisco, California) was the 29th president of the United
States (1921–23). Pledging a nostalgic "return to normalcy" following World War I,
Harding won the presidency by the greatest popular vote margin to that time. H
during his third year in office and was succeeded by Calvin Coolidge. His
brief administration accomplished little of lasting value, however, and soon aft
death a series of scandals doomed the Harding presidency to be judged among
worst in American history.

Early life

Born on a farm, Harding was the eldest of eight children of George Tryon Hardin
Phoebe Dickerson Harding, his ancestry combined English, Scottish, and Dutch s
His father later left farming to become a physician. Following education
at local schools Ohio and three years at Ohio Central College, Harding tried his ha
at several vocations until in 1884 he bought a struggling weekly Marion paper in
Ohio, to which he devoted himself. Seven years later he married Florence Kling
Wolfe (Florence Harding) and she proved instrumental in transforming *The Marion
Star* into a financially successful daily paper. Soon Harding, a man of little discer
intellect or imagination, found himself invited to join leading corporate boards
fraternal organizations. As he began to associate with the state's movers and sh
he was drawn into Republican Party politics. A handsome man who was always well
dressed and well groomed, Harding looked like a leader. It was his outward

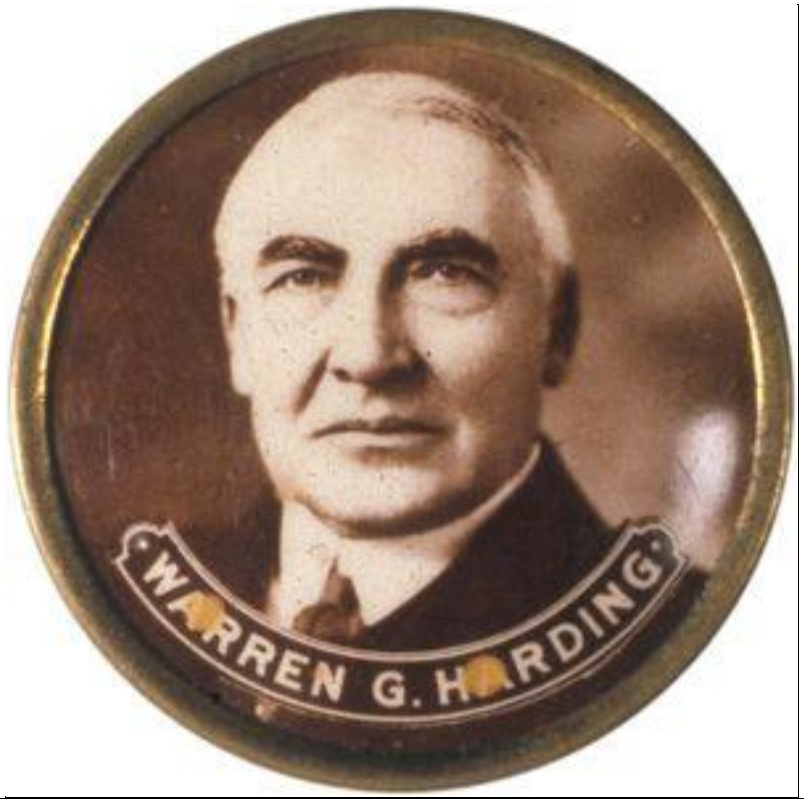
appearance rather than any intrinsic qualities that contributed most strongly to political success.

At a Glance: the Harding presidency

Political career

How the Teapot Dome Scandal ruined a president's reputationOn April 14, 1922, a story broke about bribes, corruption, and secret deals worth millions in oil money in the American West.

Harding was elected a state senator (1899–1902) and lieutenant governor (1903–04), but he was defeated in his bid for the governorship in 1910. On most issues he aligned himself with the conservative ("Old Guard") wing of the Republican Party, standing firm against U.S. membership in League of Nations and always supporting legislation friendly to business. He achieved national visibility when he was chosen in 1912 Republican Convention, and in his next campaign he was elected U.S. senator (1915–21).



Campaign buttonButton from Warren G. Harding's 1920 presidential campaign.

When the 1920 Republican Convention deadlocked over its selection of a presidential nominee, party leaders turned supposedly in a smoke-filled room in Chicago's Blackstone Hotel to the handsome, genial Ohio campaign compromise candidate. Paired with vice presidential candidate Calvin Coolidge, Harding schewed a speaking tour in favor of a "front porch" campaign similar to the one conducted by fellow

Once William McKinley 20 years earlier in which Harding read carefully scripted speeches to delegations of visitors at his Marion home. After eight years of the administrations of Woodrow Wilson, during which Americans had been asked to sacrifice greatly to reform the United States and to aid the World War I, Harding's undemanding call for a return to normalcy was precisely what war disillusioned voters wanted to hear. Harding won the election by the largest lar to date, capturing some 60 percent of the popular vote. In a speech to a special of Congress on April 12, 1921, he outlined the direction which he thought the country should take in the coming four years, saying in part:

I have said to the people we meant to have less of government in business as well as more business in government. It is well to have it understood that business has a right to pursue its normal, legitimate, and righteous way unimpeded, and it ought have no call to meet government competition where all risk is borne by the public Treasury. There is no challenge to honest and lawful business success. But government approval of fortunate, untrammeled business does not mean toleration of restraint of trade or of maintained prices by unnatural methods. It is well to have legitimate business understand that a just government, mindful of the interests of all the people, has a right to expect the cooperation of that legitimate business in stamping out the practices which add to unrest and inspire restrictive legislation. Anxious as we are to restore the onward

flow of business, it is fair to combine assurance and warning in one utterance. ...

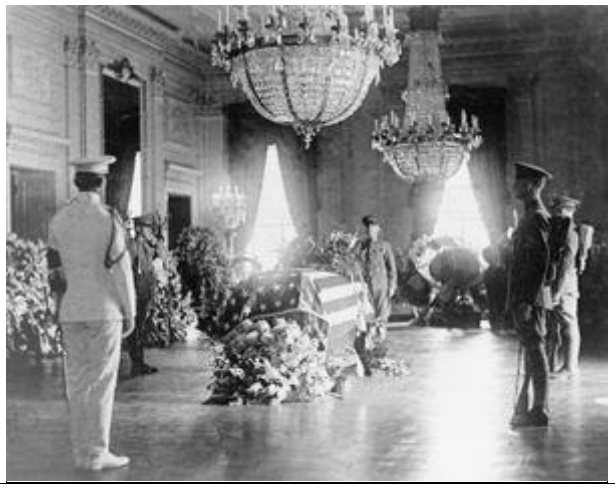
Presidency

Harding appointed to his cabinet a mixture of outstanding leaders and unscrupulous politicians waiting for an opportunity to pocket the profits of the first category. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, and in the second were Attorney General Harry Daugherty and Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. Harding was a notoriously poor judge of character who expected his appointees to behave with integrity. He was to be deeply disappointed.

The administration got off to a good start when Congress completed an initiative begun in the Wilson administration and established a budget system for the federal government. Charles G. Dawes was appointed first director of the budget.

Then in 1921–22 the United States hosted the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference. Under the leadership of Secretary Hughes, the conference succeeded in getting the world's major powers to agree to limit the production of large naval vessels. It was by far the most important achievement of the Harding presidency. Other achievements were in keeping with the Old Guard Republican views with which Harding had long been associated: higher protective tariff (Fordney-McCumber), lower taxes on business, and a sharp reduction in the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States from southern and eastern Europe.

Early in 1923 Attorney General Daugherty disclosed that Charles Forbes, director of the Veterans Bureau, had been illegally selling government medical supplies to private contractors. After vibrating Forbes in the White House Harding allowed him to leave the country to escape prosecution. Shortly thereafter Charles Cramer, general counsel of the Veterans Bureau, committed suicide. Ten weeks later Jesse Smith, Daugherty's private secretary, also committed suicide day after a long conversation with Harding in the White House. Rumors had been circulating that Smith and a group known as "Ohio Gang" had been profiting from a variety of corrupt activities.



Warren G. Harding lying in state.The body of Warren G. Harding lying in state in the East Room of the White House, Washington, D.C., 1923.

By the spring of 1923, Harding was distraught what he regarded as the betrayal of his friends who were taking advantage of his kindliness and lax administration. He sought escape from Washington by taking a trip to Alaska with his wife and a large entourage. On his way home at the end of July president complained of abdominal pain, but he seemed to rally as he rested at

Francisco hotel. On the evening of August 2, however, as his wife read to him fr
magazine, Harding suddenly died from heart attack or a stroke

Scandals of Warren G. Harding

The nation plunged into mourning, little suspecting that the beloved leader the
eulogized as "an ideal American" would soon be revealed to have been the hea
most corrupt administration in the nation's history. Senate investigations unco
Forbes' illegal financial dealings at the Veterans Bureau and pointed to Daugherty's
collusion with the Ohio Gang. Far more serious was the unfolding of the Teapot Dome
Scandal. In 1921 Interior Secretary Albert Fall had persuaded Harding to transfer
authority over two of the nation's most important oil reserves—Elk Hills
in California and Teapot Dome in Wyoming—from the Navy Department to
the Department of the Interior. Fall then leased these reserves to private oil
companies, netting for himself several hundreds of thousands of dollars in gifts
loans. Fall and Forbes later received jail sentences for their crimes; Daugherty t
went on trial, the first resulting in jury and the second in a not guilty verdict.

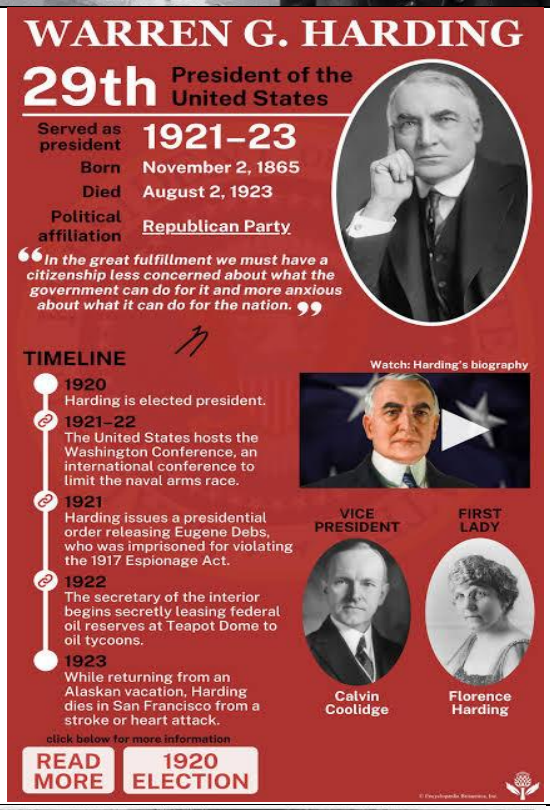
Harding was never personally implicated in the scandals, but he was aware of the
actions of Forbes, Smith, and the Ohio Gang and tacitly condoned their
By the mid-1920s the public began to regard Harding as a man who simply did no
measure up to the responsibilities of his high office. Rumors of his heavy drinki
the White House (at a time when Prohibition was the law of the land) and of his
involvement in extramarital affairs further degraded his reputation. In 1927 Nan
Britton published *The President's Daughter*, in which she claimed that in 1919 she had

given birth to a child fathered by President in 2015 geneticists announced that DNA tests showed that Harding was the biological father. Although historians have challenged the validity of the allegations made against him, most of them agree that he was the least capable of the nation's chief executives.

Cabinet of President Warren G. Harding

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Warren Harding.

Cabinet of President Warren G. Harding	
March 4, 1921 – August 2, 1923	
State	Charles Evans Hughes
Treasury	Andrew Mellon
War	John Wingate Weeks
Navy	Edwin Denby
Attorney General	Harry Micajah Daugherty
Interior	Albert Bacon Fall Hubert Work (from March 5, 1923)
Agriculture	Henry Cantwell Wallace
Commerce	Herbert Hoover
Labor	James John Davis


WARREN G. HARDING
29th President of the United States
Served as president 1921–23
Born November 2, 1865
Died August 2, 1923
Political affiliation Republican Party
"In the great fulfillment we must have a citizenship less concerned about what the government can do for it and more anxious about what it can do for the nation."
TIMELINE
1920
Harding is elected president.
1921–22
The United States hosts the Washington Conference, an international conference to limit the naval arms race.
1921
Harding issues a presidential order releasing Eugene Debs, who was imprisoned for violating the 1917 Espionage Act.
1922
The secretary of the interior begins secretly leasing federal oil reserves at Teapot Dome to oil tycoons.
1923
While returning from an Alaskan vacation, Harding dies in San Francisco from a stroke or heart attack.
Watch: Harding's biography
VICE PRESIDENT
Calvin Coolidge
FIRST LADY
Florence Harding
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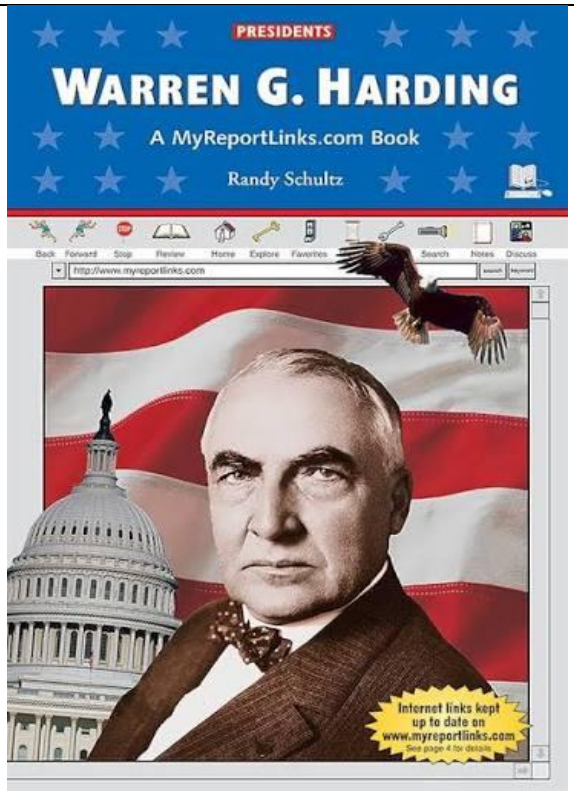
1920 ELECTION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Calvin Coolidge

30th President of the United States

[2 August 1923 <::> 4 March 1929]

Please visit:

01]https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/Calvincoolidge

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-life-and-presidency-of-calvin-coolidge

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Calvin-Coolidge

04] Calvin Coolidge – 30th President of the United States (1923-1929)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7MYyzXjutEs [1:27:48]

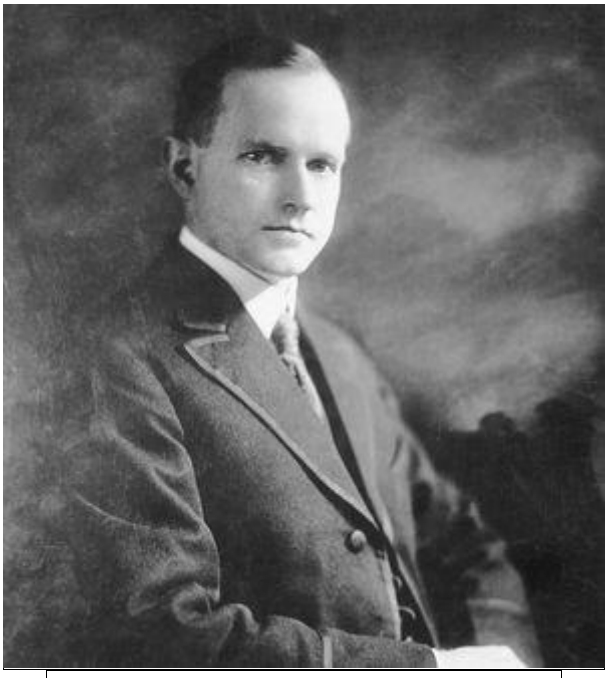
Calvin Coolidge (born July 4, 1872, Plymouth, Vermont, U.S.—died January 5, 1933, Northampton, Massachusetts) was the 30th president of the United States (1923–29). Coolidge acceded to the presidency after the death in office of Warren G. Harding, just as the Harding scandals were coming to light. He restored integrity to the executive branch of the federal government while continuing the conservative pro-business policies of his predecessor.

Early life and career

Calvin Coolidge, Calvin Coolidge, age seven, c. 1879–80.

Calvin Coolidge and family. The Calvin Coolidge family: (from left) John, Calvin, Calvin, Jr., and Grace.

Coolidge was the only son of John Calvin Coolidge and Victoria Moor Coolidge. His father, whose forebears had immigrated to America about 1630, was a storekeeper who instilled in his son the New England Puritan virtues—honesty, industry, thrift, taciturnity, and piety—while his mother cultivated in him a love of nature and books. A graduate of Amherst College, Coolidge began practicing law in 1897. In 1905 he married Grace Anna Goodhue, a teacher in the Clarke Institute for the Deaf, with whom he had two sons.



Calvin CoolidgeCalvin Coolidge, c. 1920.

A Republican, Coolidge entered politics as a city councilman in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1898. He was elected mayor of Northampton in 1909 and then served in the Massachusetts state government as senator (1911–15) and lieutenant governor (1915–18). Elected governor in 1918, Coolidge captured national attention the following year when he called out the state guard to quell violence and disorder resulting from a strike by the Boston police, who had formed a labor union to press their demands for better pay and working conditions. When labor leaders called on him to support their demands for reinstatement of police officers who had been fired for striking, Coolidge refused, summing up his

reasoning in a single sentence that reverberated throughout the country: “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time.”

That statement—combined with Coolidge’s strong stand against the Boston police at a time when many Americans viewed organized labor as too radical—catapulted Coolidge onto the Republican Party’s ticket in 1920 as Harding’s vice-presidential running mate. The personality of the taciturn Coolidge could not have provided a greater contrast to that of the gregarious Harding. In terms of policy, however, Harding and Coolidge were nearly identical. Both were members of the Old Guard Republicans, that conservative segment of the party that had remained with Pres. William Howard Taft in the 1912 election when Theodore Roosevelt left to form the Bull Moose Party. Promising the American people a “return to normalcy,” Harding and Coolidge achieved the greatest popular vote margin in presidential elections to that time,

crushing the Democratic ticket of James Cox and Franklin Delano Roosevelt by 60 to 34 percent. The electoral vote was equally one-sided: 404 to 127.

At a glance: the Coolidge presidency

At a glance: the Coolidge presidency

How the Teapot Dome Scandal ruined a president's reputationOn April 14, 1922, a story broke about bribes, corruption, and secret deals worth millions in oil money in the American West.

Acceding to the presidency upon Harding's unexpected death (August 2, 1923), Coolidge took the oath of office from his father, a notary public, by the light of a kerosene lamp at 2:47 AM on August 3 at the family home in Plymouth, Vermont. He inherited an administration

mired in scandal. Cautiously, quietly, and skillfully, Coolidge rooted out the perpetrators and restored integrity to the executive branch. A model of personal rectitude himself, Coolidge convinced the American people that the presidency was once again in the hands of someone they could trust. The change of ambiance in the White House did not miss the keen eye of Alice Roosevelt Longworth, daughter of Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, who said that the new White House was "as different as a New England front parlor is from a backroom in a speakeasy."

Campaign button. Button from Calvin Coolidge's 1924 U.S. presidential campaign.

Calvin Coolidge. Calvin Coolidge taking the oath of office as U.S. president, 1925.

At the Republican convention in 1924 Coolidge was nominated virtually without opposition. Running on the slogan "Keep Cool with Coolidge," he won a landslide victory over conservative Democrat John W. Davis and Progressive Party candidate Robert La Follette, gaining about 54 percent of the popular vote to Davis's 29 percent and La Follette's nearly 17 percent; in the electoral college Coolidge received 382 votes to Davis's 136 and La Follette's 13. Coolidge's inaugural address, the first inaugural address

to be broadcast on national radio, focused principally on his vision of the role of the United States in the world.

Coolidge was famous for being a man of few but well-chosen words. Despite his reputation, "Silent Cal," as he was called, had a keen sense of humour, and he could be talkative in private family settings. His wit was displayed in a characteristic exchange with a Washington, D.C., hostess, who told him, "You must talk to me, Mr. President. I made a bet today that I could get more than two words out of you." Coolidge replied, "You lose."

New York Stock ExchangeThe New York Stock Exchange on an active trading day in the late 1920s.

Coolidge captured the prevailing sentiment of the American people in the 1920s when he said, "The chief business of the American people is business." The essence of the Coolidge presidency was its noninterference in and bolstering of American business and industry. Government regulatory agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission, now were staffed by people who sought to assist business expansion rather than to police business practices. Most Americans, identifying their own prosperity with the growth of corporate profits, welcomed this reversal of progressive reforms. They generally agreed with the assessment of Oliver Wendell Holmes, associate justice of the Supreme Court: "While I don't expect anything very astonishing from [Coolidge] I don't want anything very astonishing."

Key to the conservative, pro-business focus of the Coolidge administration was Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon. A multimillionaire himself, Mellon believed strongly that reducing taxes for the rich

was the best way to expand the nation's wealth. He held that, as the rich invested funds that otherwise would have been taken away in taxes, new businesses would form and older enterprises would expand and that the result would be more jobs and greater national production. Under the leadership of Coolidge and Mellon, Congress sharply reduced income taxes and estate taxes.

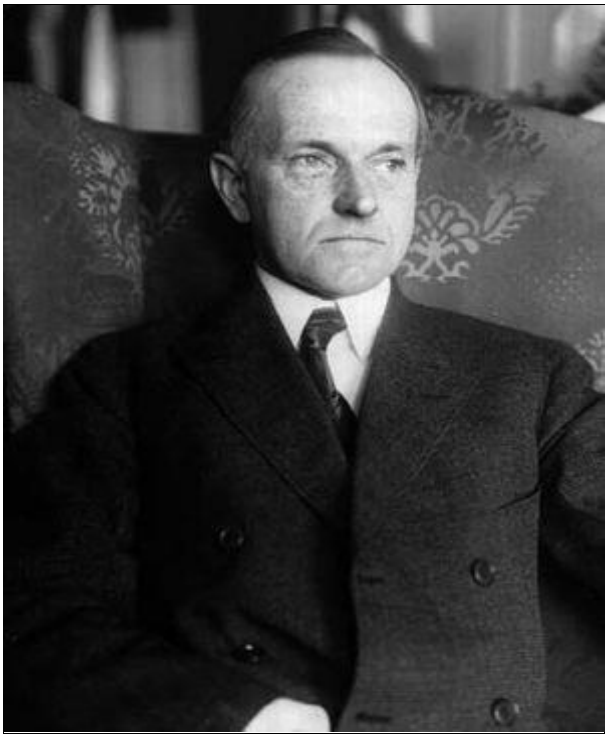
One form of business enterprise, however, received almost no help from the Coolidge administration: agriculture. Farmers constituted the one group of producers clearly not participating in the decade's prosperity. Twice Congress passed the McNary-Haugen bill, calling for the federal government to purchase surplus crops. Twice (1927 and 1928) Coolidge vetoed it, and the economic woes of American farmers persisted well into the following decade. Coolidge also vetoed a bill offering a bonus to veterans of World War I; Congress overrode that veto in 1924.

Kellogg-Briand Pact. U.S. Pres. Calvin Coolidge (seated left) signing the Kellogg-Briand Pact, January 1929, Washington, D.C.

Reflecting its focus on internal economic growth, the Coolidge administration showed little interest in events outside the nation's borders. Coolidge adamantly opposed U.S. membership in the League of Nations, though he did increase unofficial American involvement in the international organization. Ironically for such an inward-looking administration, two of its members received the Nobel Prize for Peace. In 1925, Vice President Charles G. Dawes won the prize for his program to help Germany meet its war debt obligations, and Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg won it in 1929 for his

role in negotiating the Kellogg-Briand Pact, a multinational agreement renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.

LIFE AFTER THE PRESIDENCY



Calvin Coolidge. Undated photograph of U.S. Pres. Calvin Coolidge.

Calvin CoolidgeU.S. Pres. Calvin Coolidge, undated photograph.

In 1928, announcing, "I do not choose to run," Coolidge turned his back on what surely would have been another election victory and instead retired to Northampton. There he wrote a syndicated newspaper column, several magazine articles, and his autobiography (1929). And there, a little less than four years after leaving the White House, he died of a heart attack. After his death, as the country suffered through the worst economic crisis in its history, many came to view the Coolidge era as a time of inaction and complacency in the face of looming disaster. Although Coolidge's personality continued to be the butt of jokes—upon hearing that Coolidge was dead, the writer Dorothy Parker quipped, "How can they tell?"—he was fondly remembered for his quiet New England virtues and for the renewed dignity and respect he brought to his office.

Calvin and Grace CoolidgeU.S. Pres. Calvin Coolidge and first lady Grace Coolidge, undated photograph.

Coolidge was survived by first lady Grace Coolidge, a woman whose outgoing personality contrasted sharply with that of her tight-lipped spouse. She lived another 24 years, during which time she devoted herself to the needs of the hearing-impaired.

Cabinet of Pres. Calvin Coolidge

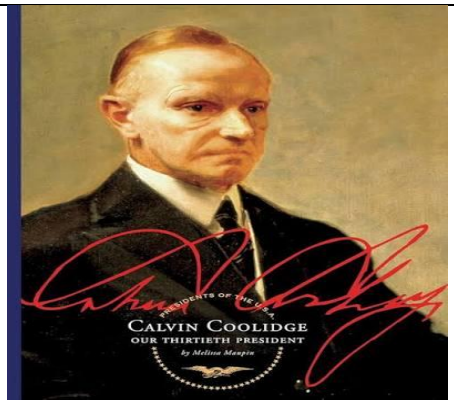
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Calvin Coolidge.

Cabinet of President Calvin Coolidge	
August 3, 1923–March 3, 1925 (Term 1)	
State	Charles Evans Hughes

Cabinet of President Calvin Coolidge	
August 3, 1923–March 3, 1925 (Term 1)	
Treasury	Andrew W. Mellon
War	John Wingate Weeks
Navy	Edwin Denby
	Curtis Dwight Wilbur (from March 18, 1924)
Attorney General	Harry Micajah Daugherty
	Harlan Fiske Stone (from April 9, 1924)
Interior	Hubert Work
Agriculture	Henry Cantwell Wallace
	Howard Mason Gore (from November 21, 1924)
Commerce	Herbert Hoover
Labor	James John Davis
March 4, 1925–March 3, 1929 (Term 2)	
State	Frank B. Kellogg
Treasury	Andrew W. Mellon
War	John Wingate Weeks

Cabinet of President Calvin Coolidge

August 3, 1923–March 3, 1925 (Term 1)	
	Dwight F. Davis (from October 14, 1925)
Navy	Curtis Dwight Wilbur
Attorney General	John Garibaldi Sargent
Interior	Hubert Work
	Roy Owen West (from January 21, 1929)
Agriculture	William Marion Jardine
Commerce	Herbert Hoover
	William Fairfield Whiting (from December 11, 1928)
Labor	James John Davis



Herbert Hoover

31st President of the United States
[4 March 1929 <::> 4 March 1933]

Please visit:

01] https://hoover.archives.gov/hoovers/president-herbert-hoover

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/herbert-hoover

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Herbert-Hoover

04] 1929-1933: The Hoover Presidency in One Hour
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6uFfGfdKT8I [1:01:42]

Herbert Hoover (born August 10, 1874, West Branch, Iowa, U.S.—died October 20, 1964, New York, New York) was the 31st president of the United States (1929–33). Hoover's reputation as a humanitarian—earned during and after World War I as he rescued millions of Europeans from starvation—faded from public consciousness when his administration proved unable to alleviate widespread joblessness, homelessness, and hunger in his own country during the early years of the Great Depression.

Early life and career

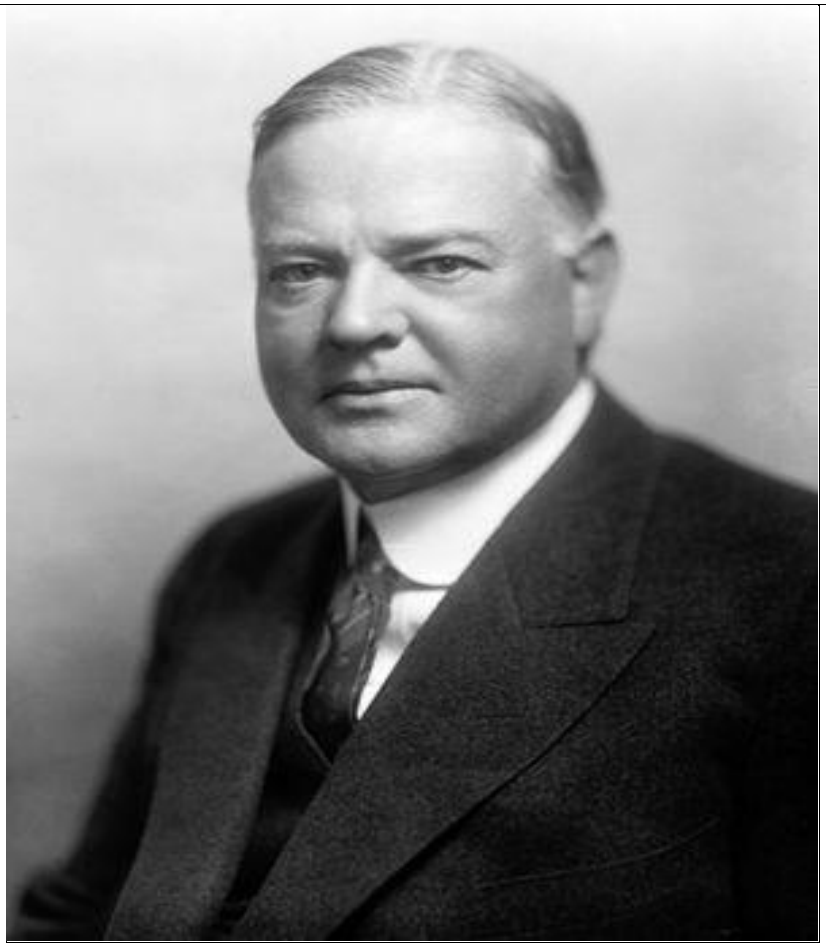
Herbert Hoover.Herbert Hoover (back) with his brother, Theodore Jesse, and his sister, Mary (called May), c. 1881.

Hoover was the son of Jesse and Hulda Hoover. His father was a hardworking blacksmith and farm-implement dealer and his mother an extremely pious woman who eventually adopted Quakerism. Amid the streams, woodlands, and rolling hills around West Branch, Iowa, the young Hoover enjoyed an almost idyllic childhood—until age six, when his father died from heart disease and, four years later, his mother died of pneumonia orphaning Herbert, his older brother, Theodore, and younger sister, Mary.

(Read Herbert Hoover's Britannica entry on his brother, Theodore Jesse Hoover.)

The orphaned Herbert then left Iowa for Oregon, where he grew up in the home of John and Laura Minthorn, his maternal uncle and aunt. His parents' character and religiosity and the trauma of his early childhood left an indelible mark on the young Herbert, instilling in him the self-reliance, industriousness, and moral concern for the needy, abandoned, and downtrodden that would characterize him for the rest of his life (his favorite book was *David Copperfield*). In classic Quaker fashion, his speech, dress, and demeanor were unadorned. Hoover was a member of the first class at Stanford University (1895). He graduated with a degree in geology and became a mining engineer, working on a

wide variety of projects on four continents and displaying exceptional business acumen. Within two decades of leaving Stanford, he had amassed a personal net worth of about $4 million.



Herbert Hoover. U.S. Pres. Herbert Hoover, photograph by Harris & Ewing, undated.

Caught in China during the Boxer Rebellion (1900), Hoover displayed his gift for humanitarian rescue by organizing relief for trapped foreigners. He drew on his China experience in 1914, when he helped Americans stranded in Europe at the outbreak of World War I. For the next three years, he headed the Commission for Relief in Belgium, overseeing what he called “the greatest charity the world

has ever seen" and exhibiting impressive executive ability in helping to procure food for some nine million people whose country had been overrun by the German army. So skilled was Hoover's performance that Pres. Woodrow Wilson appointed him U.S. food administrator for the duration of the war. Relying primarily on voluntary cooperation by the American public, Hoover won wide support for "wheatless" and "meatless" days so that as much of the nation's agricultural output as possible could be sent to soldiers at the front. Recognized by war's end as the "Great Engineer" who could organize resources and personnel to accomplish extraordinary acts of benevolence, Hoover was the natural choice to head the American Relief Administration. The ARA sent shiploads of food and other life-sustaining supplies to war-ravaged Europe—including Germany and Bolshevik Russia during the famine in that country in 1921–23. The outreach to Soviet Russia garnered Hoover much criticism, but he defended his actions on humanitarian grounds, saying, "Twenty million people are starving. Whatever their politics, they shall be fed."

In 1921 President-elect Warren G. Harding chose Hoover to serve as secretary of commerce. In the Harding cabinet

Hoover proved to be one of the few progressive voices in a Republican administration that generally saw little role for government other than assisting the growth of business. Hoover alienated many Old Guard Republican leaders as he vigorously supported U.S. membership in the League of Nations, collective bargaining rights for labor, and government regulation of such new industries as radio broadcasting and commercial aviation. Continuing as commerce secretary under Pres. Calvin Coolidge, Hoover spearheaded efforts that ultimately led to construction of Hoover Dam and the St. Lawrence Seaway. He illustrated his continuing dedication to humanitarian rescue when he supervised relief efforts during and after the Mississippi River flood of 1927.

At a glance: the Hoover presidency

Presidency

Herbert Hoover campaign button. Button from Herbert Hoover's 1928 U.S. presidential campaign.

When President Coolidge decided not to run for another term in 1928, Hoover received the Republican presidential nomination, despite the objections of conservatives opposed to his departure from the party's traditional laissez-faire philosophy. In the ensuing campaign, Hoover and running mate Charles Curtis ran against New York Gov. Alfred E. Smith and vice presidential candidate Joseph T. Robinson in a contest

that focused on Prohibition and religion. Smith opposed Prohibition, while Hoover remained equivocal, calling it an "experiment noble in motive." Smith's Roman Catholicism proved a liability, especially in the South, but the election outcome chiefly reflected the close identification in the public mind of the Republican Party with the enormous prosperity of the 1920s. Hoover captured more than 21 million popular votes to Smith's approximately 15 million, and he received 444 electoral votes to his Democratic opponent's 87. (*See* primary source document: Inaugural Address. *See also* Cabinet of President Herbert Hoover and United States presidential election of 1928.)

Cabinet of President Herbert Hoover

March 4, 1929–March 3, 1933	
State	Henry Lewis Stimson
Treasury	Andrew W. Mellon
	Ogden Livingston Mills (from February 13, 1932)
War	James William Good

Cabinet of President Herbert Hoover

March 4, 1929–March 3, 1933	
	Patrick Jay Hurley (from December 9, 1929)
Navy	Charles Francis Adams
Attorney General	William De Witt Mitchell
Interior	Ray Lyman Wilbur
Agriculture	Arthur Mastick Hyde
Commerce	Robert Patterson Lamont
	Roy Dikeman Chapin (from December 14, 1932)
Labor	James John Davis
	William Nuckles Doak (from December 9, 1930)

During the 1928 presidential campaign, Hoover said, "We are nearer today to the ideal of the abolition of poverty and fear from the lives of men and women than ever before in any land." One year later the stock market crash of 1929 plunged the country into the worst economic collapse

in its history. President Hoover parted ways with those leaders of the Republican Party—including Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon—who believed there was nothing for the government to do but wait for the next phase of the business cycle. Hoover took prompt action. He called business leaders to the White House to urge them not to lay off workers or cut wages. He urged state and local governments to join private charities in caring for Americans made destitute by the Depression. He asked Congress to appropriate money for public-works projects to expand government employment. In 1931 he backed creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC, established 1932), a large-scale lending institution intended to help banks and industries and thereby promote a general recovery.

Hooverville. A shanytown ("Hooverville") in Seattle, c. 1932–37.

The nation's economy failed to respond to Hoover's initiatives. As the Depression worsened, banks and other businesses collapsed and poverty stalked the land, and the American people began to blame Hoover for the calamity. The homeless began calling their shantytowns "Hoovervilles." Demands rose for greater government action, especially direct relief payments to the most impoverished of the millions of unemployed. Believing that a dole would prove addictive, sapping the will of Americans to provide for themselves, Hoover adamantly opposed direct federal relief payments to individuals. He was also a firm believer in a balanced budget, unwilling to plunge the federal government into massive debt through a welfare program. This is not to say that Hoover opposed assistance to those in need. For example, expenditures for American Indian schools and health care doubled during his administration, and this earned him accolades as the first president to recognize some basic Indian rights. Hoover also furthered the long-held Quaker interest in prison reform, alleviating prison overcrowding by building new penitentiaries and work camps, expanding educational opportunities for prisoners, and increasing the number of prisoners placed on parole. He also supported RFC loans to states for relief purposes,

though this modest program did little to alleviate suffering or to stimulate economic recovery. Also largely ineffective—but sincerely pursued—was Hoover's attempt to defuse international tensions by promoting disarmament negotiations at the London Naval Conference of 1930. Quaker pacifism undoubtedly spurred Hoover's interest in the arms race and international disarmament, but, like his relief schemes on the home front that could hardly suppress or contain the Depression, these efforts failed to reduce world tensions or to prevent Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

Bonus Army Police chief Major Pelham Glassford inspecting the camp of the Bonus Army, Washington, D.C., 1932.

Hoover also made some critical mistakes in his handling of the Depression. In 1930, for example, he signed into law (against the advice of many leading economists) the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, which raised many import duties so high that foreign countries could not sell goods in the United States; as a result, those countries could not—or would not—purchase American goods at a time when the need for sales abroad had never been greater. More problems arose in 1932, when Hoover authorized General Douglas MacArthur to evict from Washington, D.C., the Bonus Army, a group of World War I veterans who had camped in the nation's capital to pressure Congress into awarding a promised bonus many years in advance of the scheduled payout date. MacArthur greatly exceeded Hoover's orders in using military force against the unemployed former soldiers. The result was a public relations nightmare for the president. Hoover's silence regarding MacArthur's excesses led the public to think that the president had been responsible for the brutality. The man who had enjoyed a worldwide reputation as a humanitarian now appeared heartless and cruel.

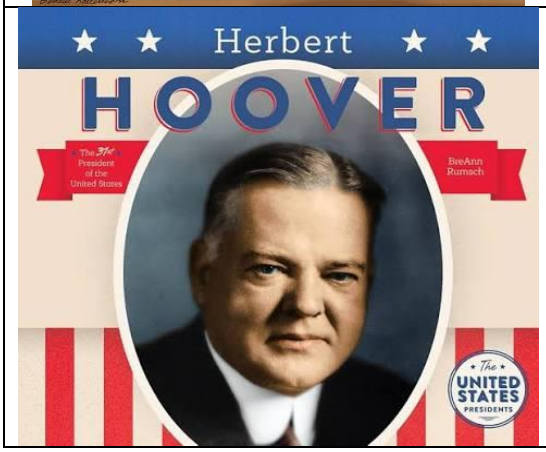
By the 1932 presidential campaign, Hoover was blaming the Depression on events abroad and predicting that election of his Democratic challenger, Franklin Delano

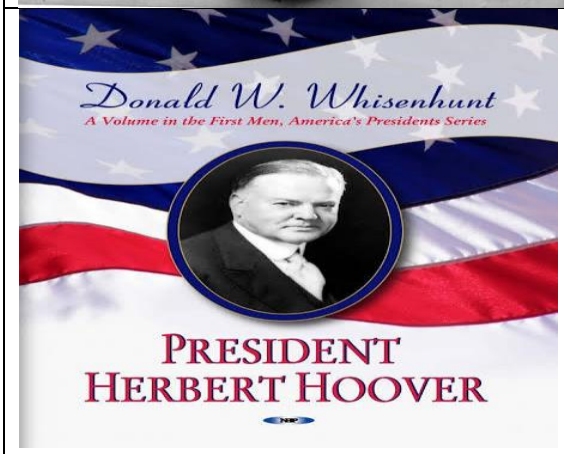
Roosevelt, would only intensify the disaster. The electorate obviously thought differently, as Roosevelt captured nearly 23 million votes (and 472 electoral votes) to Hoover's slightly less than 16 million (59 electoral votes). During the months between the election and the inauguration, Hoover attempted unsuccessfully to gain Roosevelt's commitment to sustaining his policies. When he left the White House on March 4, 1933, Hoover was a defeated and embittered man.

Life after the presidency

Hoover and his wife—the former Lou Henry (Lou Hoover), also a Stanford-trained geologist—moved first to Palo Alto, California, and then to New York City, where they took up residence at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. For the next 30 years, Hoover was closely identified with the most conservative elements in the Republican Party, condemning what he regarded as the radicalism of the New Deal and opposing Roosevelt's attempts to take a more active role against German and Japanese aggression. He believed fascism lay at the root of government programs like the New Deal and argued so in *The Challenge to Liberty* (1934) and the eight-volume *Addresses upon the American Road* (1936–61).

An ardent anticommunist and foe of international crusades, he opposed American entry into World War II (until the attack on Pearl Harbor) and denounced American involvement in the Korean and Vietnam wars. His last major activity was heading the Hoover Commission, under Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, which aimed at streamlining the federal bureaucracy. The research-oriented Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University—founded in 1919 as the Hoover War Collection, a library on World War I—is named in his honour.

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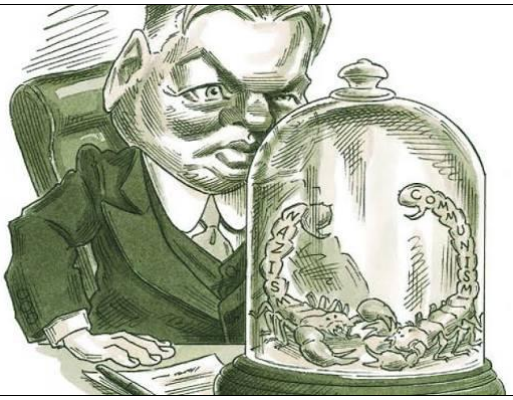
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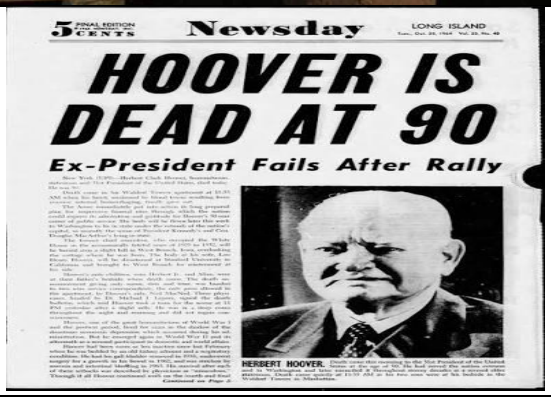
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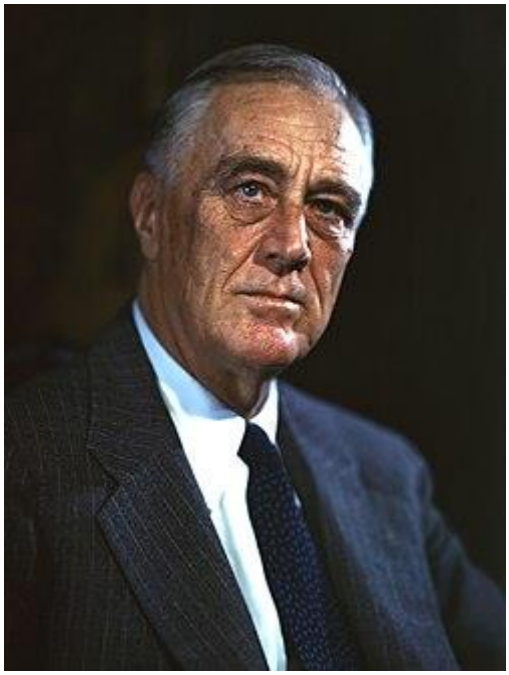

Franklin D Roosevlt

32nd President of the United States

[4 March 1933 <::> 12 April 1945]

Please visit:

01] https://www.fdrlibrary.org/fdr

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/franklindroosevelt

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Franklin-D-Roosevelt

04] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/franklin-roosevelt

05] The Irene and Curry Roberts Lecture [1:14:46]
https://www.umw.edu/greatlives/lecture/franklin-d-roosevelt-2/

06] First 100 Days: Franklin D. Roosevelt vs. The Great Depression

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mTtEM4ltJWg [56:09]

07] FDR's Life and Presidential Legacy | FDR | History
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_fwRKlAtPKI [59:24]

08] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President 1933-1945 - Domestic Policy
https://www.gresham.ac.uk/watch-now/franklin-d-roosevelt-president-1933-1945-domestic-policy [59:40]

09] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President 1933-1945 - Foreign Policy
https://www.gresham.ac.uk/watch-now/franklin-d-roosevelt-president-1933-1945-foreign-policy [1:01:55]

10] Remembering Franklin D. Roosevelt After 80 Years
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JQxtL-J3e1M [37:46]

11] Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Four-Term Phenomenon (1933 – 1945)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_d-v_faao7E [25:52]
Franklin Delano Roosevelt is a colossal figure in American History. He led the nation through the Great Depression, as well as World War II. He is the only president to be elected four times, and is widely regarded as one of the greatest presidents of all time, along with Washington and Lincoln. Let's get a closer look at his life and legacy.

12] The Untold Story: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Final Days | The Wheelchair President | The American Story
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H_288sn_fSQ [46:01]
Franklin D. Roosevelt lived a complicated life, one day he'd be dealing with his marriage and his illness and the next he'd be dealing with Stalin and WW2. This documentary sheds light on his enduring legacy in history as America's longest serving president.

13] FDR's Mentors: How FDR Learned to Become a Great Leader
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=csThmAM_qYI [50:23]
In every poll of the public, historians, political scientists, and experts on the presidency, Franklin D. Roosevelt is rated among the top three presidents in American history. He further ranks among the top five presidents in terms of the number of biographies written about him. While the caliber of his leadership has been much discussed, less attention has been paid to how he learned to lead.

Watch to hear Professor Michael Gerhardt, the author of "FDR's Mentors: Navigating the Path to Greatness," tell the story of FDR's presidency through his interaction with the few people to whom he turned as mentors. Among the most impactful of these were former presidents Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt (FDR's fifth cousin), Abraham Lincoln, and Andrew Jackson, his wife Eleanor, as well as journalist Louis Howe, his teacher and lifelong friend Endicott Peabody, and his long-time confidante and labor expert, Frances Perkins. The story of their impact on FDR enriches our understanding of how he became one of America's greatest presidents.

14] FDR - The Greatest Democratic President Documentary https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDmzid4t5f8 [1:22:59]
15] https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/franklin-delano-roosevelt-and-the-new-deal/
16] https://www.nps.gov/hofr/learn/historyculture/fdr-biography.htm?trk=public_post_comment-text
17] https://www.history.com/articles/franklin-d-roosevelt

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Franklin D. Roosevelt (born January 30, 1882, Hyde Park, New York, U.S.—died April 12, 1945, Warm Springs, Georgia) was the 32nd president of the United States (1933–45). The only president elected to the office four times, Roosevelt led the United States through two of the greatest crises of the 20th century: the Great Depression and World War II. In so doing, he greatly expanded the powers of the federal government through a series of programs and reforms known as the New Deal, and he served as the principal architect of the successful effort to rid the world of German National Socialism and Japanese militarism.

Franklin D. Roosevelt with his motherA young Franklin D. Roosevelt with his mother, Sara.

Early Life

Roosevelt was the only child of James and Sara Delano Roosevelt. The family lived in unostentatious and genteel luxury, dividing its time between the family estate in the Hudson River valley of New York state and European resorts. Young Roosevelt was educated privately at home until age 14, when he entered Groton Preparatory School in Groton, Massachusetts. At Groton, as at home, he was reared to be a gentleman, assuming responsibility for those less fortunate and exercising Christian stewardship through public service.

Eleanor Roosevelt Eleanor Roosevelt in her wedding dress, 1905.

Franklin D. Roosevelt . Franklin D. Roosevelt with his wife, Eleanor, and their five children, 1919.

In 1900 Roosevelt entered Harvard University, where he spent most of his time on extracurricular activities and a strenuous social life; his academic record was undistinguished. It was during his Harvard years that he fell under the spell of his fifth cousin, Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, the progressive champion who advocated a vastly increased role for the government in the nation's economy. It was also during his Harvard years that he fell in love with Theodore Roosevelt's niece, Eleanor Roosevelt, who was then active in charitable work for the poor in New York City. The distant cousins became engaged during Roosevelt's final year at Harvard, and they were married on March 17, 1905. Eleanor would later open her husband's eyes to the deplorable state of the poor in New York's slums.

Roosevelt attended Columbia University Law School but was not much interested in his studies. After passing the New York bar exam, he went to work as a clerk for the distinguished Wall Street firm of Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, but he displayed the same attitude of indifference toward the legal profession as he had toward his education.

At a glance: the Roosevelt presidency
Early political activities

Franklin D. RooseveltFranklin D. Roosevelt, undated photograph.

Motivated by his cousin Theodore, who continued to urge young men of privileged backgrounds to enter public service, Roosevelt looked for an opportunity to launch a career in politics. That opportunity came in 1910, when Democratic Party leaders of Dutchess county, New York, persuaded him to undertake an apparently futile attempt to win a seat in the state senate. Roosevelt, whose branch of the family had always voted Democratic, hesitated only long enough to make sure his distinguished Republican Party relative would not speak against him. He campaigned strenuously and won the election. Not quite 29 when he took his seat in Albany, he quickly won statewide and even some national attention by leading a small group of Democratic insurgents who refused to support Billy

Sheehan, the candidate for the United States Senate backed by Tammany Hall, the New York City Democratic organization. For three months Roosevelt helped hold the insurgents firm, and Tammany was forced to switch to another candidate.

In the New York Senate Roosevelt learned much of the give-and-take of politics, and he gradually abandoned his patrician airs and attitude of superiority. In the process, he came to champion the full program of progressive reform. By 1911 Roosevelt was supporting progressive New Jersey Gov. Woodrow Wilson for the Democratic presidential nomination of 1912. In that year Roosevelt was reelected to the state senate, despite an attack of typhoid fever that prevented him from making public appearances during the campaign. His success was attributable in part to the publicity generated by an Albany journalist, Louis McHenry Howe. Howe saw in the tall, handsome Roosevelt a politician with great promise, and he remained dedicated to Roosevelt for the rest of his life.

For his work on behalf of Wilson, Roosevelt was appointed assistant secretary of the navy in March 1913. Roosevelt loved the sea and naval traditions, and he knew more about them than did his superior, navy secretary Josephus Daniels, with whom he was frequently impatient. Roosevelt tried with mixed success to bring reforms to the navy yards, which were under his jurisdiction, meanwhile learning to negotiate with labor unions among the navy's civilian employees.

After war broke out in Europe in 1914, Roosevelt became a vehement advocate of military preparedness, and following U.S. entry into the war in 1917, he built a reputation as an effective administrator. In the summer of 1918 he made an extended tour of naval bases and battlefields overseas. Upon his return, Eleanor Roosevelt discovered that her husband had been romantically involved with her social secretary, Lucy Mercer. She offered him a divorce; he refused and promised never to see Mercer again (a promise he would break in the 1940s). Although the Roosevelts agreed to remain together, their relationship ceased to be an intimate one.

Paralysis to presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt

At the 1920 Democratic convention Roosevelt won the nomination for vice president on a ticket with presidential nominee James M. Cox. Roosevelt campaigned vigorously on behalf of American entry into the League of Nations, but the Democrats lost in a landslide to the Republican ticket of Warren G.

Harding and Calvin Coolidge. Roosevelt then became vice president of a bonding company, Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, and entered into several other business ventures.

In August 1921, while Roosevelt was on vacation at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, Canada, his life was transformed when he was stricken with poliomyelitis. He suffered intensely, and for some time he was almost completely paralyzed. His mother urged him to retire to the family estate at Hyde Park, but his wife and Howe believed it essential that he remain active in politics. For his part, Roosevelt never abandoned hope that he would regain the use of his legs.

Franklin D. Roosevelt. Franklin D. Roosevelt (left) with Democratic politician John W. Davis, 1928.

Unable to pursue an active political career as he recovered from polio, Roosevelt depended on his wife to keep his name alive in Democratic circles. Although initially very shy, Eleanor Roosevelt became an effective public speaker and an adroit political analyst under Howe's tutelage. As a result of her speaking engagements all over New York state, Roosevelt never faded entirely from the political scene, despite what seemed to be a career-ending affliction. In 1924 he made a dramatic appearance at the Democratic convention to nominate Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York, for president, and he repeated his nomination of Smith at the 1928 convention. Smith, in turn, urged Roosevelt to run for governor of New York in 1928. Roosevelt was at first reluctant but eventually agreed.

Franklin D. Roosevelt. Franklin D. Roosevelt shooting a bow and arrow.

As he traveled by automobile around the state, Roosevelt demonstrated that his illness had not destroyed the youthful resilience and vitality that had led people such as Howe to predict great political success. He also showed that he had matured into a more serious person, one now with a keen appreciation for life's hardships. On election day Roosevelt won by 25,000 votes, even though New York state went Republican in the presidential election, contributing to Herbert Hoover's landslide victory in the 1928 presidential election over Smith.

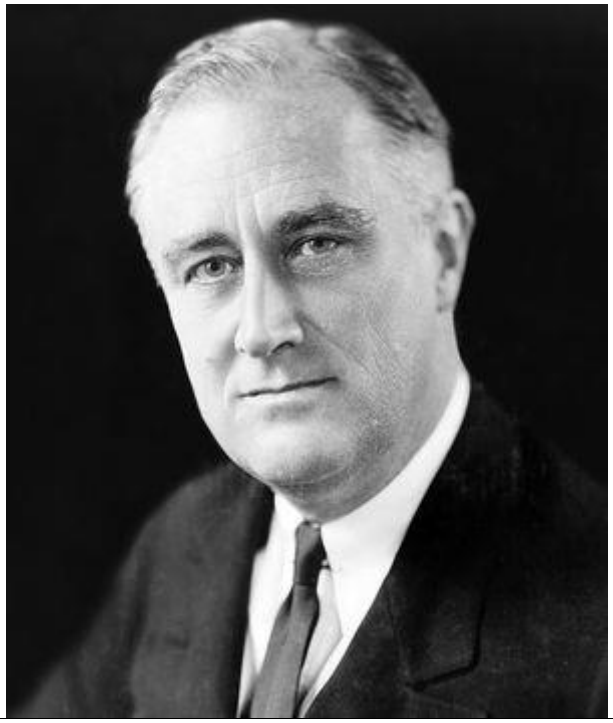
Succeeding Smith as governor, Roosevelt realized he had to establish an administration distinct from that of his predecessor. Accordingly, he declined to appoint Smith's cronies to state office and did not look to Smith, the "Happy Warrior," for guidance. Smith, already stung by his defeat for the presidency, was hurt by Roosevelt's apparent lack of gratitude, and a breach developed between the two men.

During his first term, Governor Roosevelt concentrated on tax relief for farmers and cheaper public utilities for consumers. The appeal of his programs, particularly in upstate New York, led to his reelection in 1930 by 725,000 votes. As the depression worsened during his second term, Roosevelt moved farther to the political left, mobilizing the state government to provide relief and to aid in economic recovery. In the fall of 1931 he persuaded the Republican-dominated legislature to establish the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, which eventually provided unemployment assistance to 10 percent of New York's families. His aggressive approach to the economic problems of his state, along with his overwhelming electoral victory in 1930, boosted Roosevelt into the front ranks of contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1932.

Because winning the nomination then required a two-thirds vote in the Democratic convention, even a leading contender could be stopped with relative ease. It soon became apparent that Roosevelt's strongest opposition would come from urban and conservative Eastern Democrats still loyal to Smith; his strongest support was in the South and West. The opposition became stronger when John Nance Garner of Texas, speaker of the House of Representatives, won the California Democratic primary. But on the third ballot at the 1932 convention, Garner released his delegates to Roosevelt, who then captured the required two-thirds vote on the fourth ballot. Garner received the vice presidential nomination. Roosevelt then broke tradition by appearing in person to accept his party's nomination. In his speech before the delegates, he said, "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people."

Franklin D. Roosevelt .Franklin D. Roosevelt waving as he embarks on a tour of the western states during his 1932 presidential campaign.

With the depression the only issue of consequence in the presidential campaign of 1932, the American people had a choice between the apparently unsuccessful policies of the incumbent Hoover and the vaguely defined New Deal program presented by Roosevelt. While Roosevelt avoided specifics, he made clear that his program for economic recovery would make extensive use of the power of the federal government. In a series of addresses carefully prepared by a team of advisers popularly known as the Brain Trust, he promised aid to farmers, public development of electric power, a balanced budget, and government policing of irresponsible private economic power. Besides having policy differences, the two candidates presented a stark contrast in personal demeanor as well. Roosevelt was genial and exuded confidence, while Hoover remained unremittingly grim and dour. On election day, Roosevelt received nearly 23 million popular votes to Hoover's nearly 16 million; the electoral vote was 472 to 59. In a repudiation not just of Hoover but also of the Republican Party, Americans elected substantial Democratic majorities to both houses of Congress.



Franklin D. Roosevelt. U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933.

In the four months between the election and Roosevelt's inauguration, President Hoover sought Roosevelt's cooperation in stemming the deepening economic crisis. But Roosevelt refused to subscribe to Hoover's proposals, which Hoover himself admitted would mean "the abandonment of 90 percent of the so-called new deal." As a result, the economy continued to decline. By inauguration day—March 4, 1933—most banks had shut down, industrial production had fallen to just 56 percent of its 1929 level, at least 13 million wage earners were unemployed, and farmers were in desperate straits.

The first term of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin D. RooseveltU.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, delivering his First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933.

In his inaugural address Roosevelt promised prompt, decisive action, and he conveyed some of his own unshakable self-confidence to millions of Americans listening on radios throughout the land. "This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and prosper," he asserted, adding, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

"The Hundred Days"

Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Emergency Railroad Transportation ActU.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt (center) signing into law the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, with Sen. Clarence Drill (left) and Rep. Sam Rayburn (right) looking on, June 16, 1933.

Roosevelt followed up on his promise of prompt action with "The Hundred Days"—the first phase of the New Deal, in which his administration presented Congress with a broad array of measures intended to achieve economic recovery, to provide relief to the millions of poor and unemployed, and to reform aspects of the economy that Roosevelt believed had caused the collapse. Roosevelt was candid in admitting that the initial thrust of the New Deal was experimental. He would see what worked and what did not, abandoning the latter and persisting with the former until the crisis was overcome.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: fireside chat. Franklin D. Roosevelt giving a radio broadcast (fireside chat), September 1934.

His first step was to order all banks closed until Congress, meeting in special session on March 9, could pass legislation allowing banks in sound condition to reopen; this "bank holiday," as Roosevelt euphemistically called it, was intended to end depositors' runs, which were threatening to destroy the nation's entire banking system. The bank holiday, combined with emergency banking legislation

and the first of Roosevelt's regular national radio broadcasts (later known as the "fireside chats"), so restored public confidence that when banks did reopen the much-feared runs did not materialize.

Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Agricultural Adjustment Act .U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Agricultural Adjustment Act, a farm relief bill, 1933. Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace is standing second from right.

Two key recovery measures of The Hundred Days were the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The AAA established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which was charged with increasing prices of agricultural commodities and expanding the proportion of national income going to farmers. Its strategy was to grant subsidies to producers of seven basic commodities—wheat, corn (maize), hogs, cotton, tobacco, rice, and milk—in return for reduced production, thereby reducing the surpluses that kept commodity prices low. The subsidies were to be generated from taxes on the processing of the commodities. When the Supreme Court invalidated the tax in 1936, Roosevelt shifted the focus of the AAA to soil conservation, but the principle of paying farmers not to grow remained at the core of American agricultural policy for six decades. Although quite controversial when introduced—especially because it required the destruction of newly planted fields at a time when many Americans were going hungry—the AAA program gradually succeeded in raising farmers' incomes. However, it was not until 1941 that farm income reached even the inadequate level of 1929.

The NIRA was a two-part program. One part consisted of a $3.3-billion appropriation for public works, to be spent by the Public Works Administration (PWA). Had this money been poured rapidly into the economy, it might have done much to stimulate recovery. Since Roosevelt wanted to be sure the program would not invite fraud and waste, however, the PWA moved slowly and deliberately, and it did not become an important factor until late in the New Deal.

The other part of the NIRA was the National Recovery Administration (NRA), whose task was to establish and administer industrywide codes that prohibited unfair trade practices, set minimum wages and maximum hours, guaranteed workers the right to bargain collectively, and imposed controls on prices and production. The codes eventually became enormously complex and difficult to enforce, and by 1935 the business community, which at first had welcomed the NRA, had become disillusioned with the program and blamed Roosevelt for its ineffectiveness. In May of that year the Supreme Court invalidated the NRA, which by that time had few supporters in Congress or the administration.

Another important recovery measure was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), a public corporation created in 1933 to build dams and hydroelectric power plants and to improve navigation and flood control in the vast Tennessee River basin. The TVA, which eventually provided cheap electricity to impoverished areas in seven states along the river and its tributaries, reignited a long-standing debate over the proper role of government in the development of the nation's natural resources. The constitutionality of the agency was challenged immediately after its establishment but was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1936.

Civilian Conservation Corps . New members of the Civilian Conservation Corps waiting to be fitted for shoes at Camp Dix, New Jersey, 1935.

The Hundred Days also included relief and reform measures, the former referring to short-term payments to individuals to alleviate hardship, the latter to long-range programs aimed at eliminating economic abuses. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) granted funds to state relief agencies, and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) employed hundreds of thousands of young men in reforestation and flood-control work. The Home Owners' Refinancing Act provided mortgage relief for millions of unemployed Americans in danger of losing their homes.

Reform measures included the Federal Securities Act, which provided government oversight of stock trading (later augmented by establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC]), and the Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act, which prohibited commercial banks from making risky investments and established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to protect depositors' accounts.

The "Second New Deal" of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt . U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt and his dog, Major.

By the fall of 1934, the measures passed during The Hundred Days had produced a limited degree of recovery; more importantly, they had regenerated hope that the country would surmount the crisis. Although the New Deal had alienated conservatives, including many businessmen, most Americans supported Roosevelt's programs. That support manifested itself in the congressional elections of 1934, in which Democrats added to their already substantial majorities in both houses.

Yet by 1935 Roosevelt knew he had to do more. Although the economy had begun to rise from its nadir during the winter of 1932–33, it was still far below its level before the stock market crash of 1929. Millions of Americans were still unemployed—many had been jobless for several years—and the destitute were beginning to listen to demagogues who criticized the New Deal for not going far enough. Roosevelt foresaw the possibility that in the 1936 presidential election he would face a significant third-party challenge from the left.

How do social security benefits work?More than 140 countries have some type of social security program.

To meet this threat, Roosevelt asked Congress to pass additional New Deal legislation—sometimes called the "Second New Deal"—in 1935. The key measures of the Second New Deal were the Social Security Act, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the Wagner Act. The Social Security Act for the first time established an economic "safety net" for all Americans, providing unemployment and disability insurance and old-age pensions. The WPA, headed by Roosevelt's close confidant Harry Hopkins, aimed to provide the unemployed with useful work that would help to maintain their skills and bolster their self-respect. Between 1935 and 1941 it employed a monthly average of 2.1 million workers on a variety of projects, including the construction of roads, bridges, airports, and public buildings; natural-resource conservation; and artistic and cultural programs such as painting public murals and writing local and regional histories. The Wagner Act (officially the National Labor Relations Act) reestablished labor's right to bargain collectively (which had been eliminated when the Supreme Court had invalidated the NRA), and it created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to adjudicate labor disputes. In addition to these hallmark measures, Congress also passed a major tax revision—labeled by its opponents as a "soak-the-rich" tax—that raised tax rates for persons with large incomes and for large corporations.

The second term

Franklin D. Roosevelt campaign buttonButton for a Franklin D. Roosevelt campaign for U.S. president; date unknown.

Why is the 20th Amendment called the Lame Duck Amendment?Learn why Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first U.S. president with an inauguration in January—and what a senator from Nebraska had to do with it.

Roosevelt ran for reelection in 1936 with the firm support of farmers, laborers, and the poor. He faced the equally firm opposition of conservatives, but the

epithets hurled at him from the right merely helped to unify his following. The Republican nominee, Gov. Alfred M. Landon of Kansas, a moderate, could do little to stem the Roosevelt tide. Landon received fewer than 17 million votes to Roosevelt's more than 27 million, and Roosevelt carried every state except Maine and Vermont.

Supreme Court fight

Franklin D. RooseveltU.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, delivering his Second Inaugural Address, January 20, 1937.

Declaring in his Second Inaugural Address that "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," Roosevelt was determined to push forward with further New Deal reforms. With large Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress, there remained only one obstacle to his objectives: the Supreme Court. During Roosevelt's first term, the court, which consisted entirely of pre-Roosevelt appointees, had invalidated several key New Deal measures, and cases challenging the Social Security Act and the Wagner Act were pending. To make the court more supportive of reform legislation, Roosevelt proposed a reorganization plan that would have allowed him to appoint one new justice for every sitting justice aged 70 years or older. Widely viewed as a court-packing scheme (even by Roosevelt's supporters), the reorganization bill provoked heated debate in Congress and eventually was voted down, which handed Roosevelt his first major legislative defeat. Meanwhile, the fight over court packing seemed to alter the Supreme Court's attitude toward the New Deal, and both the Social Security Act and the Wagner Act were upheld.

End of the New Deal

By 1937 the economy had recovered substantially, and Roosevelt, seeing an opportunity to return to a balanced budget, drastically curtailed government spending. The result was a sharp recession, during which the economy began plummeting toward 1932 levels. Chastened by the recession, Roosevelt now began to pay more attention to advisers who counseled deficit spending as the best way to counter the depression. Late in 1937 he backed another massive government spending program, and by the middle of 1938 the crisis had passed.

By 1938 the New Deal was drawing to a close. Conservative Southern Democrats openly opposed its continuation, and Roosevelt's attempt to defeat several of them in the 1938 Democratic primaries not only proved unsuccessful but also produced charges that the president was a dictator trying to conduct a "purge." In the congressional elections that year the Republicans gained 80 seats in the

House and 7 in the Senate. Despite continued Democratic majorities in both houses, an alliance of Republicans and conservative Democrats now blocked any further reform legislation.

Foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt

By 1939 foreign policy was overshadowing domestic policy. From the beginning of his presidency, Roosevelt had been deeply involved in foreign-policy questions. Although he refused to support international currency stabilization at the London Economic Conference in 1933, by 1936 he had stabilized the dollar and concluded stabilization agreements with Great Britain and France. Roosevelt extended American recognition to the government of the Soviet Union, launched the Good Neighbor Policy to improve U.S. relations with Latin America, and backed reciprocal agreements to lower trade barriers between the U.S. and other countries.

Congress, however, was dominated by isolationists who believed that American entry into World War I had been mistaken and who were determined to prevent the United States from being drawn into another European war. Beginning with the Neutrality Act of 1935, Congress passed a series of laws designed to minimize American involvement with belligerent nations. Roosevelt accepted the neutrality laws but at the same time warned Americans of the danger of remaining isolated from a world increasingly menaced by the dictatorial regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan. Speaking in Chicago in October 1937, he proposed that peace-loving nations make concerted efforts to quarantine aggressors. Although he seemed to mean nothing more drastic than breaking off diplomatic relations, the proposal created such alarm throughout the country that he quickly backed away from even this modest level of international involvement. Then, in December, the Japanese sank an American gunboat, the USS *Panay*, on the Yangtze River in China. Most Americans feared that the attack would lead to war, and they were pleased when Roosevelt accepted Japan's apologies.

When World War II broke out in Europe in September 1939, Roosevelt called Congress into special session to revise the neutrality acts to permit belligerents—i.e., Britain and France—to buy American arms on a "cash-and-carry" basis; over the objections of isolationists, the cash-and-carry policy was enacted. When France fell to the Germans in the spring and early summer of 1940, and Britain was left alone to face the Nazi war machine, Roosevelt convinced Congress to intensify defense preparations and to support Britain with "all aid short of war."

In the fall of that year Roosevelt sent 50 older destroyers to Britain, which feared an imminent German invasion, in exchange for eight naval bases.

The third and fourth terms

Franklin D. RooseveltCampaign button advocating against a third term for U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1940 election.

The swap of ships for bases took place during the 1940 presidential election campaign. Earlier in the year the Democrats had nominated Roosevelt for a third term, even though his election would break the two-term tradition honored since the presidency of George Washington. The Republican nominee, Wendell L. Willkie, represented a departure from the isolationist-dominated Republican Party, and the two candidates agreed on most foreign-policy issues, including increased military aid to Britain. On election day, Roosevelt defeated Willkie soundly—by 27 million to 22 million popular votes—though his margin of victory was less than it had been in 1932 and 1936. Roosevelt's support was reduced by a number of factors, including the court-packing scheme, the attempted "purge" of conservative Democrats in 1938, the breaking of the two-term tradition, and fears that he would lead the nation into war.

By inauguration day in 1941, Britain was running out of cash and finding it increasingly difficult—owing to German submarine attacks—to carry American arms across the Atlantic. In March 1941, after a bitter debate in Congress, Roosevelt obtained passage of the Lend-Lease Act, which enabled the United States to accept noncash payment for military and other aid to Britain and its allies. Later that year he authorized the United States Navy to provide

protection for lend-lease shipments, and in the fall he instructed the navy to "shoot on sight" at German submarines. All these actions moved the United States closer to actual belligerency with Germany.

In August 1941, on a battleship off Newfoundland, Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill issued a joint statement, the Atlantic Charter, in which they pledged their countries to the goal of achieving "the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." Reminiscent of the Four Freedoms that Roosevelt outlined in his annual message to Congress in January 1941, the statement disclaimed territorial aggrandizement and affirmed a commitment to national self-determination, freedom of the seas, freedom from want and fear, greater economic opportunities, and disarmament of all aggressor nations.

Attack on Pearl Harbor

Yet it was in the Pacific rather than the Atlantic that war came to the United States. When Japan joined the Axis powers of Germany and Italy, Roosevelt began to restrict exports to Japan of supplies essential to making war. Throughout 1941, Japan negotiated with the United States, seeking restoration of trade in those supplies, particularly petroleum products. When the negotiations failed to produce agreement, Japanese military leaders began to plan an attack on the United States. According to one school of thought, this was exactly what Roosevelt wanted, for, by backing Japan into a corner and forcing it to make war on the United States, the president could then enter the European war in defense of Britain—the so-called "back door to war" theory. This controversial hypothesis continues to be debated today. (See Sidebar: Pearl Harbor and the "Back Door to War" Theory.)

By the end of November, Roosevelt knew that an attack was imminent (the United States had broken the Japanese code), but he was uncertain where it would take place. To his great surprise, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, destroying or damaging nearly the entire U.S. Pacific fleet and hundreds of airplanes and killing about 2,500 military personnel and civilians. On December 8, at Roosevelt's request, Congress declared war on Japan; on December 11 Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

Henri Giraud, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Charles de Gaulle, and Winston Churchill; Casablanca ConferenceAllied leaders (from left) French Gen. Henri Giraud, U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, French Gen. Charles de Gaulle, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill at the Casablanca Conference, January 1943.

At a press conference in December 1943, Roosevelt asserted that "Dr. New Deal" had been replaced by "Dr. Win the War." The many New Deal agencies designed to provide employment during the Great Depression rapidly disappeared as war mobilization created more jobs than there were people to fill them. Full economic recovery, which had resisted Roosevelt's efforts throughout the 1930s, suddenly came about as a consequence of massive government spending on war production in the early 1940s.

Relations with the Allies of Franklin D. Roosevelt

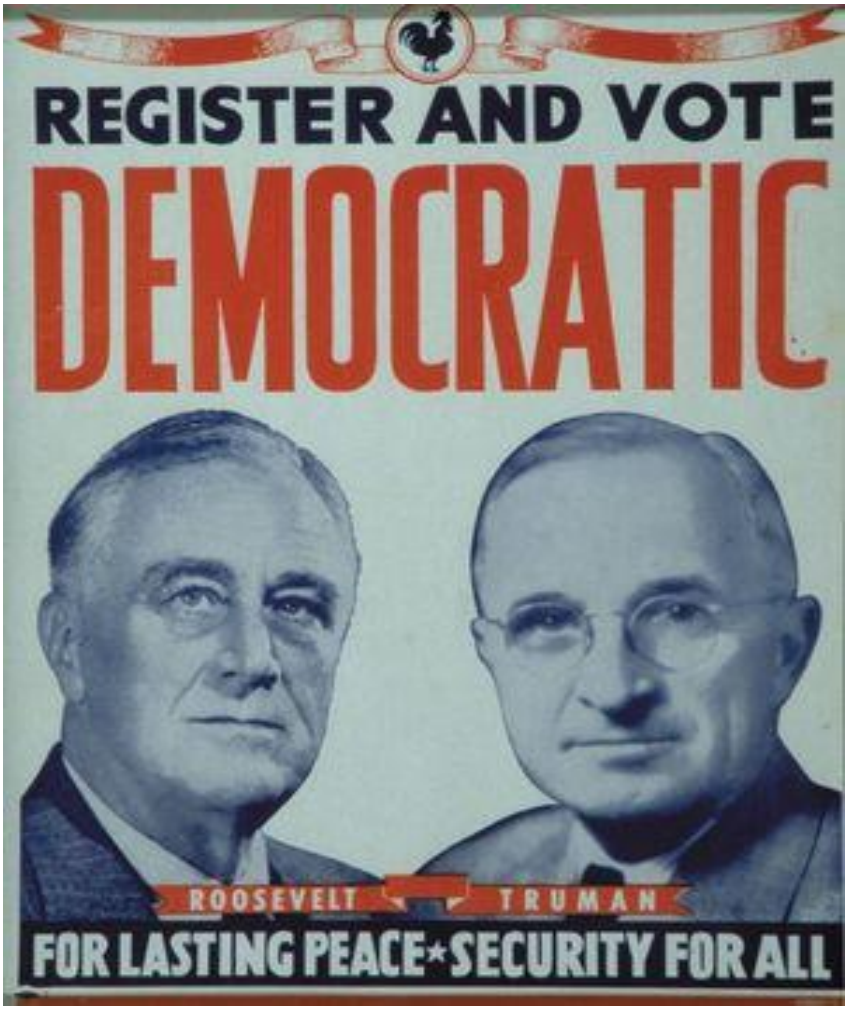
Atlantic Charter(From left, seated) Canadian Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King, U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill at an Allied conference in Quebec, 1943.

From the start of American involvement in World War II, Roosevelt took the lead in establishing a grand alliance among all countries fighting the Axis powers. He met with Churchill in a number of wartime conferences at which differences were settled amicably. One early difference centered upon the question of an invasion of France. Churchill wanted to postpone such an invasion until Nazi forces had been weakened, and his view prevailed until the great Normandy Invasion was finally launched on "D-Day," June 6, 1944. Meanwhile, American and British forces invaded North Africa in November 1942, Sicily in July 1943, and Italy in September 1943.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at the Yalta Conference U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt (left) and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill discussing Allied war plans at the Yalta Conference, February 1945.

Relations with the Soviet Union posed a difficult problem for Roosevelt. Throughout the war the Soviet Union accepted large quantities of lend-lease supplies but seldom divulged its military plans or acted in coordination with its Western allies. Roosevelt, believing that the maintenance of peace after the war depended on friendly relations with the Soviet Union, hoped to win the confidence of Joseph Stalin. He, Stalin, and Churchill seemed to get along well when they met at Tehrān in November 1943. By the time the "Big Three" met again at the Yalta Conference in Crimea, U.S.S.R., in February 1945, the war in Europe was almost over. At Yalta, Roosevelt secured Stalin's commitment to enter the war against Japan soon after Germany's surrender and to establish democratic governments in the nations of eastern Europe occupied by Soviet troops. Stalin kept his pledge concerning Japan but proceeded to impose Soviet satellite governments throughout eastern Europe.

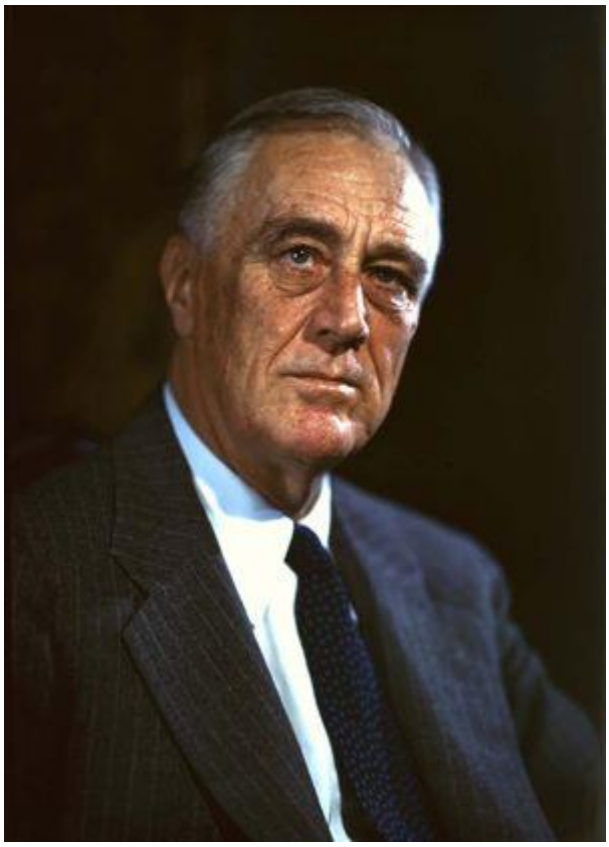
Declining health and death



Roosevelt and Truman campaign posterFranklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman campaign poster, 1944.

Roosevelt had been suffering from advanced arteriosclerosis for more than a year before the Yalta Conference. His political opponents had tried to make much of his obviously declining health during the campaign of 1944, when he ran for a fourth term against Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York. But Roosevelt campaigned actively and won the election by a popular vote of 25 million to 22 million and an electoral college vote of 432 to 99. By the time of his return from Yalta, however, he was so weak that for the first time in his presidency he spoke to Congress while sitting down. Early in April 1945 he traveled to his cottage in Warm Springs, Georgia—the "Little White House"—to rest. On the afternoon of April 12, while sitting for a portrait, he suffered a massive cerebral hemorrhage, and he died a few hours later. With him at his death were two cousins, Laura Delano and Margaret Suckley, and Lucy Mercer Rutherfurd (by then a widow), with whom he had renewed his relationship a few years before.

LEGACY



Franklin D. RooseveltU.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1944.

Warm Springs, Georgia; Franklin D. RooseveltThe Little White House, residence of U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Warm Springs, Georgia.

During his lifetime Franklin D. Roosevelt was simultaneously one of the most loved and most hated men in American history. His supporters hailed him as the savior of his nation during the Great Depression and the defender of democracy during World War II. Opponents criticized him for undermining American free-market capitalism, for unconstitutionally expanding the powers of the federal government, and for transforming the nation into a welfare state. It is generally accepted by all, however, that he was a brilliant politician, able to create a massive coalition of supporters that sustained the Democratic Party for decades after his death. There is also little argument that he was a talented administrator, able to retain leaders of diverse views within the executive branch. At his death most Americans were plunged into profound grief, testimony to the strong emotional attachment they felt for the man who had led them through two of the darkest periods in the nation's history. Although much of that emotion has dissipated over the years, Roosevelt's standing as one of the few truly great American presidents seems secure.

Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 4, 1933–January 20, 1937 (Term 1)	
State	Cordell Hull
Treasury	William Hartman Woodin Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (from January 8, 1934)
War	George Henry Dern
Navy	Claude Augustus Swanson

Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 4, 1933–January 20, 1937 (Term 1)	
Attorney General	Homer Stille Cummings
Interior	Harold L. Ickes
Agriculture	Henry A. Wallace
Commerce	Daniel Calhoun Roper
Labor	Frances Perkins
January 20, 1937–January 20, 1941 (Term 2)	
State	Cordell Hull
Treasury	Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
War	Harry Hines Woodring
	Henry Lewis Stimson (from July 10, 1940)
Attorney General	Homer Stille Cummings
	Frank Murphy (from January 17, 1939)
	Robert Houghwout Jackson (from January 18, 1940)
Navy	Claude Augustus Swanson
	Charles Edison (from January 11, 1940)

Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 4, 1933–January 20, 1937 (Term 1)	
	Frank Knox (from July 10, 1940)
Interior	Harold L. Ickes
Agriculture	Henry A. Wallace
	Claude Raymond Wickard (from September 5, 1940)
Commerce	Daniel Calhoun Roper
	Harry Lloyd Hopkins (from January 23, 1939)
	Jesse Holman Jones (from September 19, 1940)
Labor	Frances Perkins
January 20, 1941–January 20, 1945 (Term 3)	
State	Cordell Hull
	Edward Reilly Stettinius (from December 1, 1944)
Treasury	Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
War	Henry Lewis Stimson
Navy	Frank Knox

Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 4, 1933–January 20, 1937 (Term 1)	
	James Vincent Forrestal (from May 18, 1944)
Attorney General	Robert Houghwout Jackson
	Francis Biddle (from September 5, 1941)
Interior	Harold L. Ickes
Agriculture	Claude Raymond Wickard
Commerce	Jesse Holman Jones
Labor	Frances Perkins
January 20, 1945–April 12, 1945 (Term 4)	
State	Edward Reilly Stettinius
Treasury	Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
War	Henry Lewis Stimson
Navy	James Vincent Forrestal
Attorney General	Francis Biddle
Interior	Harold L. Ickes
Agriculture	Claude Raymond Wickard
Commerce	Jesse Holman Jones

Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 4, 1933–January 20, 1937 (Term 1)	
	Henry A. Wallace (from March 2, 1945)
Labor	Frances Perkins

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Great Depression

Great Depression, worldwide economic downturn that began in 1929 and lasted until about 1939. It was the longest and most severe depression ever experienced by the industrialized Western world, sparking fundamental changes in economic institutions, macroeconomic policy, and economic theory. Although it originated in the United States, the Great Depression caused drastic declines in output, severe unemployment, and acute deflation in almost every country of the world. Its social and cultural effects were no less staggering, especially in the United States, where the Great Depression represented the harshest adversity faced by Americans since the Civil War.

Economic history

The impact of the Great Depression on Americans . Learn three facts about the economic devastation of the Great Depression.

The timing and severity of the Great Depression varied substantially across countries. The Depression was particularly long and severe in the United States and Europe; it was milder in Japan and much of Latin America. Perhaps not surprisingly, the worst depression ever experienced by the world economy stemmed from a multitude of causes. Declines in consumer demand, financial panics, and misguided government policies caused economic output to fall in the United States, while the gold standard, which linked nearly all the countries of the world in a network of fixed currency exchange rates, played a key role in transmitting the American downturn to other countries. The recovery from the Great Depression was spurred largely by the abandonment of the gold standard and the ensuing monetary expansion. The economic impact of the Great Depression was enormous, including both extreme human suffering and profound changes in economic policy.

Timing and severity

The Great Depression began in the United States as an ordinary recession in the summer of 1929. The downturn became markedly worse, however, in late 1929 and continued until early 1933. Real output and prices fell precipitously. Between the peak and the trough of the downturn, industrial production in the United States declined 47 percent and real gross domestic product (GDP) fell 30 percent. The wholesale price index declined 33 percent (such declines in the price level are referred to as deflation). Although there is some debate about the reliability of the statistics, it is widely agreed that the unemployment rate exceeded 20 percent at its highest point. The severity of the Great Depression in the United States becomes especially clear when it is compared with America's next worst recession, the Great Recession of 2007–09, during which the country's real GDP declined just 4.3 percent and the unemployment rate peaked at less than 10 percent.

The Depression affected virtually every country of the world. However, the dates and magnitude of the downturn varied substantially across countries. Great Britain struggled with low growth and recession during most of the second half of the 1920s. The country did not slip into severe depression, however, until early 1930, and its peak-to-trough decline in industrial production was roughly one-third that of the United States. France also experienced a relatively short downturn in the early 1930s. The French recovery in 1932 and 1933, however, was short-lived. French industrial production and prices both fell substantially between 1933 and 1936. Germany's economy slipped into a downturn early in 1928 and then stabilized before turning down again in the third quarter of 1929. The decline in German industrial production was roughly equal to that in the United

States. A number of countries in Latin America fell into depression in late 1928 and early 1929, slightly before the U.S. decline in output. While some less-developed countries experienced severe depressions, others, such as Argentina and Brazil, experienced comparatively mild downturns. Japan also experienced a mild depression, which began relatively late and ended relatively early.

The general price deflation evident in the United States was also present in other countries. Virtually every industrialized country endured declines in wholesale prices of 30 percent or more between 1929 and 1933. Because of the greater flexibility of the Japanese price structure, deflation in Japan was unusually rapid in 1930 and 1931. This rapid deflation may have helped to keep the decline in Japanese production relatively mild. The prices of primary commodities traded in world markets declined even more dramatically during this period. For example, the prices of coffee, cotton, silk, and rubber were reduced by roughly half just between September 1929 and December 1930. As a result, the terms of trade declined precipitously for producers of primary commodities.

Sharecroppers . Evicted sharecroppers along a road in southeastern Missouri, U.S., January 1939.

The U.S. recovery began in the spring of 1933. Output grew rapidly in the mid-1930s: real GDP rose at an average rate of 9 percent per year between 1933 and 1937. Output had fallen so deeply in the early years of the 1930s, however, that it remained substantially below its long-run trend path throughout this period. In 1937–38 the United States suffered another severe downturn, but after mid-1938 the American economy grew even more rapidly than in the mid-1930s. The country's output finally returned to its long-run trend path in 1942.

Recovery in the rest of the world varied greatly. The British economy stopped declining soon after Great Britain abandoned the gold standard in September 1931, although genuine recovery did not begin until the end of 1932. The economies of a number of Latin American countries began to strengthen in late 1931 and early 1932. Germany and Japan both began to recover in the fall of

1932. Canada and many smaller European countries started to revive at about the same time as the United States, early in 1933. On the other hand, France, which experienced severe depression later than most countries, did not firmly enter the recovery phase until 1938.

Causes of the decline

The fundamental cause of the Great Depression in the United States was a decline in spending (sometimes referred to as aggregate demand), which led to a decline in production as manufacturers and merchandisers noticed an unintended rise in inventories. The sources of the contraction in spending in the United States varied over the course of the Depression, but they cumulated in a monumental decline in aggregate demand. The American decline was transmitted to the rest of the world largely through the gold standard. However, a variety of other factors also influenced the downturn in various countries.

Stock market crash

Black Thursday stock market crash . People gathering on the steps of the building across from the New York Stock Exchange on Black Thursday, October 24, 1929, the start of the stock market crash of 1929.

The initial decline in U.S. output in the summer of 1929 is widely believed to have stemmed from tight U.S. monetary policy aimed at limiting stock market speculation. The 1920s had been a prosperous decade, but not an exceptional boom period; prices had remained nearly constant throughout the decade, and there had been mild recessions in both 1924 and 1927. The one obvious area of excess was the stock market. Stock prices had risen more than fourfold from the low in 1921 to the peak in 1929. In 1928 and 1929, the Federal Reserve had raised interest rates in hopes of slowing the rapid rise in stock prices. These higher interest rates depressed interest-sensitive spending in areas such as construction and automobile purchases, which in turn reduced production. Some scholars believe that a boom in housing construction in the mid-1920s led to an excess supply of housing and a particularly large drop in construction in 1928 and 1929.

By the fall of 1929, U.S. stock prices had reached levels that could not be justified by reasonable anticipations of future earnings. As a result, when a variety of minor events led to gradual price declines in October 1929, investors lost confidence and the stock market bubble burst. Panic selling began on "Black Thursday," October 24, 1929. Many stocks had been purchased on margin—that is, using loans secured by only a small fraction of the stocks' value. As a result, the price declines forced some investors to liquidate their holdings, thus exacerbating the fall in prices. Between their peak in September and their low in November, U.S. stock prices (measured by the Cowles Index) declined 33 percent. Because the decline was so dramatic, this event is often referred to as the Great Crash of 1929.

The stock market crash reduced American aggregate demand substantially. Consumer purchases of durable goods and business investment fell sharply after the crash. A likely explanation is that the financial crisis generated considerable uncertainty about future income, which in turn led consumers and firms to put off purchases of durable goods. Although the loss of wealth caused by the decline in stock prices was relatively small, the crash may also have depressed spending by making people feel poorer (*see* consumer confidence). As a result of the drastic decline in consumer and business spending, real output in the United States, which had been declining slowly up to this point, fell rapidly in late 1929 and throughout 1930. Thus, while the Great Crash of the stock market and the Great Depression are two quite separate events, the decline in stock prices was one factor contributing to declines in production and employment in the United States.

Banking panics and monetary contraction

Great Depression: bank holidaySign in front of a New York City theater, indicating that it would "accept checks drawn on local banks," during the "bank holiday" declared by U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt in March 1933.

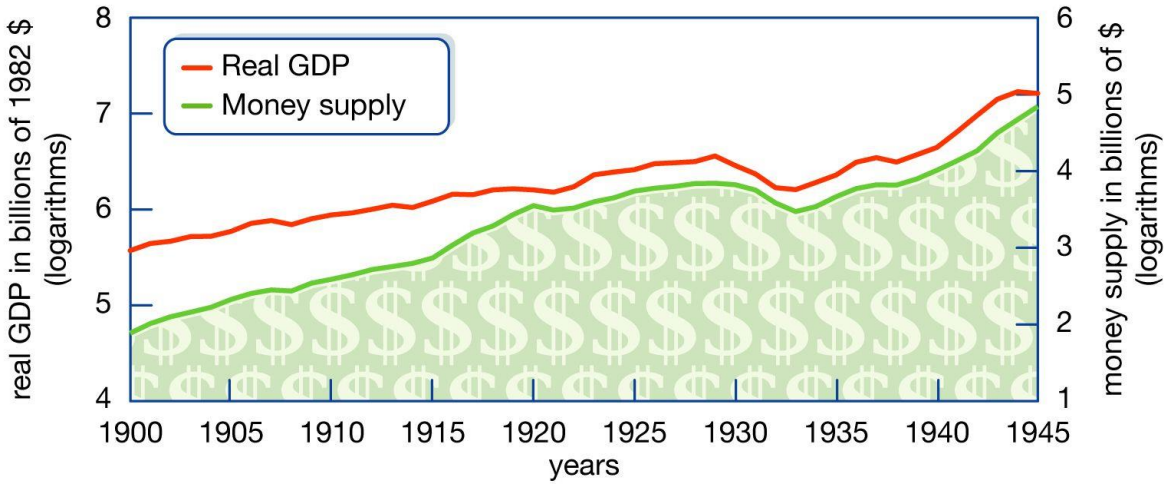
The next blow to aggregate demand occurred in the fall of 1930, when the first of four waves of banking panics gripped the United States. A banking panic arises when many depositors simultaneously lose confidence in the solvency of banks and demand that their bank deposits be paid to them in cash. Banks, which typically hold only a fraction of deposits as cash reserves, must liquidate loans in order to raise the required cash. This process of hasty liquidation can cause even a previously solvent bank to fail. The United States experienced widespread banking panics in the fall of 1930, the spring of 1931, the fall of 1931, and the fall of 1932. The final wave of panics continued through the winter of 1933 and culminated with the national "bank holiday" declared by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 6, 1933. The bank holiday closed all banks, and they were permitted to reopen only after being deemed solvent by government inspectors. The panics took a severe toll on the American banking system. By 1933, one-fifth of the banks in existence at the start of 1930 had failed.

By their nature, banking panics are largely irrational, inexplicable events, but some of the factors contributing to the problem can be explained. Economic historians believe that substantial increases in farm debt in the 1920s, together with U.S. policies that had encouraged small, undiversified banks, created an environment in which such panics could ignite and spread. The heavy farm debt stemmed in part from the high prices of agricultural goods during World War I, which had spurred extensive borrowing by American farmers wishing to increase production by investing in land and machinery. The decline in farm commodity

prices following the war made it difficult for farmers to keep up with their loan payments.

The Federal Reserve did little to try to stem the banking panics. Economists Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz, in the classic study *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (1963), argued that the death in 1928 of Benjamin Strong, who had been the governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since 1914, was a significant cause of this inaction. Strong had been a forceful leader who understood the ability of the central bank to limit panics. His death left a power vacuum at the Federal Reserve and allowed leaders with less sensible views to block effective intervention. The panics caused a dramatic rise in the amount of currency people wished to hold relative to their bank deposits. This rise in the currency-to-deposit ratio was a key reason why the money supply in the United States declined 31 percent between 1929 and 1933. In addition to allowing the panics to reduce the U.S. money supply, the Federal Reserve also deliberately contracted the money supply and raised interest rates in September 1931, when Britain was forced off the gold standard and investors feared that the United States would devalue as well.

Money and output in the United States



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Mmoney and output in the United States

Scholars believe that such declines in the money supply caused by Federal Reserve decisions had a severely contractionary effect on output. A simple picture provides perhaps the clearest evidence of the key role monetary collapse played in the Great Depression in the United States. The figure shows the money supply and real output over the period 1900 to 1945. In ordinary times, such as the 1920s, both the money supply and output tend to grow steadily. But in the early 1930s both plummeted. The decline in the money supply depressed spending

in a number of ways. Perhaps most important, because of actual price declines and the rapid decline in the money supply, consumers and businesspeople came to expect deflation; that is, they expected wages and prices to be lower in the future. As a result, even though nominal interest rates were very low, people did not want to borrow, because they feared that future wages and profits would be inadequate to cover their loan payments. This hesitancy in turn led to severe reductions in both consumer spending and business investment. The panics surely exacerbated the decline in spending by generating pessimism and loss of confidence. Furthermore, the failure of so many banks disrupted lending, thereby reducing the funds available to finance investment.

The gold standard

Some economists believe that the Federal Reserve allowed or caused the huge declines in the American money supply partly to preserve the gold standard. Under the gold standard, each country set the value of its currency in terms of gold and took monetary actions to defend the fixed price. It is possible that had the Federal Reserve expanded the money supply greatly in response to the banking panics, foreigners would have lost confidence in the United States' commitment to the gold standard. This could have led to large gold outflows, and the United States could have been forced to devalue. Likewise, had the Federal Reserve not tightened the money supply in the fall of 1931, it is possible that there would have been a speculative attack on the dollar and the United States would have been forced to abandon the gold standard along with Great Britain.

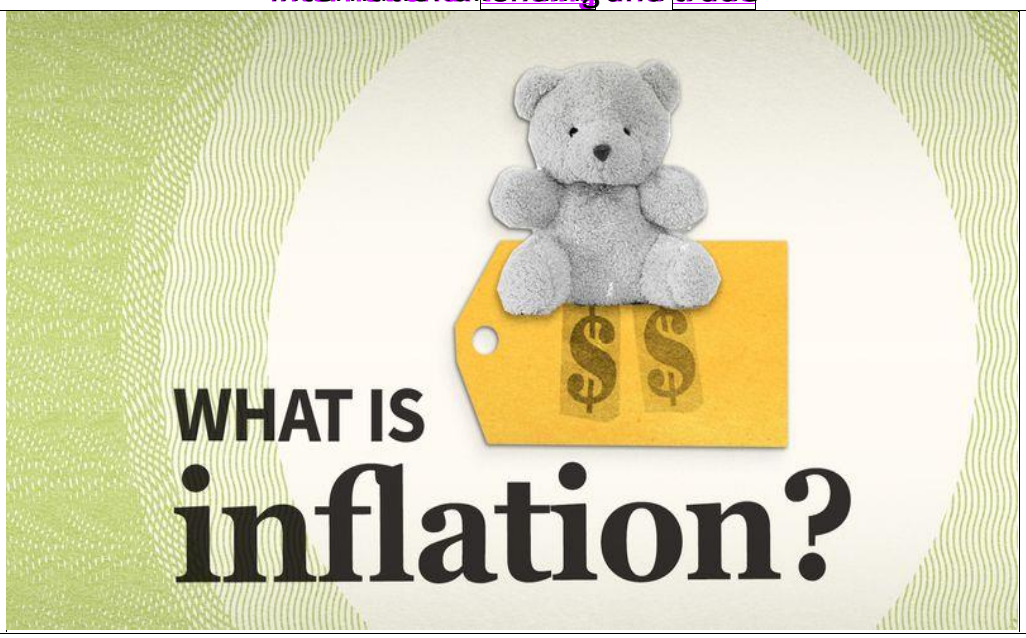
While there is debate about the role the gold standard played in limiting U.S. monetary policy, there is no question that it was a key factor in the transmission of America's economic decline to the rest of the world. Under the gold standard, imbalances in trade or asset flows gave rise to international gold flows. For example, in the mid-1920s intense international demand for American assets such as stocks and bonds brought large inflows of gold to the United States. Likewise, a decision by France after World War I to return to the gold standard with an undervalued franc led to trade surpluses and substantial gold inflows. (*See also* balance of trade.)

Britain chose to return to the gold standard after World War I at the prewar parity. Wartime inflation, however, implied that the pound was overvalued, and this overvaluation led to trade deficits and substantial gold outflows after 1925. To stem the gold outflow, the Bank of England raised interest rates substantially. High interest rates depressed British spending and led to high unemployment in Great Britain throughout the second half of the 1920s.

Once the U.S. economy began to contract severely, the tendency for gold to flow out of other countries and toward the United States intensified. This took place because deflation in the United States made American goods particularly desirable to foreigners, while low income among Americans reduced their demand for foreign products. To counteract the resulting tendency toward an American trade surplus and foreign gold outflows, central banks throughout the world raised interest rates. Maintaining the international gold standard, in essence, required a massive monetary contraction throughout the world to match the one occurring in the United States. The result was a decline in output and prices in countries throughout the world that nearly matched the downturn in the United States.

Financial crises and banking panics occurred in a number of countries besides the United States. In May 1931 payment difficulties at the Creditanstalt, Austria's largest bank, set off a string of financial crises that enveloped much of Europe and were a key factor in forcing Britain to abandon the gold standard. Among the countries hardest hit by bank failures and volatile financial markets were Austria, Germany, and Hungary. These widespread banking crises could have been the result of poor regulation and other local factors or of simple contagion from one country to another. In addition, the gold standard, by forcing countries to deflate along with the United States, reduced the value of banks' collateral and made them more vulnerable to runs. As in the United States, banking panics and other financial market disruptions further depressed output and prices in a number of countries.

International lending and trade



What Is Inflation? How Rising Prices Affect Everyday GoodsInflation drives up the cost of everyday goods, affecting what you pay for items both large and small.

Some scholars stress the importance of other international linkages. Foreign lending to Germany and Latin America had expanded greatly in the mid-1920s, but U.S. lending abroad fell in 1928 and 1929 because of high interest rates and the booming stock market in the United States. This reduction in foreign lending may have led to further credit contractions and declines in output in borrower countries. In Germany, which experienced extremely rapid inflation (hyperinflation) in the early 1920s, monetary authorities may have hesitated to undertake expansionary policy to counteract the economic slowdown because they worried it might reignite inflation. The effects of reduced foreign lending may explain why the economies of Germany, Argentina, and Brazil turned down before the Great Depression began in the United States.

The 1930 enactment of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act in the United States and the worldwide rise in protectionist trade policies created other complications. The Smoot-Hawley tariff was meant to boost farm incomes by reducing foreign competition in agricultural products. But other countries followed suit, both in retaliation and in an attempt to force a correction of trade imbalances. Scholars now believe that these policies may have reduced trade somewhat but were not a significant cause of the Depression among the large industrial producers. Protectionist policies, however, may have contributed to the extreme decline in the world price of raw materials, which caused severe balance-of-payments problems for primary-commodity-producing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and led to contractionary monetary and fiscal policies.

Sources of recovery

Given the key roles of monetary contraction and the gold standard in causing the Great Depression, it is not surprising that currency devaluations and monetary expansion were the leading sources of recovery throughout the world. There is a notable correlation between the times at which countries abandoned the gold standard (or devalued their currencies substantially) and when they experienced renewed growth in their output. For example, Britain, which was forced off the gold standard in September 1931, recovered relatively early, while the United States, which did not effectively devalue its currency until 1933, recovered substantially later. Similarly, the Latin American countries of Argentina and Brazil, which began to devalue in 1929, experienced relatively mild downturns and had largely recovered by 1935. In contrast, the "Gold Bloc" countries of Belgium and France, which were particularly wedded to the gold standard and slow to devalue, still had industrial production in 1935 well below that of 1929.

Devaluation, however, did not increase output directly. Rather, it allowed countries to expand their money supplies without concern about gold movements and exchange rates. Countries that took greater advantage of this freedom saw greater recovery. The monetary expansion that began in the United States in early 1933 was particularly dramatic. The American money supply increased nearly 42 percent between 1933 and 1937. This monetary expansion stemmed largely from a substantial gold inflow to the United States, caused in part by the rising political tensions in Europe that preceded World War II. Monetary expansion stimulated spending by lowering interest rates and making credit more widely available. It also created expectations of inflation, rather than deflation, thereby giving potential borrowers greater confidence that their wages and profits would be sufficient to cover their loan payments if they chose to borrow. One sign that monetary expansion stimulated recovery in the United States by encouraging borrowing was that consumer and business spending on interest-sensitive items such as cars, trucks, and machinery rose well before consumer spending on services.

Fiscal policy played a relatively small role in stimulating recovery in the United States. Indeed, the Revenue Act of 1932 increased American tax rates greatly in an attempt to balance the federal budget, and by doing so it dealt another contractionary blow to the economy by further discouraging spending. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, initiated in early 1933, did include a number of new federal programs aimed at generating recovery. For example, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) hired the unemployed to work on government building projects, and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) constructed dams and power plants in a particularly depressed area. However, the actual increases in government spending and the government budget deficit were small relative to the size of the economy. This is especially apparent when state government budget deficits are included, because those deficits actually declined at the same time that the federal deficit rose. As a result, the new spending programs initiated by the New Deal had little direct expansionary effect on the economy. Whether they may nevertheless have had positive effects on consumer and business sentiment remains an open question.

Agricultural Adjustment Administration . Farmers gathering in Eufaula, Oklahoma, to discuss the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program, 1940.

Some New Deal programs may have actually hindered recovery. The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, for example, set up the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which encouraged firms in each industry to adopt a code of behavior. These codes discouraged price competition between firms, set minimum wages in each industry, and sometimes limited production. Likewise, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which set voluntary guidelines and gave incentive payments to farmers to restrict production in hopes of raising agricultural prices. Modern research suggests that such anticompetitive practices and wage and price guidelines led to inflation in the early recovery period in the United States and discouraged reemployment and production.

Recovery in the United States was stopped short by another distinct recession that began in May 1937 and lasted until June 1938. One source of the 1937–38 recession was a decision by the Federal Reserve to greatly increase reserve requirements. This move, which was prompted by fears that the economy might be developing speculative excess, caused the money supply to cease its rapid growth and to actually fall again. Fiscal contraction and a decrease in inventory investment due to labor unrest are also thought to have contributed to the downturn. That the United States experienced a second, very severe contraction before it had completely recovered from the enormous decline of the early 1930s is the main reason that the United States remained depressed for virtually the entire decade.

World War II played only a modest role in the recovery of the U.S. economy. Despite the recession of 1937–38, real GDP in the United States was well above its pre-Depression level by 1939, and by 1941 it had recovered to within about 10 percent of its long-run trend path. Therefore, in a fundamental sense, the United States had largely recovered before military spending accelerated noticeably. At the same time, the U.S. economy was still somewhat below trend at the start of the war, and the unemployment rate averaged just under 10 percent in 1941. The government budget deficit grew rapidly in 1941 and 1942 because of the military buildup, and the Federal Reserve responded to the threat and later the reality of war by increasing the money supply greatly over the same period. This expansionary fiscal and monetary policy, together with widespread conscription beginning in 1942, quickly returned the economy to its trend path and reduced the unemployment rate to below its pre-Depression level. So, while the war was not the main impetus for the recovery in the United States, it played a role in completing the return to full employment.

The role of fiscal expansion, and especially of military expenditure, in generating recovery varied substantially across countries. Great Britain, like the United States, did not use fiscal expansion to a noticeable extent early in its recovery. It did, however, increase military spending substantially after 1937. France raised taxes in the mid-1930s in an effort to defend the gold standard but then ran large budget deficits starting in 1936. The expansionary effect of these deficits, however, was counteracted somewhat by a legislated reduction in the French workweek from 46 to 40 hours—a change that raised costs and depressed production. Fiscal policy was used more successfully in Germany and Japan. The German budget deficit as a percent of domestic product increased little early in the recovery, but it grew substantially after 1934 as a result of spending on public works and rearmament. In Japan, government expenditures, particularly military spending, rose from 31 to 38 percent of domestic product between 1932 and 1934, resulting in substantial budget deficits. This fiscal stimulus, combined with substantial monetary expansion and an undervalued yen, returned the Japanese economy to full employment relatively quickly.

Economic impact

Great Depression: breadline . Breadline in New York City's Bryant Park during the Great Depression.

The most devastating impact of the Great Depression was human suffering. In a short period of time, world output and standards of living dropped precipitously. As much as one-fourth of the labor force in industrialized countries was unable to find work in the early 1930s. While conditions began to improve by the mid-1930s, total recovery was not accomplished until the end of the decade.

The Great Depression and the policy response also changed the world economy in crucial ways. Most obviously, it hastened, if not caused, the end of the international gold standard. Although a system of fixed currency exchange rates was reinstated after World War II under the Bretton Woods system, the economies of the world never embraced that system with the conviction and fervor they had brought to the gold standard. By 1973, fixed exchange rates had been abandoned in favor of floating rates. (*See also* money.)

Both labor unions and the welfare state expanded substantially during the 1930s. In the United States, union membership more than doubled between 1930 and 1940. This trend was stimulated by both the severe unemployment of the 1930s and the passage of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act (1935), which encouraged collective bargaining. The United States also established unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors' insurance through the Social Security Act (1935), which was passed in response to the hardships of the 1930s. It is uncertain whether these changes would have eventually occurred in the United States without the Great Depression. Many European countries had experienced significant increases in union membership

and had established government pensions before the 1930s. Both of these trends, however, accelerated in Europe during the Great Depression.

In many countries, government regulation of the economy, especially of financial markets, increased substantially in the 1930s. The United States, for example, established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934 to regulate new stock issues and stock market trading practices. The Banking Act of 1933 (also known as the Glass-Steagall Act) established deposit insurance in the United States and prohibited banks from underwriting or dealing in securities. Deposit insurance, which did not become common worldwide until after World War II, effectively eliminated banking panics as an exacerbating factor in recessions in the United States after 1933.

The Great Depression also played a crucial role in the development of macroeconomic policies intended to temper economic downturns and upturns. The central role of reduced spending and monetary contraction in the Depression led British economist John Maynard Keynes to develop the ideas in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (1936). Keynes's theory suggested that increases in government spending, tax cuts, and monetary expansion could be used to counteract depressions. This insight, combined with a growing consensus that government should try to stabilize employment, has led to much more activist policy since the 1930s. Legislatures and central banks throughout the world now routinely attempt to prevent or moderate recessions. Whether such a change would have occurred without the Depression is again a largely unanswerable question.

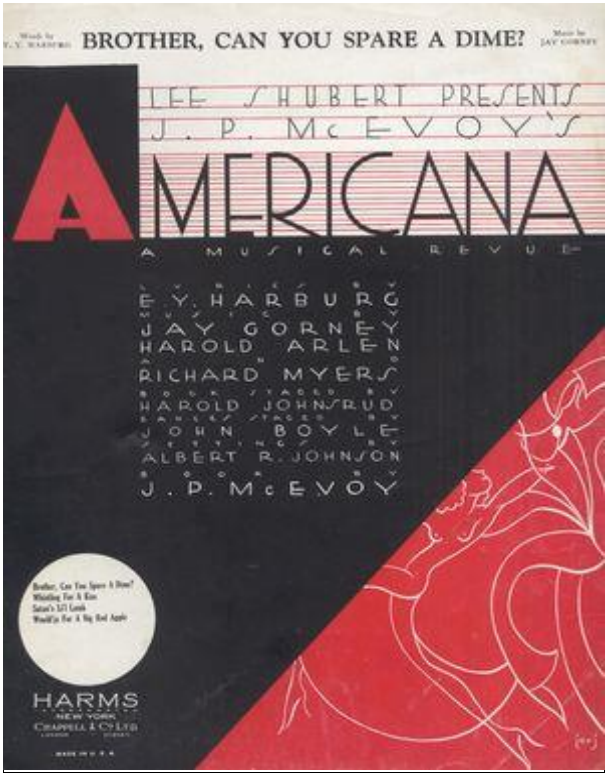
Culture and society in the Great Depression

Texas dust clouds. Dust clouds over the Texas Panhandle, photograph by Farm Security Administration photographer Arthur Rothstein, March 1936.

No decade in the 20th century was more terrifying for people throughout the world than the 1930s. The traumas of the decade included economic disorder, the rise of totalitarianism, and the coming (or presence) of war. Nevertheless, the decade is remembered in different ways in different parts of the world. For people in the United States, the 1930s was indelibly the age of the Great Depression. Bank panics destroyed faith in the economic system, and joblessness limited faith in the future. The worst drought in modern American history struck the Great Plains in 1934. Windstorms that stripped the topsoil from millions of acres turned the whole area into a vast Dust Bowl and destroyed crops and livestock in unprecedented amounts. As a result, some 2.5 million people fled the Plains states, many bound for California, where the promise of sunshine and a better life often collided with the reality of scarce, poorly paid work as migrant farm laborers.

Great Depression: housing Shack, built of loose boards and parts of boxes, in New York City during the Great Depression.

Great Depression: apple sellerMan selling apples during the Great Depression.



"Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" sheet musicCover of sheet music to "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" (1932), words by E.Y. Harburg and music by Jay Gorney. Written for the now-forgotten Broadway musical *Americana* (third version, 1932), the song was recorded by Rudy Vallee and Bing Crosby. It quickly became the anthem of the Great Depression.

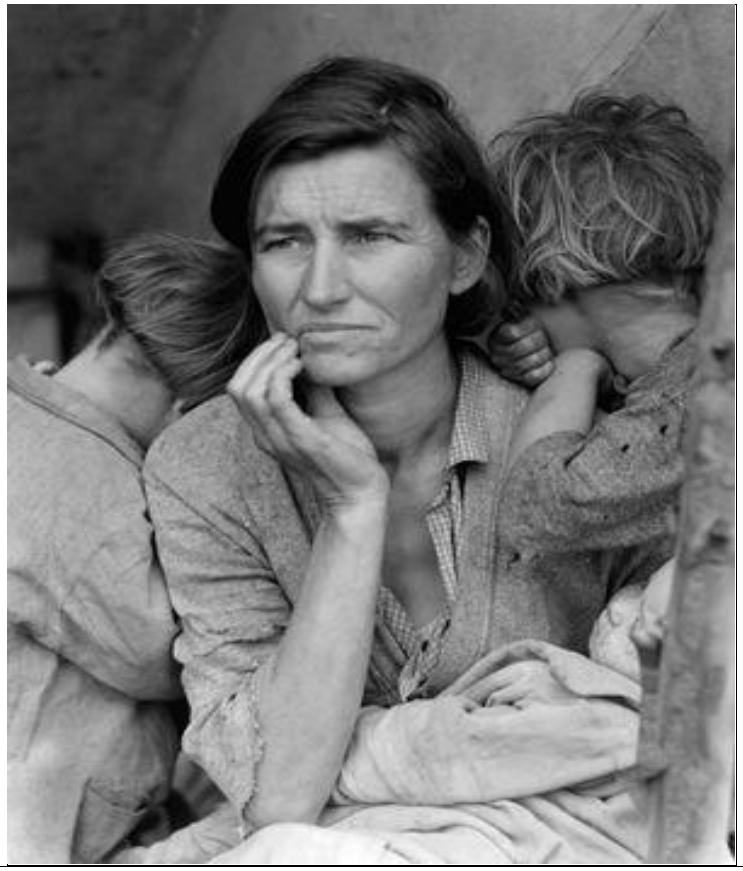
Great Depression: breadline Detail of a sculpture by George Segal depicting unemployed men in a breadline during the Great Depression; part of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, Washington, D.C.

For Americans, the 1930s will always summon up images of breadlines, apple sellers on street corners, shuttered factories, rural poverty, and so-called Hoovervilles (named for President Herbert Hoover), where homeless families sought refuge in shelters cobbled together from salvaged wood, cardboard, and tin. It was a time when thousands of teens became drifters; many marriages were postponed and engagements were interminable; birth rates declined; and children grew up quickly, often taking on adult responsibilities if not the role of comforter to their despondent parents. It was a time when the number of women in the workplace actually increased, which helped needy families but only added to the psychological strain on the American male, the traditional "breadwinner" of the American family. It was a time when one of the most popular tunes was "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"

GLOBAL CONCERNS

Learn about the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and China and its aftermathIn September 1931 the Japanese Imperial Army invades Manchuria, and refugees flee their burning cities. From *The Second World War: Prelude to Conflict* (1963), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

The memories of Europeans, by contrast, are haunted not by their economic difficulties, which were considerable, but by the specter of Adolf Hitler and his drive to conquer the European continent. The Great Depression, of course, had created the perfect environment—political instability and an economically devastated and vulnerable populace—for the Nazi seizure of power and fascist empire building. Consequently, it was the spread of totalitarianism and not economic hardship that occupied the minds of Europeans in the 1930s. The situation was similar in Asia, where urban and rural penury was a normal feature of economic life; moreover, the decade of the 1930s is forever linked to the spread and brutality of Japanese imperialism. Thus, while Americans were preoccupied through most of the decade with their own domestic hardships, Europeans and Asians had other, more transnational, problems to confront.



Dorothea Lange: *Migrant Mother*Migrant Mother, photograph by Dorothea Lange for the Farm Security Administration, 1936.

Moreover, the distinctive economic dilemmas of the 1930s were novel to Americans, largely because their historical experiences were so dissimilar to those of people in the rest of the world. For example, when British author George Orwell published *The Road to Wigan Pier* in 1937, he was describing an old problem: the class structure and its immemorial effect on workers in Britain. But when American authors such as Edmund Wilson and John Steinbeck wrote about the shut-down assembly lines in Detroit or the exodus of the Okies (Oklahomans displaced by the Dust Bowl) to California, they were describing something new: the near-total breakdown of a previously affluent economy. Americans were absorbed by their "Great Depression" because they had never before encountered such a widespread economic failure. This is why they, unlike their foreign counterparts, did not even begin to think about the approach of war or the dangers of totalitarianism until the end of the 1930s.

But no matter how insular Americans were through much of the decade, the world arrived on their shores in the 1930s. At the moment that Americans were worrying about their economy, European intellectuals, scientists, scholars, artists, and filmmakers were literally running for their lives. The place that many of them ran to was the United States.

Book burning. Germans burning books on the Bebelplatz, Berlin, 1933.

The most important event in the history of European culture in the 1930s was this massive hemorrhage of talent. No one was more responsible for transforming the cultural balance of power between Europe and the United States than Hitler. From the moment he assumed power in Germany in 1933, his book burnings, his firing of Jewish scholars in German universities, his assault on modern art, and his conquest of Europe at the end of the decade forced the most illustrious members of the European intelligentsia to flee, many of them first to France, then to the United States. Even a partial roster of émigrés to America in the 1930s is extraordinary. Among the natural scientists (most of whom were instrumental in constructing the atomic bomb) were Albert Einstein, Enrico Fermi, Edward Teller, Leo Szilard, and Hans Bethe. The social scientists included Erik Erikson, Hannah Arendt, Erich Fromm, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Theodor Adorno. Philosophers such as Paul Tillich and Herbert Marcuse also emigrated, as did novelists and playwrights such as Thomas Mann, Vladimir Nabokov, and Bertolt Brecht. Musicians and composers included Igor Stravinsky, Béla Bartók, Arnold Schoenberg, Paul Hindemith, and Kurt Weill. Among the architects were Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Painters and sculptors left too, notably Marc Chagall, Piet Mondrian, and Marcel Duchamp. And among those who found a home in (and helped to change) Hollywood were Fritz Lang and Billy Wilder—not to mention the Hungarian director Michael Curtiz, whose legendary *Casablanca* (1942) was in part a tribute to European refugee actors, from Peter Lorre to Ingrid Bergman.

Notably, not all persons seeking entry to the United States as refugees from Hitler's Germany were outstanding scholars, artists, scientists, or musicians. Most were average Europeans, but throughout the 1930s Congress chose not to liberalize the immigration laws to allow for more than the minimum quota of arrivals.

As a result of the massive intellectual and artistic emigration, by the end of the 1930s New York City and Hollywood had replaced Paris and Vienna as the home of Western culture—just as Washington, D.C., would replace London and Berlin as the center of Western politics and diplomacy at the end of World War II. To comprehend the America that became a postwar superpower, culturally as well as politically, it is necessary to understand how the United States responded to and emerged from its own singular experiences of the Great Depression in the 1930s.

Political movements and social change

Aside from the Civil War, the Great Depression was the gravest crisis in American history. Just as in the Civil War, the United States appeared—at least at the start of the 1930s—to be falling apart. But for all the turbulence and the panic, the ultimate effects of the Great Depression were less revolutionary than reassuring.

This was undeniably an era of extraordinary political innovation, much of it expressed in the reforms enacted by Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and his administration's attempts to cope with the problems of poverty, unemployment, and the disintegration of the American economy. It was also a time when a significant number of Americans flirted with Marxist movements and ideas, as well as with the notion that the model for a more humane society could be found in the Soviet Union. Above all, it was a decade of cultural ferment, in which American writers, artists, and intellectuals experimented with new, more socially oriented forms of literature, painting, theater, music, and mass entertainment.
Yet, paradoxically, the turmoil of the 1930s turned out to be predominantly conservative in its impact on American society. The Great Depression taught people of all social classes the value of economic security and the need to endure and survive hard times rather than to take risks with one's life or money. Moreover, faced with the specter of totalitarian ideologies in Europe and Japan, Americans rediscovered the virtues of democracy and the essential decency of the ordinary citizen—the near-mythical "common man" who was celebrated in Roosevelt's speeches, Frank Capra's movies, and Norman Rockwell's paintings. Thus, a decade marked by fundamental—

even radical—social change ended for most with a reaffirmation of America's cultural past and its traditional political ideals.

By contrast, many American intellectuals in the 1920s, disillusioned by what they considered the pointless carnage of World War I, had shown little interest in politics or social movements. Nor did they display much affection for life in the United States. Indeed, most American novelists, poets, artists, composers, and scientists continued to believe, as they had since the 19th century, that the United States was culturally inferior to Europe. So, to learn the latest modernist techniques in literature, painting, or music, or to study the most advanced theories in physics or psychoanalysis, they assumed they had to go to London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, or Copenhagen.

But the stock market crash in 1929, the factory closures and spiraling unemployment of the early 1930s, and Hitler's takeover of the German government in 1933 forced many "expatriates" not only to return to the United States but to become politically engaged in their home country. During the worst years of the Great Depression, between 1930 and 1935, this engagement often took the form of an attraction to Marxism, the Soviet Union, and the American Communist Party.

Examine the roles of communism, fascism, and the Great Depression in the Spanish Civil WarSpanish Republicans, abandoned by the democracies and relying on aid from the communists, carry on a losing struggle against fascism. From *The Second World War: Prelude to Conflict* (1963), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Marxism seemed to explain persuasively the causes of capitalism's collapse, while also providing a vision of an alternative social order. The Soviet Union, the site of the first successful Marxist-inspired revolution, appeared by the 1930s to be a concrete embodiment of what many writers called (in characteristically pragmatic American terms) the socialist "experiment." In addition, from 1934 to 1939, the Soviet Union was the most uncompromising opponent of Nazi Germany, seeking alliances with Britain, France, and the United States and promoting a "popular front" partnership of liberals and socialists within the Western democracies to halt the spread of fascism in Europe and throughout the world. Nowhere did Moscow's desire for a broad antifascist coalition appear more genuine than in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), when the Soviet Union was the only country besides Mexico to aid in any serious way the Spanish Republicans against the armies of Francisco Franco (supported by Hitler and Benito Mussolini).

Meanwhile, the communist parties in the United States and in western Europe gave intellectuals—as well as teachers, lawyers, architects, and other middle-class professionals—a feeling that they were no longer solitary individuals suffering from the failures of capitalism but belonged instead to a vibrant community of like-minded souls, in that they were participants in an international movement larger than themselves and that they were literally making history. For all these reasons Marxism, the Soviet Union, and the various national communist parties enjoyed a prestige and a popularity through much of the 1930s that they had never possessed in the 1920s and would never again enjoy after the Great Depression.

In 1932 the appeal of Marxism led 53 prominent American writers—including the novelists Sherwood Anderson and John Dos Passos, poet Langston Hughes, literary critics Edmund Wilson and Malcolm Cowley, philosopher Sidney Hook, and journalist Lincoln Steffens—to announce their support for William Z. Foster, the Communist Party's candidate for president. Although Dos Passos, Wilson, and Hook later became bitter critics of the Soviet Union's Stalinist regime, their initial enthusiasm for a socialist revolution indicated how compelling for intellectuals were the values and ideas of the left.

Perhaps no writer better reflected this new sense of social commitment than Ernest Hemingway. In 1929 Hemingway published *A Farewell to Arms*. The novel's Lieutenant Henry, like Hemingway himself a volunteer American ambulance driver in Italy during World War I, decides to flee the madness of the war and make a "separate peace." Here, desertion is seen as an act of sanity, even of heroism. Eleven years later, in 1940, Hemingway published another novel about

war—in this case, the Spanish Civil War—called *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (the title was taken from John Donne's poem, which is itself a hymn to human fellowship). In this novel, Robert Jordan, another Hemingwayesque volunteer, serving with a band of anti-Franco guerrillas, is badly wounded but stays behind to defend a bridge, thereby protecting his comrades as they retreat. Jordan—unlike Lieutenant Henry—has found a cause worth fighting and dying for. And Hemingway's own strong identification with the Spanish Republicans, for whom he raised money and helped make a documentary film called *The Spanish Earth* (1937), was symptomatic of a political involvement that neither he nor his fictional characters would have undertaken a decade earlier.

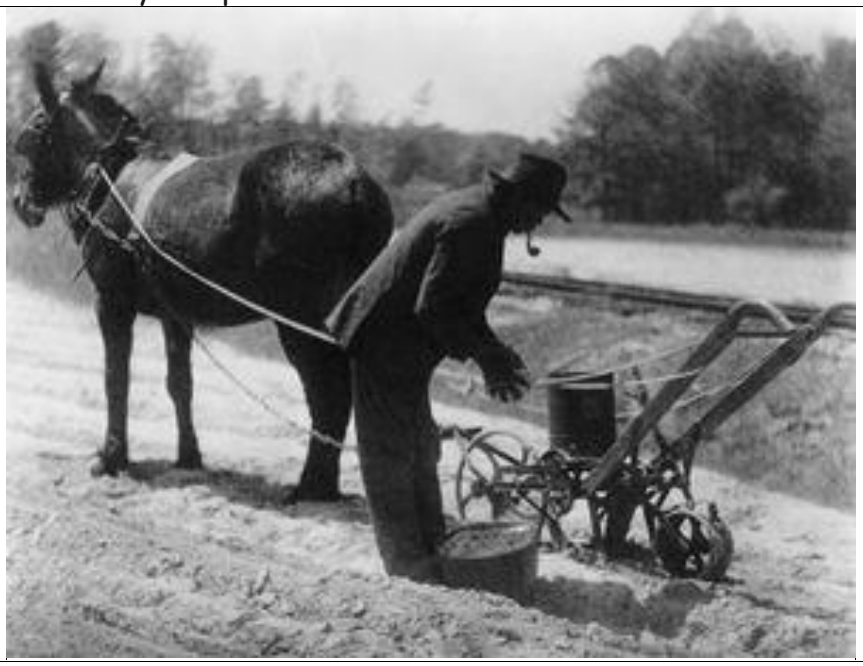
Of course, not every Depression-era American writer was entranced by communism or the Soviet Union. The majority of intellectuals and artists, like their fellow citizens, were much more comfortable voting for Roosevelt than idolizing Joseph Stalin. Indeed, by the middle and late 1930s, a growing number of American intellectuals—many of them clustered around the literary and political journal *Partisan Review*—had become militantly anti-Stalinist even as they retained their sympathy for socialism, their new stance having formed as Stalin launched a series of show trials that sent his former Bolshevik colleagues to Siberian labor camps (or more frequently to their death in the cellars of prisons), as terror spread throughout the Soviet Union, and as stories began to circulate about the communists murdering Trotskyists and anarchists behind the Republican lines in Spain. Still, it was not until August 1939, when Stalin shocked the world by signing a nonaggression pact with his archenemy Hitler, that the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in the United States lost what was left of their moral authority with all but a few American intellectuals.

New forms of cultural expression

The documentary impulse

Novelists, poets, painters, and playwrights of the 1930s did not need to be Marxists to create works that dealt with the problems of the Great Depression or the dangers of fascism. Indeed, even many who were sympathetic to Marxism acted as "fellow travelers" without joining the Communist Party. Most writers and artists in the prosperous 1920s thought of themselves as members of a transatlantic avant-garde and as stylistic disciples of Pablo Picasso, James Joyce, or Igor Stravinsky. In the impoverished and desperate 1930s, they repudiated—as did Malcolm Cowley in his literary memoir of the 1920s, *Exile's Return* (1934)—what they now regarded as the escapism and self-indulgence of their modernist mentors. Given the political and economic calamities at home and abroad, they sought to focus on the plight of workers, sharecroppers, African

Americans, the poor, and the dispossessed. Further, they wanted to communicate their insights in a language—whether literary, visual, or musical—that their audiences could easily comprehend.



Farmer. African American farmer using a mule-drawn cultivator, photographed by Doris Ullman. Because most African Americans were involved in farming or other agricultural work, the Great Depression came early for them.

This impulse led, in a variety of genres, to an aesthetic of documentary-style realism and of social protest. For writers such as Edmund Wilson, Sherwood Anderson, John Dos Passos, Erskine Caldwell, Richard Wright, and James Agee, fiction seemed inadequate in describing the disastrous effects of the Great Depression on political institutions, the natural environment, and human lives. So they joined with photographers and turned to journalism, as if their eyewitness portraits of desolate factories and American shantytowns, interviews with migrant workers and tenant farmers, and ubiquitous cameras could capture the "feel" and the essential truth of the Great Depression. Their yearning to record the pure, unadorned facts of daily existence, to listen to what Americans said about their plight, and to refrain from abstract theories or artistic embellishment was reflected in the titles of some of the books they wrote about their travels throughout the country: Wilson's *The American Jitters* (1932), Anderson's *Puzzled America* (1935), Nathan Asch's *The Road—In Search of America* (1937), Caldwell's *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937), and Wright's *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941).

The most lyrical, and certainly the most eccentric, of these documentaries was *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), with a text by Agee and pictures by Walker Evans. In order to illuminate the suffering but also the dignity of three sharecropper families in Alabama, Evans tried to photograph his subjects

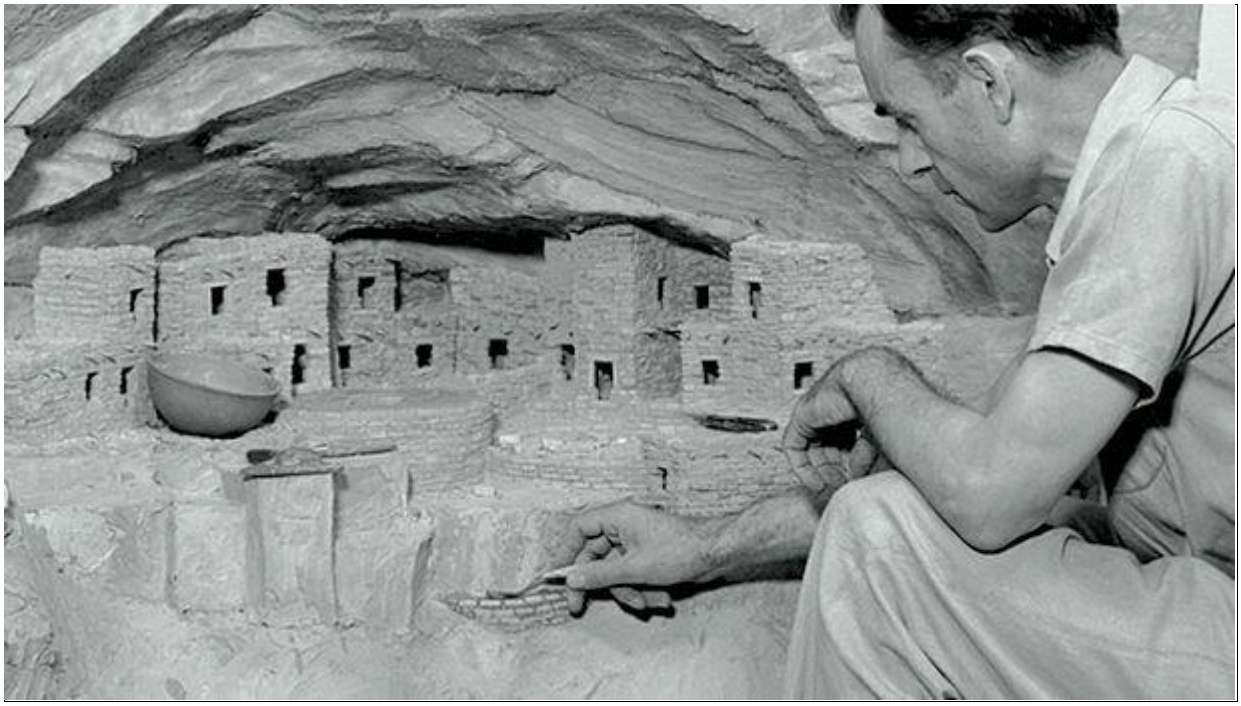
as objectively and as unobtrusively as possible. Meanwhile, Agee employed a variety of journalistic and artistic techniques: naturalistic description and dialogue, an almost anthropological itemization of clothing and household furniture, erudite discussions of agricultural problems in the deep South, autobiographical ruminations, religious symbolism, and intimate expressions of love for the families and rage at their misery. Though the book's prose was perhaps too convoluted for readers in 1941, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* was the precursor of what would later be called the "New Journalism," a highly personal style of reporting that influenced writers as diverse as George Orwell, Truman Capote, Tom Wolfe, and Norman Mailer.

Increasingly, Americans expected to be transported—through photographs, newsreels, or radio—to the scene of the latest calamity. The urge to convey the sights and sounds of the 1930s was also reflected in the emergence of public-opinion polling as a major (if still primitive) industry; in the "living newspaper" productions of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Theatre Project, which dramatized the headlines of the day; in government-sponsored documentary films such as Pare Lorentz's *The River* (1938) and *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936); in newsreels such as 20th Century-Fox's Movietone News and Henry Luce's *March of Time*; in the photography of Dorothea Lange and Margaret Bourke-White; and in *Life* magazine's reliance on photographs even more than on traditional print journalism to tell the authentic story of what Americans were enduring at the time.

This sensation of being present, at least vicariously, at a crisis may explain why Orson Welles's radio adaptation on October 30, 1938, of H.G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1898) terrified so many listeners into believing that Martians had actually landed in New Jersey. The broadcast was done not as a play but in the style of a news story, with "announcers" breaking in for special bulletins, "reporters" delivering on-the-spot descriptions of the invasion, and "government spokesmen" (including one who sounded like FDR) issuing orders to troops and police. It was an event shared by millions of Americans, which is why it remains one of the most remembered events of the 1930s.

By the end of the decade, as Europe erupted into war, dramatic radio broadcasts took their cue from Welles's drama, and audiences grew to depend on a new type of foreign correspondent, such as Edward R. Murrow, who broadcast from Berlin, Paris, and the rooftops of London and brought the sounds of falling bombs and air-raid sirens directly into people's living rooms, documenting a global struggle more cataclysmic than even Welles could have imagined.

Federal arts programs



Discover how Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration helped flourish museums in AmericaA discussion concerning why American museums flourished in the 1930s, from the documentary *The Great Depression*.

The Roosevelt administration, too, embraced the notion that writers and artists should immerse themselves in the details, past and present, of American life. The United States, however, lacked a strong tradition of direct federal support for the arts. This may have been due to the public suspicion of such funding, especially during the 1930s, amid the spectacle of the Nazis' torchlight parades and their total control over radio and movies in Germany, which worried some U.S. congressmen and senators, as well as ordinary citizens, about the capacity of governments to use culture or the media to manipulate public opinion. It was therefore both unprecedented and remarkable that between 1935 and 1939 the Roosevelt administration was able to create and sustain the Federal Art Project, the Federal Music Project, the Federal Writers' Project, and the Federal Theatre Project as part of the WPA; thousands of artists, architects, and educators found work in American museums, which flourished during the Great Depression.

The New Deal rationale for these cultural endeavors was that, just like construction workers, writers, musicians, painters, and actors had to eat—and, more important, to use their skills for the benefit of society. Consequently, the Federal Theatre Project performances were staged not on Broadway but in working-class and African American neighborhoods, outside factory gates, and in small towns whose residents had never seen a play. The Federal Writers' Project arranged for thousands of interviews with blue-collar workers, small farmers, fishermen, miners, lumberjacks, waitresses, and former slaves, and it published

guidebooks that explored the history, ethnic composition, folklore, and ecology of every state. The Federal Music Project sponsored free concerts and the musical transcription of half-forgotten sea chanteys, cowboy and folk songs, Indian dances, Quaker hymns, and Negro spirituals. The Federal Art Project funded art education, established art centers, and made it possible for thousands of artists to complete works in sculpture, painting, and graphic arts; in addition, the Public Works of Art Project, influenced by Mexican painters such as José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera, arranged for murals to be painted on the walls of post offices and county courthouses depicting the stories of particular regions and local communities. It was precisely this attraction to traditional American melodies and to Norman Rockwell-like illustrations of ordinary life that helped composers such as Aaron Copland and Virgil Thomson and painters such as Thomas Hart Benton and Ben Shahn, all of them trained in the European modernist aesthetics of Stravinsky or Picasso, to adapt avant-garde techniques to "American" themes and hence offer an art accessible to popular taste.

Theatre

None of this means that in the 1930s novelists abandoned fiction, or that playwrights ignored the theatre. Rather, many writers still wanted to invest contemporary issues with poetic as well as political power, to raise brute facts to the level of art. Some, influenced by the Soviet Union's call for Socialist Realism, tried to create a didactic "proletarian" literature that usually chronicled a young, politically innocent worker's discovery of the need to join the labor movement, if not the Communist Party. This formula, with its melodramatic tale of how the exploited could triumph over the bosses, frequently led to wooden or bombastic prose, both in novels and on the stage.

Still, there were a number of theatrical companies in addition to the Federal Theatre—such as the Theatre Union and Orson Welles's Mercury Theatre—that attempted to put on plays that were artistically challenging as well as socially relevant. No company was more successful in this effort than the aptly named Group Theatre. Founded in 1931 by the directors Harold Clurman, Lee Strasberg, and Cheryl Crawford and featuring actors such as Stella Adler, John Garfield, Franchot Tone, Lee J. Cobb, Karl Malden, and Elia Kazan, the Group Theatre survived throughout the Great Depression in New York City as a noncommercial repertory company without stars or prima donnas, devoted to plays of current significance, and emphasizing a psychologically realistic acting style known as the Method, which Clurman and Strasberg borrowed from ideas

pioneered by Konstantin Stanislavsky during his directorship of the pre-Bolshevik Moscow Art Theatre.

Clifford Odets . Playwright Clifford Odets.

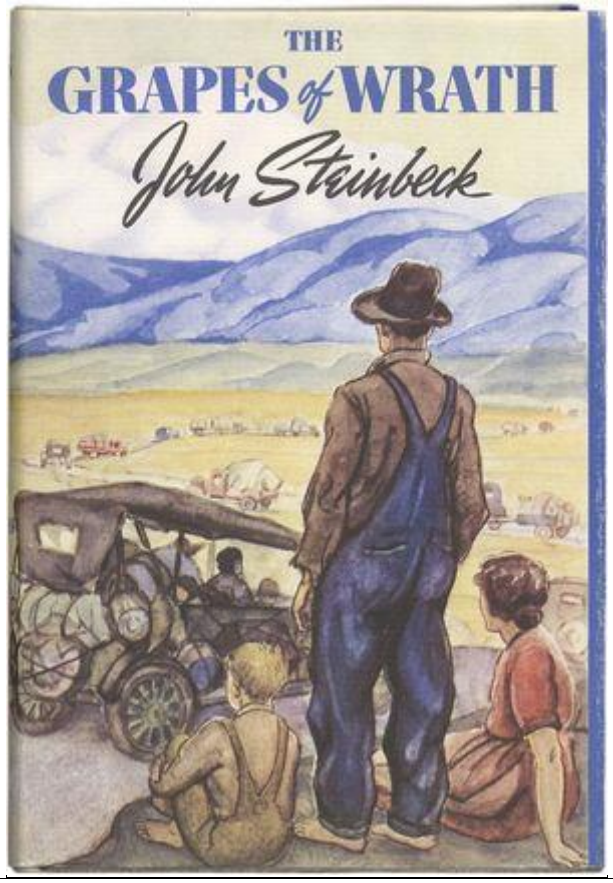
In 1935 the Group's leading playwright, Clifford Odets, wrote a one-act play whose title could not have summed up more accurately the political sentiments of the 1930s: *Waiting for Lefty*. This was the quintessential proletarian drama in which the actors and the audience on opening night arose at the end of the play to demonstrate their solidarity with New York City taxi drivers by chanting "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

While some continue to see the Group's political engagement as its enduring hallmark, its true legacy lay not in its ideology but in its impact on American acting, especially on the screen. After World War II, under the influence of Strasberg, Adler, and Kazan, actors who trained in the Method—Marlon Brando, James Dean, Meryl Streep, Paul Newman, Robert De Niro, Al Pacino, Dustin Hoffman, and Shelley Winters, among others—became the most emotionally compelling performers in American movies.

Fiction

The social consciousness of the theater was duplicated in some of the widely read novels of the 1930s. Here, too, authors strove for a fidelity to the somber facts of the Depression experience. James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* trilogy (1932, 1934, 1935) explored the claustrophobic world of lower-middle-class Irish Catholics, while Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) offered a harrowing portrait

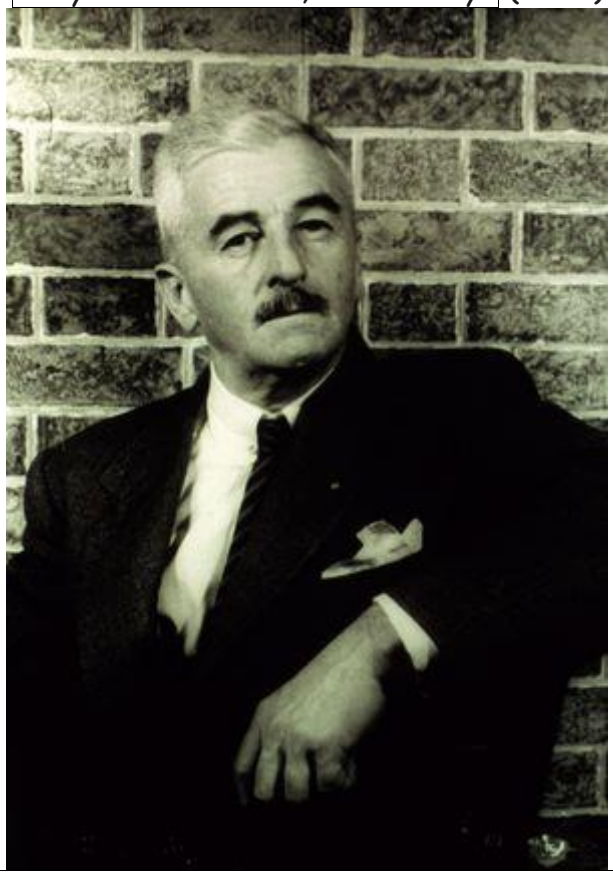
of a young African American man imprisoned in white America, capable of asserting his identity only through fear-drenched acts of violence.



Dust jacket of *The Grapes of Wrath* . First-edition dust jacket of *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) by John Steinbeck; artwork by Elmer Hader.

It was this sense of constriction, the fear of shrinking natural and economic resources, the feeling that America was no longer buoyant and youthful—no longer a land of infinite hope and opportunity—that captured the mood of the 1930s and underlay the message of many of its novels. John Dos Passos's trilogy *U.S.A.* (1930, 1932, and 1936)—a "multimedia history" of the United States in the first three decades of the 20th century, weaving together newspaper headlines, popular songs, biographies of celebrities, fictional stories, and eloquent prose-poems—was unrelenting in its sardonic depiction of American lives wasted in the neurotic pursuit of wealth and success. John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), the most illustrious "protest" novel of the 1930s, was an epic tribute to the Okies, those throwbacks to America's 19th-century pioneers, now run off their farms by the banks, the Dust Bowl, and the mechanization of modern agriculture, clattering in their trucks and jalopies across the Arizona desert on Route 66 to the advertised promised land in California, a despised caste of migrant laborers who (like Steinbeck's heroic earth mother, Ma Joad) still insisted that the "people" are indestructible no matter what tragedies they must surmount.

But California might not have been a place for new beginnings; in the 1930s, as the novelist Nathanael West observed in *The Day of the Locust* (1939), it was more likely a destination where people went to die. In this novel, as well as in *Miss Lonelyhearts* (1933), West—in his fascination with bizarre personalities and psychological breakdowns—may well have expressed the deeper literary preoccupations of the 1930s more perceptively than did Wright or Steinbeck, preoccupations also reflected in John O'Hara's *Appointment in Samarra* (1934) and Horace McCoy's *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (1935).

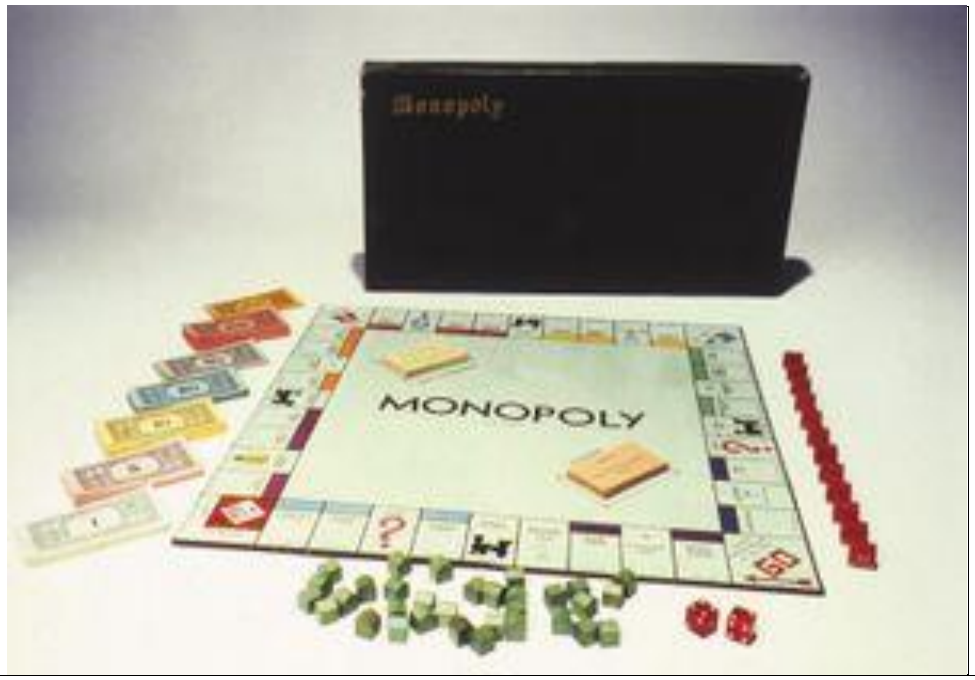


William Faulkner, photograph by Carl Van Vechten, c. 1954Novelist William Faulkner was known for baroque fiction that created a rich social history of the fictional Yoknapatawpha County.

Like West, the finest and most idiosyncratic writers of the decade—Thomas Wolfe, who was obsessed with dramatizing his own life in *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929); F. Scott Fitzgerald, whose *Tender Is the Night* (1934) and *The Last Tycoon* (1941) contained passages of prose as haunting as anything one could find in *The Great Gatsby* (1925); and William Faulkner, whose *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), *Light in August* (1932), and *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936) would appear on any list of the great American novels of the 20th century—did not conform to the formulas of protest or the demands of any creed. Their novels were not optimistic or pessimistic about America, nor were they "radical" or "conservative." More often, they were apolitical. Each of these authors strove not for a timely

discussion of the social problems of the Great Depression years but for a timeless meditation on the agonies of life, love, and death. This sensitivity to private human predicaments, or more specifically to what might happen over a lifetime to husbands and wives and children in a small fictional New England village called Grover's Corners, was also why Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* (1939), not *Waiting for Lefty*, came to be the most treasured and enduring play of the 1930s. Such novels and plays—romantic, confessional, disturbing—would still be read or performed long after the proletarian aesthetic had lost its appeal for most Americans.

Popular culture



Monopoly board game A 1935 edition of the board game Monopoly. It became a popular amusement during the Great Depression.

The indifference to politics and to the larger social concerns of the 1930s was reflected as well in the popular culture of the decade. In contrast to the prosperity of the Roaring Twenties, the 1930s emphasized simplicity and thrift. Although styles tended to reflect the glamor of contemporary movies, clothes themselves were mended before being replaced, and the invention of synthetic fibers led to the use of washable, practical, easy-care fabrics. Many who could not afford books or periodicals spent time reading in libraries. Inexpensive amusements included backyard games, puzzles, card games, and board games such as Monopoly, which was introduced in 1935. Even the national pastime, baseball, changed profoundly during the Great Depression. Major League rosters and players' salaries were cut, 14 minor leagues were eliminated, and, in

an effort to bolster attendance that had fallen by more than 40 percent by 1933, night games were introduced. And with the end of Prohibition in 1933, nightclubs became legitimate places not only to consume liquor but to socialize, dance, enjoy the entertainment, and be seen wearing the latest fashions. Because radio and film reached many more people than novels or plays, some intellectuals believed that the mass media might be the most effective weapon for radicalizing Americans. Yet, predictably, the radio networks and the Hollywood studios, as commercial enterprises, were more interested in entertaining than in indoctrinating the masses.

Jack BennyComedian Jack Benny.

Thus, the most popular programs on radio were afternoon soap operas, music and variety broadcasts, and half-hour comedy shows like *Amos 'n' Andy*, *The Jack Benny Program*, and the *Edgar Bergen-Charlie McCarthy Show*. Although Hollywood was filled with people sympathetic to the political left—people who frequently contributed money to the labor movement or the Spanish Republicans or who were indispensable in organizing the Screen Actors, Writers, and Directors guilds—little of this political activism left an imprint on the screen.

In fact, it is striking how few American movies during the 1930s dealt with the plight of the poor and the unemployed. The most memorable films of the decade (particularly those made at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, and Twentieth Century-Fox) were musicals, screwball comedies, and romances. Only Warner

Brothers specialized in movies, usually gangster sagas, about the violence and poverty of slum life, a life the embattled hoodlum protagonists always yearned to escape.

Scene from the film *Swing Time* . Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire in *Swing Time* (1936).

What many of Hollywood's movies really had in common—even the spectacles of director Busby Berkeley and the dazzling duets of Fred Astaire and his frequent partner Ginger Rogers—was a soundtrack peppered with hard-boiled, even cynical, staccato chatter reminiscent of Walter Winchell's gossip columns in the newspapers and on the radio. The fast-talking guys and dames of 1930s movies—like the contemporaneous music and lyrics of George Gershwin and Ira Gershwin, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, and Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart—were the product of a culture both urban and urbane; the movies and the music depended on clever allusions and witty dialogue, written or composed mostly by sophisticated Manhattanites. One could never imagine Cary Grant, Fred Astaire, Katharine Hepburn, Bette Davis, Rosalind Russell, Claudette Colbert, or the Marx Brothers portraying rural hayseeds or working stiffs. Nor was it possible to envision the gangsters, as played by Edward G. Robinson or James Cagney, asking passing strangers if they could spare a dime. The characters they played all lived in a world of posh furniture and polished floors, of well-cut suits and gowns, of elegant nightclubs filled with cigarette smoke and champagne and piano music, a world far removed from the one movie audiences inhabited.

Benny Goodman and members of his orchestraBandleader Benny Goodman (left) and members of his orchestra, c. 1938.

Some of the music of the 1930s tried to assuage the social suffering. Indeed, from Lew Brown and Ray Henderson's "Life Is Just a Bowl of Cherries" (1931) to Al Dubin and Harry Warren's "We're in the Money" (1933), many of the era's popular songs were suffused in buoyant optimism. The emphatic "Happy Days Are Here Again" (1929) could be heard just about anywhere, whether as a political jingle for Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign or as the theme song for the *Your Hit Parade* radio show, launched in 1935. By mid-decade the Benny Goodman Orchestra had ushered in the swing era, popularizing a style of big band jazz that had been pioneered a decade earlier by African American ensembles led by Fletcher Henderson and Duke Ellington. Dance-oriented and relentlessly upbeat, swing was not a palliative for hopelessness; it was tonic for recovery.

Woody Guthrie. Folk singer-songwriter Woody Guthrie.

Yet songs that expressed a loss of faith in the American Dream were not completely absent. While Bing Crosby could sing "Just remember that sunshine always follows the rain" in "Wrap Your Troubles in Dreams" (1931), he also recorded "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" in the same year. Folk songs from the period, many recorded as part of the Federal Music Project's archival work, provide an especially vivid index of the deprivation suffered by ordinary Americans. Among the folksingers "discovered" through the field recordings of folklorists such as John Lomax and Alan Lomax was Leadbelly (Huddie Ledbetter), an ex-convict who gained fame for the songs he wrote about African American life during the Great Depression. No folk singer-songwriter, however, is more inextricably linked to the music of hardship and protest than Woody Guthrie. An Oklahoman, he took to the road at the height of the Dust Bowl era, frequenting hobo and migrant camps on his way to California, where he first popularized his songs about the plight of Dust Bowl refugees. With politically charged songs such as "(If You Ain't Got the) Do Re Mi," "Union Made," "Tom Joad" (inspired by *The Grapes of Wrath*), and "This Land Is Your Land," Guthrie became a mythic figure who continued his support of labor and radical politics (including his involvement with the Communist Party) long after most American intellectuals had abandoned them. In the process he became not only a catalyst for the folk music movement centered on New York City's Greenwich Village in the 1940s and '50s, with its strong association with leftist politics, but

ultimately a role model for singer-songwriter Bob Dylan, who championed social protest in the early 1960s at the head of the folk music revival.

The Grapes of Wrath Henry Fonda and Jane Darwell in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940).

In Hollywood, too, some of the leading directors of the 1930s, such as Capra in *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) or John Ford in his movie version of *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), addressed the corruption of corporate and political power in modern America or the wretched conditions in which migrant farmers lived. The hollowed-out face of Henry Fonda as Steinbeck's Tom Joad, after all, was as potent an icon of the 1930s as Astaire's top hat and tails.

But few images from this period have lasted as long, or had as great an influence on filmmaking in America and abroad, as that of the fictional media mogul Charles Foster Kane in *Citizen Kane*. Directed by and starring a 25-year-old Welles and released in 1941, the movie was astonishing in part because of its stylistic virtuosity but also because it rebelled against the political clichés of the 1930s. By telling Kane's story from multiple perspectives, by presenting him as a man to be feared or pitied as well as occasionally admired, and by acknowledging at the end that no single word (not even "Rosebud") could explain a person's life, the movie refused to pass judgment or deliver a message—refused to say that this man of wealth and power is evil or that the society that produced him is in need of fundamental change. Neither sentimental nor propagandistic, *Citizen Kane* transcended the filmmaking conventions and the preconceptions of the 1930s and hinted at a more ironic age, with fewer certitudes, that would follow World War II.

Portrayals of hope

Americans in 1941, however, were not yet ready for the cool detachment of *Citizen Kane*. After 10 years of hard times, when the Depression felt like a

natural as well as economic disaster (made worse by real environmental catastrophes such as floods and dust storms), what people wanted from their government and their popular culture was comfort. By the late 1930s all but a few Americans were longing not for revolution but for recovery, not for uncertainty but for stability, not for more social conflict but for a sense of national unity.

Civilian Conservation Corps New members of the Civilian Conservation Corps waiting to be fitted for shoes at Camp Dix, New Jersey, 1935.

These essentially conservative impulses dominated the closing years of the Great Depression, though they had been present all along. Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the craving for solace in the midst of chaos by clothing his reforms in conservative language. The very names of the New Deal agencies and programs—the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Tennessee Valley Authority, Social Security—promised that America would be repaired and strengthened rather than transformed. Floods would be "controlled"; hydroelectric power would be "harnessed"; the soil would be "conserved"; order would be "restored." In short, Americans would get a new, fairer deal of the cards but not a brand-new game with perplexing new rules. Even African Americans—for many of whom the toils of the Great Depression were hardly different from the travails of everyday life in segregated America—found hope and inspiration in the New Deal, especially as it was enunciated by first lady Eleanor Roosevelt. They showed their support by switching their political allegiance from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party.

It Happened One Night . Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert in *It Happened One Night* (1934), directed by Frank Capra . .

Meet John Doe . (From left) Walter Brennan, Gary Cooper, and Barbara Stanwyck in *Meet John Doe* (1941), directed by Frank Capra.

The Roosevelt administration's rhetoric and its policies were devised for a country that had shed the optimism and the innocence of the 1920s, a country that now regarded itself, psychologically, as middle-aged. The popular culture of the 1930s reinforced this perception that Americans had entered an era of limits, where they should make the best of what they already had rather than embarking on a quest for the unobtainable. The title of one of the decade's best-selling self-help books, *Life Begins at Forty* (1932) by Walter Pitkin, implied that a wise if chastened maturity was emotionally healthier and more realistic than adolescent self-confidence. At the same time, movies like Capra's *It Happened One Night* (1934), *You Can't Take It with You* (1938), and *Meet John Doe* (1941) suggested that people were happier and better off if they were not rich and that the familiar pleasures of home and family were more fulfilling than the ambitions of the powerful or the affectations of the elite. This was a soothing idea for people whose dreams of a more affluent and adventurous life had vanished.

The conservatism of the 1930s coincided with a revival of interest in the American past and a veneration of America's legendary heroes. The publication of multivolume biographies of George Washington, Andrew Jackson, and Robert E. Lee, or epic poems like Archibald MacLeish's *The Land of the Free* (1938), reminded people of the leaders (whatever their differing philosophies) who had guided the nation through its earlier crises. This reverence for tradition, which encouraged Americans to believe they could prevail over their current predicaments, was the subtext of the decade's most famous novel and the movie that set box-office records both in the 1930s and for the next half century, *Gone with the Wind* (book by Margaret Mitchell, 1936; movie, 1939).

The resurgence of cultural nationalism was hardly unique to the United States. Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and Japan were all competing with one another in the glorification of their histories and their values through international automobile races, aviation speed and endurance contests, the acquisition of gold medals at the Olympic Games of 1932 and 1936, and shortwave overseas radio broadcasts such as the British Broadcasting Company's Empire Service. By the end of the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration—fearing the spreading influence of Germany and Italy through the growth, in Latin America, of large émigré populations from those two countries—had entered the culture war by establishing libraries, educational exchanges, and American schools in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. These initiatives marked the beginning of the U.S. government's far more extensive strategy of exporting American culture as an instrument of foreign policy during World War II and the Cold War.

Even as the worst economic problems of the Great Depression began to lift, the prevailing mindset could not forget the lessons of the era. The trust in the federal government to solve or at least address the fundamental dilemmas of various groups in American society (the elderly with Social Security, blue-collar workers with the National Labor Relations Act, poor Southern farmers with the Tennessee Valley Authority), the dependence on Washington as the ultimate supervisor of corporate behavior, the thirst for social and psychological security, the need to hold a job and save money as protection against some future economic crisis—all of these predilections continued to shape the mentality of Americans who lived through the Great Depression even after America's victory in World War II and the return of prosperity. The emotional scars, the fear of fear itself, could never be eradicated.

The Wizard of Oz (1939)(From left) The Tin Man (Jack Haley), the Cowardly Lion (Bert Lahr), Dorothy (Judy Garland), the Scarecrow (Ray Bolger), and the Wizard of Oz (Frank Morgan) in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), a film directed by Victor Fleming.

But the Great Depression and its aftermath also encouraged a faith in, and a love of, what America presumably stood for. These were not the sort of feelings one might have expected in a decade in which many people were initially angry about the failure of America's economic and social arrangements. Yet the transition from rage to reconciliation was reflected, symbolically, in one of the decade's most cherished movies, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Here Dorothy (played by Judy Garland) is transported from her drab, gray Kansas farm to the magical and Technicolor land of Oz. She and her companions—a scarecrow, a tin woodsman, and a cowardly lion—each seeking to change themselves or their circumstances, go off to see the wizard "because of the wonderful things he does." Although the wizard turns out to be a charlatan, he has an important lesson to teach, not just to his supplicants but to audiences in the 1930s. People, he says, do not need a wizard and his miracles; all they need to do is look inside themselves. So a movie that begins with Dorothy imagining a fantasy world somewhere over the rainbow ends with her back in Kansas, proclaiming "There's no place like home." And in the midst of World War II, as the economy recuperated and people went back to work, the virtues of life at home became more palpable to most Americans. In 1939 John Steinbeck had portrayed an Oklahoma in *The Grapes of Wrath* that, like the rest of America, was still marked by scarcity and deprivation. In 1943 Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein opened a new musical, called *Oklahoma!*, on Broadway. Their Oklahoma, unlike Steinbeck's Dust Bowl, was a bountiful land where the corn was as high "as an elephant's eye."

The musical, with its joyous evocation of beautiful mornings, summed up the spirit of a people who had finally freed themselves from the constraints of the 1930s and could once again relish the vitality of the United States. It was this America—having survived its idiosyncratic crisis in the 1930s and having escaped the bombing of its cities and the destruction of its natural resources during World War II—that the rest of the world would have to decipher and deal with in the postwar years

New Deal

New Deal, domestic program of the administration of U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) between 1933 and 1939, which took action to bring about immediate economic relief as well as reforms in industry, agriculture, finance, waterpower, labour, and housing, vastly increasing the scope of the federal government's activities. The term was taken from Roosevelt's speech accepting the Democratic nomination for the presidency on July 2, 1932. Reacting to the

ineffectiveness of the administration of Pres. Herbert Hoover in meeting the ravages of the Great Depression, American voters the following November overwhelmingly voted in favour of the Democratic promise of a "new deal" for the "forgotten man." Opposed to the traditional American political philosophy of laissez-faire, the New Deal generally embraced the concept of a government-regulated economy aimed at achieving a balance between conflicting economic interests.

The Hundred Days

How FDR's New Deal changed the U.S. Learn about the New Deal.

Much of the New Deal legislation was enacted within the first three months of Roosevelt's presidency (March 9–June 16, 1933), which became known as the Hundred Days. The new administration's first objective was to alleviate the suffering of the nation's huge number of unemployed workers. Such agencies as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) were established to dispense emergency and short-term governmental aid and to provide temporary jobs, employment on construction projects, and youth work in the national forests. The WPA gave some 8.5 million people jobs. Its construction projects produced more than 650,000 miles of roads, 125,000 public buildings, 75,000 bridges, and 8,000 parks. Also under its aegis were the Federal Art Project, Federal Writers' Project, and Federal

Theatre Project. The CCC provided national conservation work primarily for young unmarried men. Projects included planting trees, building flood barriers, fighting forest fires, and maintaining forest roads and trails.

Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Agricultural Adjustment Act U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Agricultural Adjustment Act, a farm relief bill, 1933. Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace is standing second from right.

Before 1935 the New Deal focused on revitalizing the country's stricken business and agricultural communities. To revive industrial activity, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) was granted authority to help shape industrial codes governing trade practices, wages, hours, child labour, and collective bargaining. The New Deal also tried to regulate the nation's financial hierarchy in order to avoid a repetition of the stock market crash of 1929 and the massive bank failures that followed. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) granted government insurance for bank deposits in member banks of the Federal Reserve System, and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was established in 1934 to restore investor confidence in the stock market by ending the misleading sales practices and stock manipulations that had led to the stock market crash. The farm program, known as the Agricultural Adjustment Act, was signed in May 1933. It was centred in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which attempted to raise prices by controlling the production of staple crops through cash subsidies to farmers. In addition, the arm of the federal government reached into the area of electric power, establishing in 1933 the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which was to cover a

seven-state area and supply cheap electricity, prevent floods, improve navigation, and produce nitrates.

FDR's "Fireside Chats," the role of Eleanor Roosevelt, and crucial New Dealers

From 1933 to 1944 Roosevelt provided a source of hope and security through his "Fireside Chats," a series of radio broadcasts that were initially meant to gain support for his New Deal policies. In those "chats" Roosevelt, who understood the importance of radio as a medium, used common language to construct the radio addresses as an informal conversation between himself and an American public greatly in need of reassurance. In his efforts to implement the New Deal, Roosevelt was ably assisted by the popular first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, who served as her husband's eyes and ears throughout the nation, embarking on extensive tours and reporting to him on conditions, programs, and public opinion. FDR also had the support of a cabinet full of skillful committed New Dealers, including Harry L. Hopkins, who initially served as the administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and later as the secretary of commerce. Hopkins personified the ideology of vast federal work programs to relieve unemployment, and by 1938 he had directed the spending of more than $8.5 billion for unemployment relief, aiding some 15 million people. Among the other key members of Roosevelt's cabinet and New Deal brain trust were Cordell Hull, Harold L. Ickes, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Frances Perkins, Henry Stimson, and Henry Wallace.

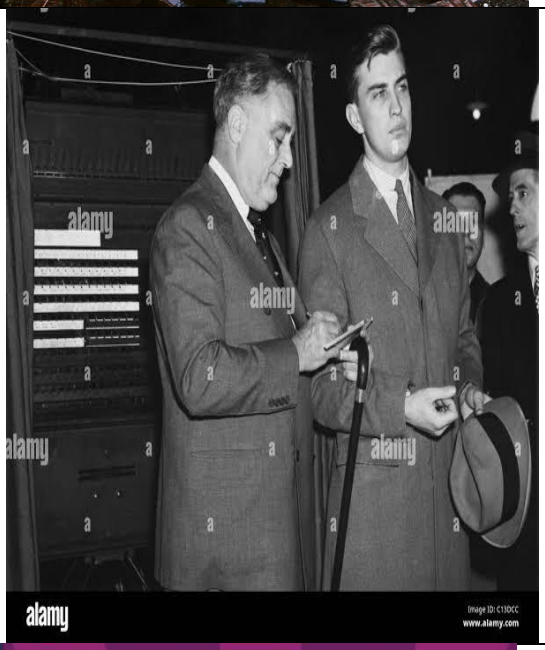
The Second New Deal

The significance of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Learn more about the program, known as the New Deal, launched by U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt to address the effects of the Great Depression.

In 1935 the New Deal emphasis shifted to measures designed to assist labour and other urban groups. This additional legislation is sometimes called the "Second New Deal." The programs of the New Deal, then, fell into three principal categories—relief, recovery, and reform—though several programs provided both relief and recovery. New Deal recovery programs were intended to help stabilize and rebuild the economy, especially its nonbanking sectors. Among other objectives, they sought to increase agricultural prices by holding down supply, to help people remain in their homes, and to foster long-term employment. New Deal reform programs involved legislation that was intended to guard against an economic disaster like the Great Depression ever recurring. In particular, they targeted banking, the stock market, labour, and labour unions.

The Wagner Act of 1935 greatly increased the authority of the federal government in industrial relations and strengthened the organizing power of labour unions, establishing the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to execute this program. The Fair Labor Standards Act, also called Wages and Hours Act, was the first U.S. legislation to prescribe nationwide compulsory federal regulation of wages and hours. To aid the "forgotten" homeowner, legislation was passed to refinance shaky mortgages and guarantee bank loans for both modernization and mortgage payments. Perhaps the most far-reaching programs of the entire New Deal were the Social Security measures enacted in 1935 and 1939, which used employer and employee contributions to fund the provision of old-age and widows' benefits, unemployment compensation, and disability insurance.

Certain New Deal laws were declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court on the grounds that neither the commerce nor the taxing provisions of the Constitution granted the federal government authority to regulate industry or to undertake social and economic reform. Roosevelt, confident of the legality of all the measures, proposed early in 1937 a reorganization of the Court. This proposal met with vehement opposition and ultimate defeat, but the Court meanwhile ruled in favour of the remaining contested legislation.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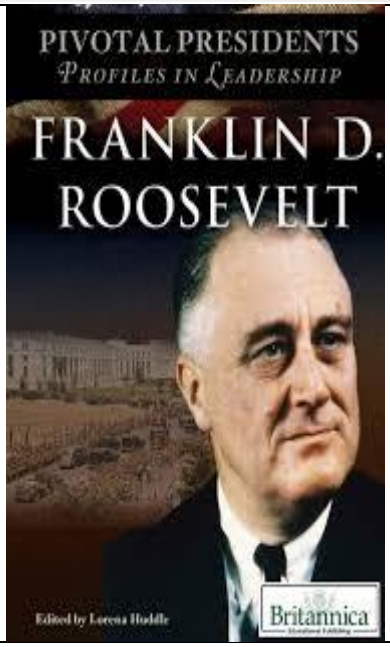
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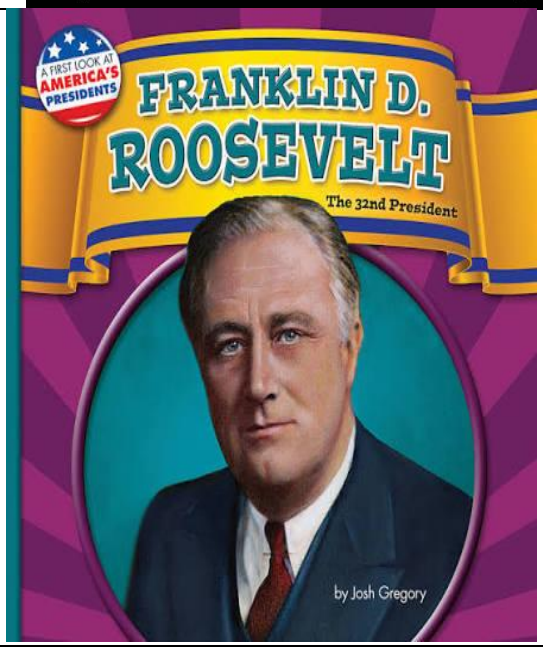
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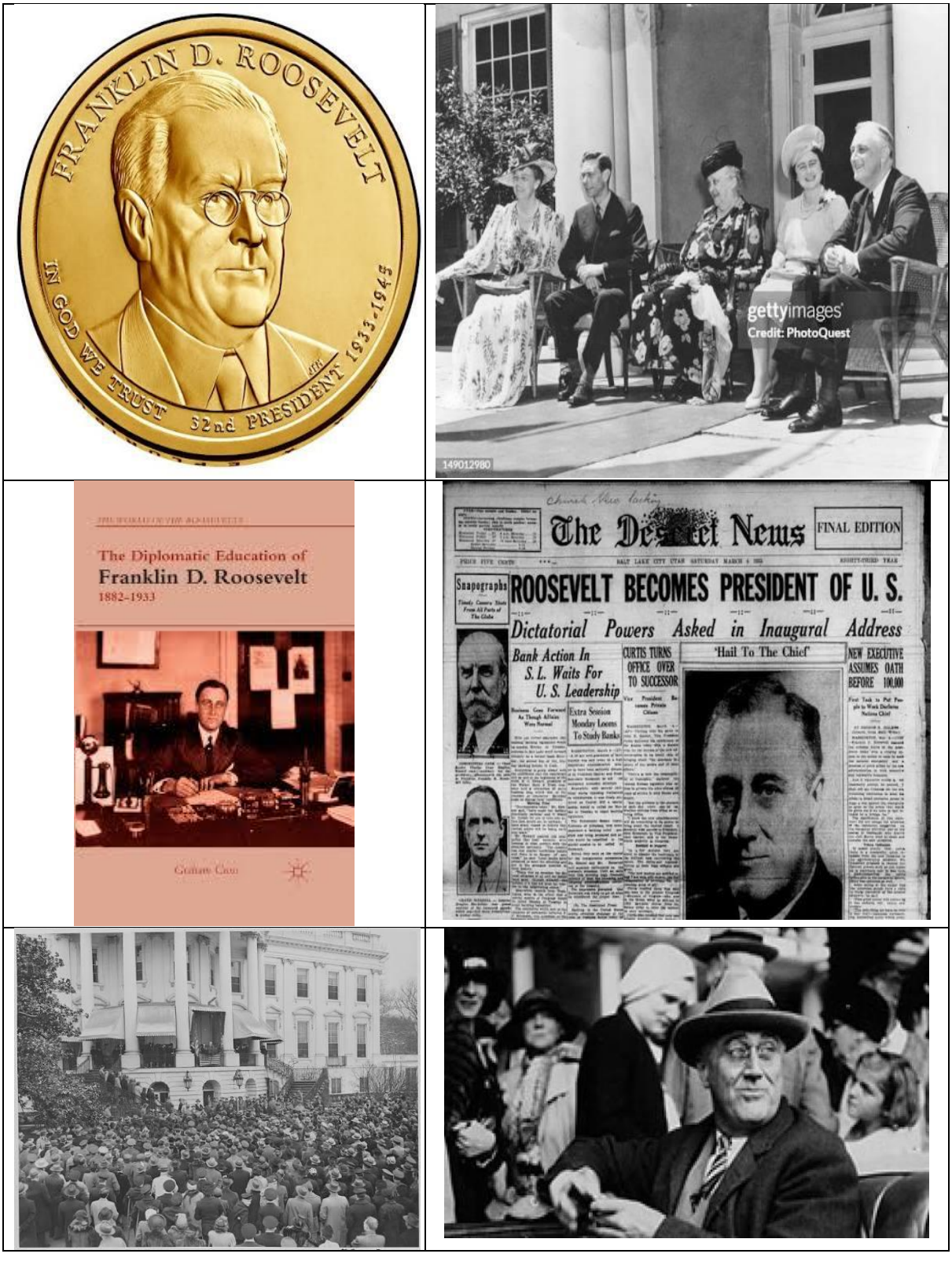
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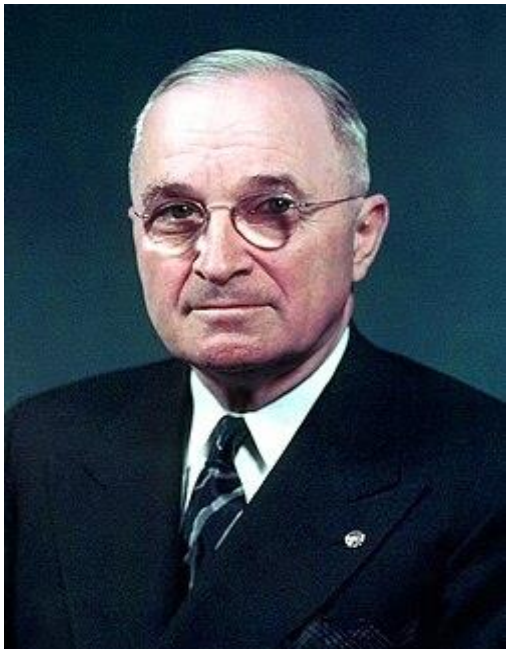


Harry S. Truman

33rd President of the United States

[12 April 1945 <::> 20 January 1953]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/harry-truman

02] https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/history/presidents/ht33.html

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Harry-S-Truman

04] Harry S Truman: Common Man, Uncommon Leader https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HhbmIbZW7Xg [1:44:16]

05] Harry S. Truman: The Soldier from Independence - D.M. Giangreco https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxaPBtrNX58 [1:04:43]

Harry S. Truman (born May 8, 1884, Lamar, Missouri, U.S.—died December 26, 1972, Kansas City, Missouri) was the 33rd president of the United States (1945–53), who led his country through the final stages of World War II and through the early years of the Cold War, vigorously opposing Soviet expansionism in Europe and sending U.S. forces to turn back a communist invasion of South Korea.

Early life and career

Truman was the eldest of three children of John A. and Martha E. Truman; his father was a mule trader and farmer. After graduating from high school in 1901 in Independence, Missouri, he went to work as a bank clerk in Kansas City. In 1906 he moved to the family farm near Grandview, and he took over the farm management after his father's death in 1914. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Truman—nearly 33 years old and with two tours in the National Guard (1905–11) behind him—immediately volunteered. He was sent overseas a year later and served in France as the captain of Battery D, a field artillery unit that saw action at Saint Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne. The men under his command came to be devoted to him, admiring him for his bravery and evenhanded leadership.

Returning to the United States in 1919, Truman married Elizabeth Wallace (Bess Truman), whom he had known since childhood; they had one child, Margaret, in 1924. With army friend Edward Jacobson he opened a haberdashery, but the business failed in the severe recession of the early

1920s. Another army friend introduced him to Thomas Pendergast, Democratic boss of Kansas City. With the backing of the Pendergast machine, Truman launched his political career in 1922, running successfully for county judge. He lost his bid for reelection in 1924, but he was elected presiding judge of the county court in 1926, again with Pendergast's support. He served two four-year terms, during which he acquired a reputation for honesty (unusual among Pendergast politicians) and for skillful management.

In 1934 Truman's political career seemed at an end because of the two-term tradition attached to his job and the reluctance of the Pendergast machine to advance him to higher office. When several people rejected the machine's offer to run in the Democratic primary for a seat in the U.S. Senate, however, Pendergast extended the offer to Truman, who quickly accepted. He won the primary with a 40,000-vote plurality, assuring his election in solidly Democratic Missouri. In January 1935 Truman was sworn in as Missouri's junior senator by Vice Pres. John Nance Garner.
He began his Senate career under the cloud of being a puppet of the corrupt Pendergast, but Truman's friendliness, personal integrity, and attention to the duties of his office soon won over his colleagues. He was responsible for two major pieces of legislation: the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, establishing government regulation of the aviation industry, and the Wheeler-Truman Transportation Act of 1940, providing government oversight of railroad reorganization. Following a tough Democratic primary victory in 1940, he won a second term in the Senate, and it was during this term that he gained national recognition for leading an investigation into fraud and waste in the U.S. military. While taking care

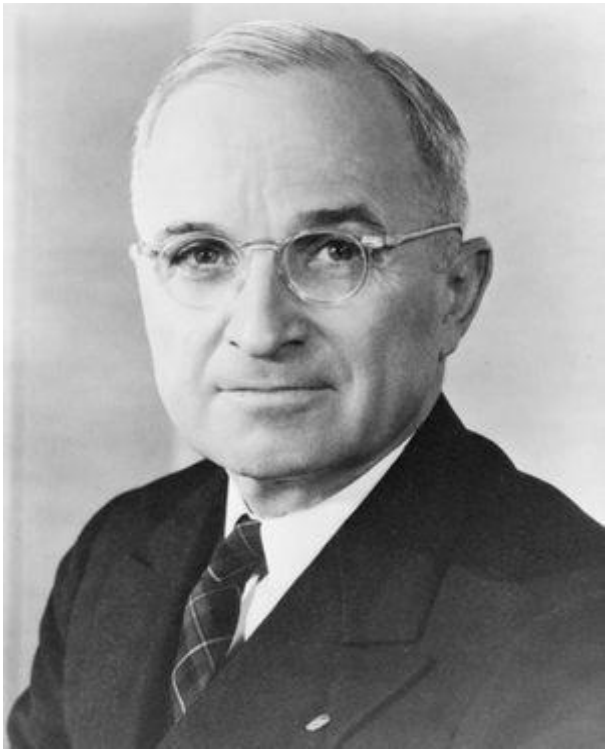
not to jeopardize the massive effort being launched to prepare the nation for war, the Truman Committee (officially the Special Committee Investigating National Defense) exposed graft and deficiencies in production. The committee made it a practice to issue draft reports of its findings to corporations, unions, and government agencies under investigation, allowing for the correction of abuses before formal action was initiated.

Respected by his Senate colleagues and admired by the public at large, Truman was selected to run as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's vice president on the 1944 Democratic ticket, replacing Henry A. Wallace. The Roosevelt-Truman ticket garnered 53 percent of the vote to 46 percent for their Republican rivals, and Truman took the oath of office as vice president on January 20, 1945. His term lasted just 82 days, however, during which time he met with the president only twice. Roosevelt, who apparently did not realize how ill he was, made little effort to inform Truman about the administration's programs and plans, nor did he prepare Truman for dealing with the heavy responsibilities that were about to devolve upon him.

At a glance: the Truman presidency

Succession to the presidency of Harry S. Truman

Harry S. Truman, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam ConferencePotsdam Conference, with U.S. President Harry S. Truman (center), flanked by Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin (left) and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (right), near Berlin, Germany, July 1945.



Harry S. TrumanThe 33rd U.S. president, Harry S. Truman led the U.S. through the final stages of World War II and through the early years of the Cold War. He is shown here in 1945, the year of his succession to the presidency, at the age of 60.

Roosevelt died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945, leaving Truman and the public in shock. Truman told reporters the day after taking the oath of office that he felt as if "the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen" on him and asked them to pray for him. He was hardly, however, as scholars have noted, a political neophyte. Although he had no foreign policy experience, he was a capable administrator of large bureaucracies and a skilled politician who knew how to use the press to his purposes.

Deciding Germany's future: The Potsdam Conference. Learn about the Potsdam Conference, attended by Winston Churchill, Harry Truman, and Joseph Stalin, to decide the future of Germany and Europe after World War II.

Truman was sworn in as president on the same day as Roosevelt's death, which was just weeks away from Truman's 61st birthday. He began his presidency with great energy, making final arrangements for the San Francisco meeting to draft a charter for the United Nations, helping to arrange Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, and traveling

to Potsdam in July for a meeting with Allied leaders to discuss the fate of postwar Germany. While in Potsdam Truman received word of the successful test of an atomic bomb at Los Alamos, New Mexico, and it was from Potsdam that Truman sent an ultimatum to Japan to surrender unconditionally or face "utter devastation." When Japan did not surrender and his advisers estimated that up to 500,000 Americans might be killed in an invasion of Japan, Truman authorized the dropping of atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9), killing more than 100,000 men, women, and children. This remains perhaps the most controversial decision ever taken by a U.S. president, one that scholars continue to debate today. (*See* Sidebar: The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb.) In his address to the American people on August 7, Truman said in part:

It was to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth....The fact that we can release atomic energy ushers in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces.

Japan surrendered on August 14, and the Pacific war ended officially on September 2, 1945.

Witness Douglas MacArthur offering surrender terms to imperial Japan aboard the battleship USS MissouriOn the deck of the battleship USS Missouri, Gen. Douglas MacArthur inviting representatives of Japan to sign the terms of surrender that would formally end World War II. From *The Second World War: Allied Victory* (1963), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Hear Harry S. Truman address the country after the atomic bombing of HiroshimaU.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman addressing the country on the day the U.S. military dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan, August 6, 1945.

Scarcely had the guns of World War II been silenced than Truman faced the threat of Soviet expansionism in eastern Europe. Early in 1946 Truman brought British statesman Winston Churchill, who had just completed his first term (1940–45) as prime minister, to Missouri to sound the alarm with his "iron curtain" address. The following year Truman put the world on notice through his Truman Doctrine that the United States would oppose communist aggression everywhere; specifically, he called for economic aid to Greece and Turkey to help those countries resist communist takeover. In the process, Truman shifted U.S. foreign policy from cooperation with the Soviet Union to "containment" of Soviet power. On March 12, 1947, he addressed a joint session of Congress, saying in part:

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion....We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States....I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

Later in 1947 the president backed Secretary of State George Marshall's strategy for undercutting communism's appeal in western Europe by sending enormous amounts of financial aid (ultimately about $13 billion) to rebuild devastated European economies. Both the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program) achieved their objectives, but they also contributed to the global polarization that characterized five decades of Cold War hostility between East and West.

Winning a second term

Harry S. Truman campaign button . Button from Harry S. Truman's 1948 U.S. presidential campaign.

As the presidential election of 1948 approached, the odds against Truman's winning the presidency seemed enormous. The Republicans had triumphed in the congressional elections of 1946, running against Truman as the symbol of the New Deal. That electoral triumph seemed to indicate that the American people were weary of reform and of the Democratic Party. Worsening Truman's chances for reelection was the defection of liberal Democrats, breaking with the president over his hard-line opposition to the Soviet Union; many of these liberals supported the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace, who was running as the Progressive Party candidate for president. At the Democratic National Convention, Southern delegates bolted as well, angry at the president for his strong civil rights initiatives; these Southern Democrats supported Strom Thurmond, the States' Rights ("Dixiecrat") presidential candidate.

But Truman surprised everyone. He launched a cross-country whistle-stop campaign, blasting the "do-nothing, good-for-nothing Republican Congress." As he hammered away at Republican support for the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act (passed over Truman's veto) and other conservative policies, crowds responded with "Give 'em hell, Harry!" The excitement generated by Truman's vigorous campaigning contrasted sharply with the lacklustre speeches of Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey, and Truman won by a comfortable margin, 49 percent to 45 percent; Wallace and Thurmond had little impact on the outcome.

Energized by his surprising victory, Truman presented his program for domestic reform in 1949. The Fair Deal included proposals for expanded public housing, increased aid to education, a higher minimum wage, federal protection for civil rights, and national health insurance. Despite Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, most Fair Deal proposals either failed to gain legislative majorities or passed in much weakened form. Truman succeeded, however, in laying the groundwork for the domestic agenda for decades to come.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization; NATO; Harry S. Truman U.S. President Harry S. Truman signing the NATO alliance pact before members of Congress, 1949.

In part, the Fair Deal fell victim to rising Cold War tensions that absorbed attention and resources. In 1949 Chinese communists finally won their long civil war, seizing control of the mainland. Almost simultaneously, the Soviet Union successfully tested a nuclear bomb, ending the nuclear monopoly enjoyed by the United States since 1945. Truman, who had faced down the Soviet threat to Berlin in 1948 with a massive airlift of food and supplies to sustain the noncommunist sectors of the city, led the United States into a collective security agreement with noncommunist European nations—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—to resist Soviet expansionism. In 1950 he authorized development of the hydrogen bomb in order to maintain an arms lead over the Soviets. By the end of the decade, the wartime alliance linking the United States and Soviet Union had been completely severed, and the two nations had embarked on an arms race of potentially world-destroying dimensions.

Outbreak of the Korean War

Korean War. United Nations forces fighting to recapture Seoul from communist invaders, September 1950.

In June 1950 military forces of communist North Korea suddenly plunged southward across the 38th parallel boundary in an attempt to seize noncommunist South Korea. Outraged, Truman reportedly responded, "By God, I'm going to let them [North Korea] have it!" Truman did not ask Congress for a declaration of war, and he was later criticized for this decision. Instead, he sent to South Korea, with UN sanction, U.S. forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur to repel the invasion. Ill-prepared for combat, the Americans were pushed back to the southern tip of the Korean peninsula before MacArthur's brilliant Inchon offensive drove the communists north of the 38th parallel. South Korea was liberated, but MacArthur wanted a victory over the communists, not merely restoration of the status quo. U.S. forces drove northward, nearly to the Yalu River boundary with Manchuria. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops then poured into North Korea, pushing the fighting once again down to the 38th parallel. When MacArthur insisted on extending the war to China and using nuclear weapons to defeat the communists, Truman removed him from command—a courageous assertion of civilian control over the military. The administration was devoted to its policy of containment. The war, however, dragged on inconclusively past the end of Truman's presidency, eventually claiming the lives of more than 33,000 Americans and leaving a residual bitterness at home.

The inability of the United States to achieve a clear-cut victory in Korea following Soviet conquests in eastern Europe and the triumph of communism in China led many Americans to conclude that the United States was losing the Cold War. Accusations began to fly that

the president and some of his top advisers were "soft on communism," thereby explaining why the United States—without question the world's greatest power in 1945—had been unable to halt the communist advance. As the nation's second "Red Scare" (the fear that communists had infiltrated key positions in government and society) took hold in the late 1940s and early '50s, Truman's popularity began to plummet. In March 1952 he announced he was not going to run for reelection. By the time he left the White House in January 1953, his approval rating was just 31 percent; it had peaked at 87 percent in July 1945.

Harry Truman U.S. Pres. Harry Truman with desegregated troops, 1947.

Over the next two decades, however, Truman's standing among American presidents rose. He began to be appreciated as a president who had, in Truman's own words, "done his damnedest." The ultimate common man thrust into leadership at a critical time in the nation's history, Truman had risen to the challenge and acquitted himself far better than nearly everyone had expected. Later presidents, regardless of political party, looked back on him fondly, admiring his willingness to take responsibility

for the country (as a sign on his desk read, "The Buck Stops Here!") and trying to emulate his appeal to the average voter. His Fair Deal social programs, such as those delineating civil rights for African Americans, had been defeated during his presidency but were enacted in the 1960s and retained by Democratic and Republican administrations alike. Truman did, however, issue an executive order (9981) that desegregated the military, and he was noted for appointing African Americans to high-level positions. His reputation suffered slightly in the 1980s, when scholars highlighted the fact that in private conversation and personal correspondence, Truman told off-color jokes and referred to minorities and ethnic groups in terms considered highly offensive today.

Independence, Missouri Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri, U.S.

His life in retirement was modest but active, perhaps epitomized by his habit of taking a brisk morning walk, or "constitutional," along the sidewalks of Independence, Mo. He enjoyed joking with reporters, and he seems to have initiated a controversy over the period after his middle initial. (*See* Researcher's Note.) He remained in good health, spending his days reading voraciously, until the mid-1960s, when he declined rapidly.

On Christmas Day 1972, Truman lapsed into unconsciousness, and he died the next morning.

Cabinet of President Harry S. Truman

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Harry S. Truman.

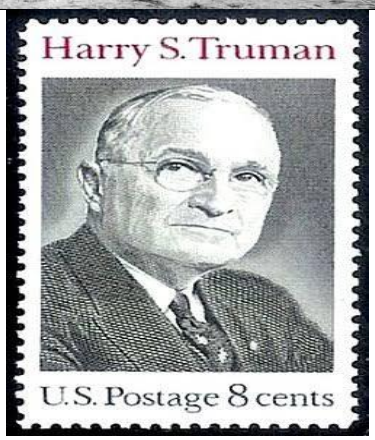
Cabinet of President Harry S. Truman	
April 12, 1945–January 20, 1949 (Term 1)	
*Newly created department, subsuming the Department of War and the Navy	
State	Edward Reilly Stettinius
	James F. Byrnes (from July 3, 1945)
	George C. Marshall (from January 21, 1947)
Treasury	Henry Morgenthau,
	Frederick Moore (from July 23, 1945)
	John Wesley Snyder (from June 25, 1946)
War	Henry Lewis Stimson
	Robert Porter Patterson (from September 27, 1945)
	Kenneth Claiborne Royall (from July 25, 1947)
Defense*	James Vincent Forrestal (from September 17, 1947)
Navy	James Vincent Forrestal

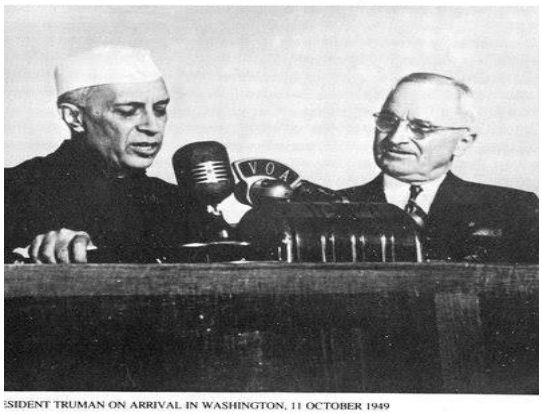
Cabinet of President Harry S. Truman

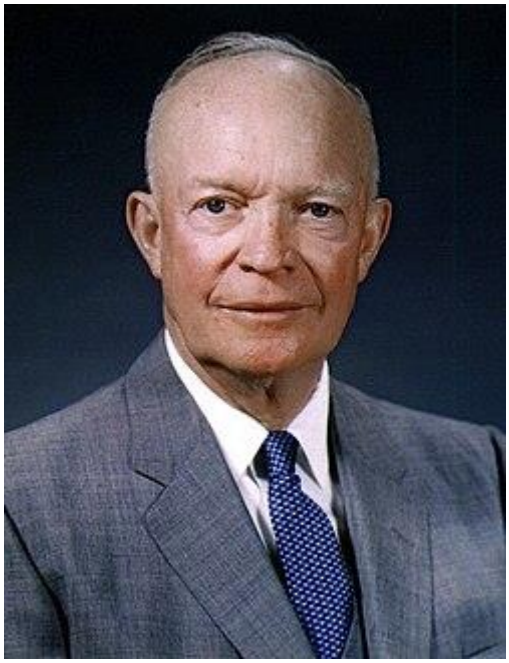
April 12, 1945 – January 20, 1949 (Term 1)	
Attorney General	Francis Biddle
	Tom C. Clark (from July 1, 1945)
Interior	Harold L. Ickes
	Julius A. Krug (from March 18, 1946)
Agriculture	Claude R. Wickard
	Clinton P. Anderson (from June 30, 1945)
	Charles F. Brannan (from June 2, 1948)
Commerce	Henry A. Wallace
	W. Averell Harriman (from January 28, 1947)
	Charles Sawyer (from May 6, 1948)
Labor	Frances Perkins
	Lewis B. Schwellenbach (from July 1, 1945)
January 20, 1949 – January 20, 1953 (Term 2)	
State	Dean Acheson
Treasury	John W. Snyder
Defense	James V. Forrestal
	Louis A. Johnson (from March 28, 1949)
	George C. Marshall (from September 21, 1950)
	Robert A. Lovett (from September 17, 1951)

Cabinet of President Harry S. Truman

April 12, 1945 – January 20, 1949 (Term 1)	
Attorney General	Tom C. Clark
	James Howard McGrath (from August 24, 1949)
Interior	Julius Albert Krug
	Oscar Littleton Chapman (from January 19, 1950)
Agriculture	Charles Franklin Brannan
Commerce	Charles Sawyer
Labor	Maurice Joseph Tobin







Dwight D. Eisenhower

34th President of the United States

[20 April 1953 <::> 20 January 1961]

Please visit:

01] https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/eisenhower-dwight-david

02] https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/history/presidents/de34.html

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Dwight-D-Eisenhower

04] Always a General: The Leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower in War and in Peace
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3UaqTUNBRMU [1:31:36]

05] Eisenhower - Supreme Commander & President Documentary
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72pXsjfZevU [1:08:52]

Dwight D. Eisenhower (born October 14, 1890, Denison, Texas, U.S.—died March 28, 1969, Washington, D.C.) was the 34th president of the United States (1953–61), who had been supreme commander of the Allied forces in western Europe during World War II.

Early career

Denison, Texas; Dwight D. Eisenhower : Birthplace of U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Denison, Texas.

The Eisenhower family Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) with his parents and brothers.

Dwight D. Eisenhower: Boy Scouts Dwight D. Eisenhower (second from left) on a Boy Scout camping trip along the Smoky Hill River, Kans

Dwight D. Eisenhower Dwight D. Eisenhower as a young boy.

Abilene, Kansas: home of Dwight D. Eisenhower The boyhood home of Dwight D. Eisenhower in Abilene, Kansas.

Dwight D. Eisenhower playing football in Kansas A young Dwight D. Eisenhower (front row, second from right) during backyard football practice, Abilene, Kansas.

Dwight D. Eisenhower as a U.S. Military Academy graduate Dwight D. Eisenhower as a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York, 1915.

Eisenhower was the third of seven sons of David Jacob and Ida Elizabeth (Stover) Eisenhower. In the spring of 1891 the Eisenhowers left Denison, Texas, and returned to Abilene, Kansas, where their forebears had settled as part of a Mennonite colony. David worked in a creamery; the family was poor; and Dwight and his brothers were introduced to hard work and a strong religious tradition at an early age. "Ike," as Dwight was called, was a fun-loving youth who enjoyed sports but took only a moderate interest in his studies. The latter was perhaps a sign of one of his later characteristics: a dislike for the company of scholars. Dwight graduated from Abilene High School in 1909, worked for more than a year to support a brother's college education, and then entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, a decision that left his mother, a pacifist, in tears. He excelled in gridiron football but

injured a knee in his second year at the academy and was forced to stop playing. In the remarkable class of 1915—which was to produce 59 generals—he ranked 61st academically and 125th in discipline out of the total of 164 graduates.

Dwight D. and Mamie Eisenhower Wedding portrait of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mamie Eisenhower, 1916.

After being commissioned a second lieutenant, he was sent to San Antonio, Texas, where he met Mamie Geneva Doud (Mamie Eisenhower), daughter of a successful Denver meat packer. They were married in 1916 and had two sons: Doud Dwight, born in 1917, who died of scarlet fever in 1921, and John Sheldon Doud, born in 1922.

Eisenhower family portrait Major Dwight D. Eisenhower (standing, third from left) with his five brothers and his parents, c. 1935.

During World War I Eisenhower commanded a tank training center, was promoted to captain, and received the Distinguished Service Medal. The war ended just before he was to be sent overseas. From 1922 to 1924 he was assigned to the Panama Canal Zone, and there he came under the inspiring influence of his commander, Brig. Gen. Fox Conner. With Conner's assistance, Eisenhower was selected to attend the army's Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Then a major, he graduated first in a class of 275 in 1926 and two years later graduated from the Army War College. He then served in France (where he wrote a guidebook of World War I battlefields) and in Washington, D.C., before becoming an aide to Army Chief of Staff Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1933. Two years later he accompanied MacArthur to the Philippines to assist in the reorganization of the commonwealth's army, and while there he was awarded the Distinguished Service Star of the Philippines and promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He returned to the United States shortly after Germany's invasion

of Poland initiated the European phase of World War II, and in March 1941 he became a full colonel. Three months later he was made chief of staff of the Third Army, and he soon won the attention of Army Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall for his role in planning war games involving almost 500,000 troops.

At a glance: the Eisenhower presidency

Supreme commander

Dwight D. Eisenhower Brig. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1941.

When the United States entered World War II in December 1941, Marshall appointed Eisenhower to the army's war plans division in Washington, D.C., where he prepared strategy for an Allied invasion of Europe. Eisenhower had been made a brigadier general in September 1941 and was promoted to major general in March 1942; he was also named head of the operations division of the War Department. In June Marshall

selected him over 366 senior officers to be commander of U.S. troops in Europe. Eisenhower's rapid advancement, after a long army career spent in relative obscurity, was due not only to his knowledge of military strategy and talent for organization but also to his ability to persuade, mediate, and get along with others. Men from a wide variety of backgrounds, impressed by his friendliness, humility, and persistent optimism, liked and trusted him. A phrase that later became one of the most famous campaign slogans in American history seemed to reflect the impression of everyone who met him: "I like Ike!"

See how Allied commanders Eisenhower and Montgomery trapped Rommel to end Axis North Africa campaigns An Anglo-American force landing in Morocco and Algeria in November 1942. By the following June it had linked with British forces in Tunisia and driven the Germans from North Africa. From *The Second World War: Allied Victory* (1963), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Eisenhower was promoted to lieutenant general in July 1942 and named to head Operation Torch, the Allied invasion of French North Africa. This first major Allied offensive of the war was launched on November 8, 1942, and successfully completed in May 1943. Eisenhower's decision to work during the campaign with the French admiral François Darlan, who had collaborated with the Germans, aroused a storm of protest from the Allies, but his action was defended by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. A full general since that February, Eisenhower then directed the amphibious assault of Sicily and the Italian mainland, which resulted in the fall of Rome on June 4, 1944.

Learn about the Normandy Invasion planned by Dwight Eisenhower to give Allied powers a foothold in France On D-Day, June 6, 1944, an Allied force led by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower launched the greatest amphibious invasion of all time against German defenses on the coast of Normandy, France. From *The Second World War: Allied Victory* (1963), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar Bradley, and George Patton (Left to right) Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar Bradley, and George Patton at Bastogne, Belgium, February 1945.

During the fighting in Italy, Eisenhower participated in plans to cross the English Channel for an invasion of France. On December 24, 1943, he was appointed supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, and the next month he was in London making preparations for the massive thrust into Europe. On June 6, 1944, he gambled on a break in bad weather and gave the order to launch the Normandy Invasion, the largest amphibious attack in history. On D-Day more than 156,000 troops landed in Normandy. Invading Allied forces eventually numbered 1,000,000 and began to fight their way into the heart of France. On August 25 Paris was liberated. After winning the Battle of the Bulge—a fierce German counterattack in the Ardennes in December—the Allies crossed the Rhine on March 7, 1945. Germany surrendered on May 7, ending the war in Europe. Although Eisenhower was criticized, then and later, for allowing the Russians to capture the enemy capital of Berlin, he and others defended his actions on several grounds (the Russians were closer, had more troops, and had been promised Berlin at the Yalta

Conference of February 1945). In the meantime, in December 1944, Eisenhower had been made a five-star general.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, NATO supreme commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in a radio address from Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe at Marly-le-Roi, France, April 2, 1952.

Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower U.S. President Harry S. Truman awarding General Dwight D. Eisenhower his fifth Distinguished Service Medal as Mamie Eisenhower looks on.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, Bernard Montgomery, and Omar Bradley General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, and General Omar Bradley at the National Airport, Washington, D.C., September 12, 1946.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower visiting Omaha Beach, Normandy, June 1951.

Eisenhower was given a hero's welcome upon returning to the United States for a visit in June 1945, but in November his intended retirement was delayed when Pres. Harry S. Truman named him to replace Marshall as chief of staff. For more than two years Eisenhower directed demobilization of the wartime army and worked to unify the armed services under a centralized command. In May 1948 he left active duty as the most popular and respected soldier in the United States and became president of Columbia University in New York City. His book *Crusade in Europe*, published that fall, made him a wealthy man.

Eisenhower's brief career as an academic administrator was not especially successful. His technical education and military experience prepared him poorly for the post. In the fall of 1950 President Truman asked him to become supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in early 1951 he flew to Paris to assume his new position. For the next 15 months he devoted himself to the task of creating a united military organization in western Europe to be a defense against the possibility of communist aggression.

First term as president

First term as president

Dwight D. Eisenhower

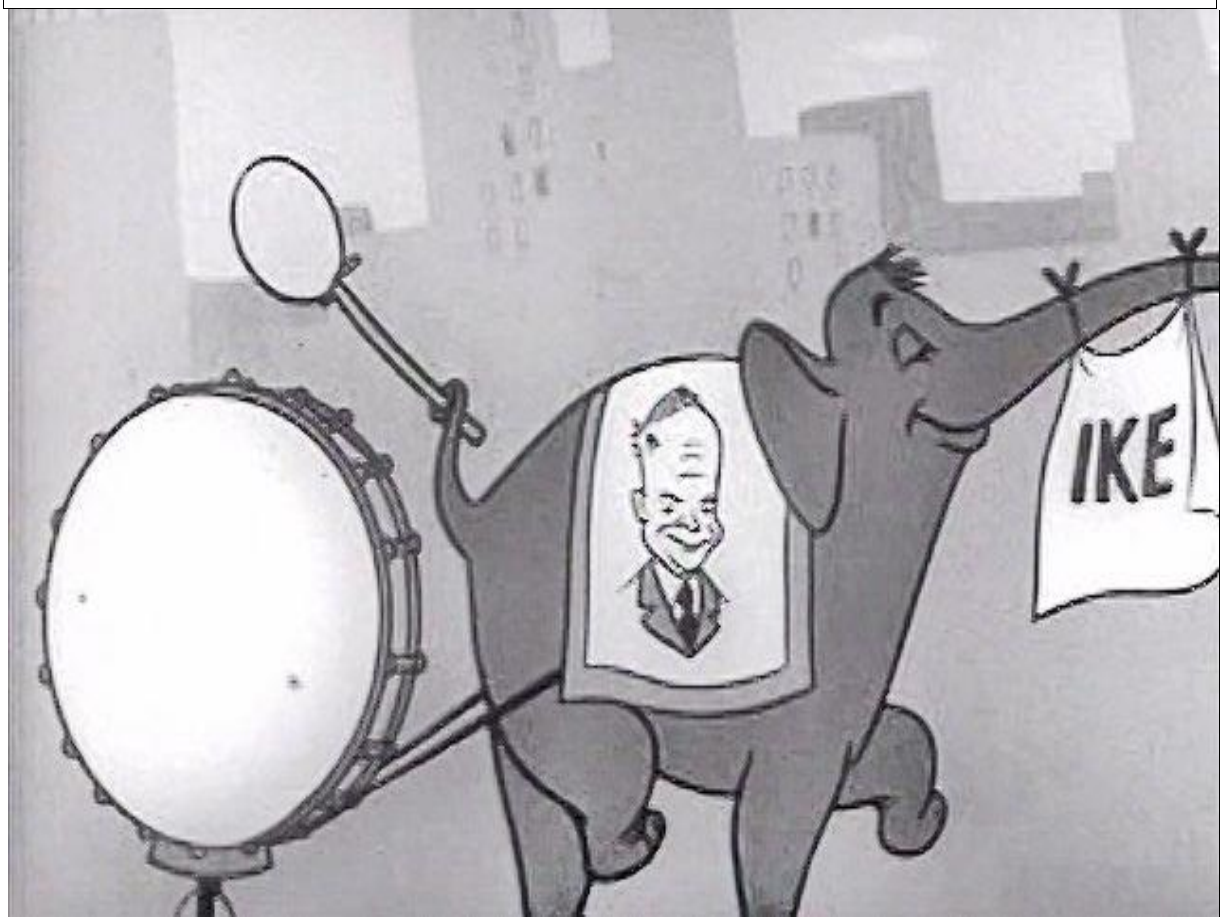
Richard Nixon and Dwight D. Eisenhower

Dwight D. Eisenhower (center), the Republican Party nominee for U.S. president, with running mate Richard Nixon (left, holding child) at campaign headquarters in Washington, D.C., September 10, 1952.

Follow Eisenhower's path to become the Republican nominee in the United States presidential election of 1952 Learn about the 1952 Republican National Convention, in which Senator Robert A. Taft and General Dwight D. Eisenhower were the leading candidates for the presidential nomination.

As early as 1943 Eisenhower was mentioned as a possible presidential candidate. His personal qualities and military reputation prompted both parties to woo him. As the campaign of 1952 neared, Eisenhower let it be known that he was a Republican, and the eastern wing of the party, headed by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, made an intensive effort to persuade him to seek the Republican presidential nomination. His name was entered in several state primaries against the more conservative Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio. Although the results were mixed, Eisenhower decided to run. In June 1952 he retired from the army after 37 years of service, returned to the United States, and began to campaign actively. At the party convention in July, after a bitter fight with

Taft supporters, Eisenhower won the nomination on the first ballot. His running mate was Sen. Richard M. Nixon of California. The Democrats nominated Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for president and Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama for vice president.



Watch "I Like Ike" the animated 1952 U.S. presidential election campaign commercial for Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower "I Like Ike" animated television commercial for Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower, produced by Roy Disney and Citizens for Eisenhower during the 1952 U.S. presidential campaign.

Despite his age (61), Eisenhower campaigned tirelessly, impressing millions with his warmth and sincerity. His wide, friendly grin, wartime heroics, and middle-class pastimes—he was an avid golfer and bridge player and a fan not of highbrow literature but of the American western—endeared him to the public and garnered him vast support. Like her husband, Mamie Eisenhower projected a down-to-earth image. She

remained an ardent supporter of him, though their marriage had been strained by rumors of an affair during World War II between Eisenhower and his driver-secretary Kay Summersby.

1953 inauguration of Dwight D. Eisenhower Dwight D. Eisenhower (center right) taking the oath of office, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1953.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1952 U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Eisenhower campaign pin Dwight D. Eisenhower campaign pin, 1952.

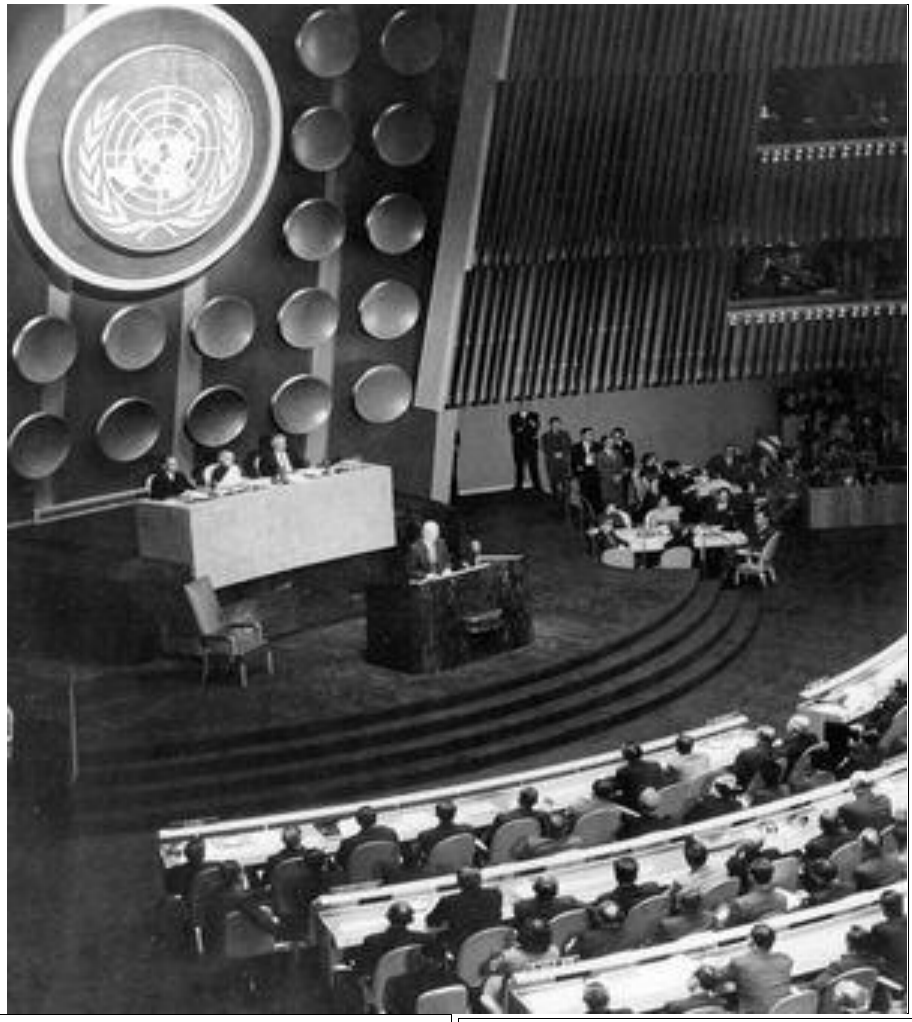
Eisenhower urged economy and honesty in government and promised to visit Korea to explore the possibilities for ending the Korean War, which had broken out in 1950 between communist North Korea and pro-Western South Korea and soon involved United Nations (mainly U.S.) troops and communist Chinese forces. Many Republicans, including Nixon, spoke of pro-communist disloyalty within the Truman administration and called for stringent antisubversive measures. The Eisenhower-Nixon ticket won handily, carrying 39 states, winning the electoral vote 442 to 89, and collecting more than 33 million popular votes. The Republican Party won control of Congress by a slim margin but lost both houses two years later.

Eisenhower's basically conservative views on domestic affairs were shared by his secretary of the treasury, George M. Humphrey. The administration's domestic program, which came to be labeled "modern Republicanism," called for reduced taxes, balanced budgets, a decrease in government control over the economy, and the return of certain federal responsibilities to the states. Controls over rents, wages, and prices were allowed to expire, and in 1954 there was a slight tax revision. At Eisenhower's insistence Congress transferred the title to valuable tideland oil reserves to the states. But there was no sharp break with policies inherited from previous Democratic administrations. The needs of an expanding population (which grew from 155 million to 179 million during the Eisenhower era) and the country's overseas commitments caused budget deficits during five out of eight years. The minimum wage was increased to $1 per hour; the Social Security System was broadened; and in the spring of 1953 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was created.

The right wing of the Republican Party clashed with the president more often than the Democrats did during his first term. For example, Eisenhower expended a great deal of time and energy defeating the Bricker Amendment of 1954, a bill sponsored by Republican Sen. John Bricker of Ohio that would have limited the president's liberty to negotiate international treaties that violated the rights of U.S. states. The bill fell only one vote short; it was a victory for the president's extensive lobbying campaign. But by far the largest challenge came from Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. In part to preserve party unity, Eisenhower had refused to publicly condemn Senator McCarthy's charges

of communist influence within the government. Although privately Eisenhower expressed his distaste for the senator, at times he seemed to encourage the attacks of McCarthyites. Hundreds of federal employees were fired under his expanded loyalty-security program. With his approval Congress passed a law designed to outlaw the American Communist Party. Following the sensational hearings on McCarthy's charges against army and civilian officials, televised nationally for five weeks in the spring of 1954, McCarthy's popularity waned, as did the anticommunist hysteria.

Foreign affairs drew much of Eisenhower's attention. He and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, worked hard at achieving peace by constructing collective defense agreements and by threatening the Soviet Union with "massive retaliatory power"; both strategies were designed to check the spread of communism. Another strategy was unknown to the public at the time but was heavily criticized in later years: the use of the Central Intelligence Agency in covert operations to overthrow governments in Iran (1953) and Guatemala (1954).



Dwight D. Eisenhower: Atoms for Peace speech **Dwight D. Eisenhower delivering his Atoms for Peace speech to the United Nations General Assembly in New York City, December 1953.**

Eisenhower kept his campaign promise and visited Korea shortly before his inauguration. Partly, perhaps, because of Joseph Stalin's death in March 1953 and partly because Eisenhower hinted at his willingness to use nuclear weapons, the president was able to negotiate a truce for the Korean War in July 1953. In December of that year he proposed to the United Nations that the countries of the world pool atomic information and materials under the auspices of an international agency. This Atoms for Peace speech bore fruit in 1957, when 62 countries formed the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In July 1955 the president met with leaders of Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union at a summit conference in Geneva. His "open skies" proposal, by which the United States and the Soviet Union would permit continuous air inspection of each other's military installations, was welcomed by world opinion but was rejected by the U.S.S.R. In September 1954 Eisenhower and Dulles succeeded in creating the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to prevent further communist expansion. It was composed of the United States, France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. NATO was strengthened in 1955 by the inclusion of West Germany.

Critics contended that there were frequent disparities between the administration's words and its deeds in the field of foreign relations. While threatening to "unleash" Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek, the United States signed a defense treaty with Nationalist China in December 1954 that inhibited Chiang's ability to attack the communist Chinese. Moreover, Dulles spoke of "liberating" captive peoples in communist countries, but the administration stopped short of this and limited itself to protests when uprisings occurred in East Germany (1953) and Hungary (1956). While the secretary of state promised "massive retaliation" against communist aggression, the president made the decision to limit the American role in the Indochina crisis between France and the guerrillas led by Ho Chi Minh to pushing for a partition of Vietnam into a communist North and a noncommunist South and to providing financial and military aid to the latter.

Reelection campaign bumper sticker Dwight D. Eisenhower reelection bumper sticker, 1956.

Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard Nixon at the 1956 Republican convention Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) and Richard M. Nixon after being renominated at the 1956 Republican National Convention in San Francisco.
Dwight D. Eisenhower U.S. Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower addressing the Republican National Convention, Aug. 23, 1956.

A heart attack in September 1955 and an operation for ileitis in June 1956 raised considerable doubt about Eisenhower's ability to serve a second term. But he recovered quickly, and the Republican convention

unanimously endorsed the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket on the first ballot. The Democrats again selected Adlai E. Stevenson and named Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee as his running mate, but Eisenhower's great personal popularity turned the election into a landslide victory, the most one-sided race since 1936, as the Republican ticket garnered more than 57 percent of the popular vote and won the electoral vote 457 to 73. Nevertheless, the Democrats once more captured both houses of Congress, a feat they were to duplicate in 1958. Eisenhower was the first president to serve with three Congresses controlled by the opposition party.

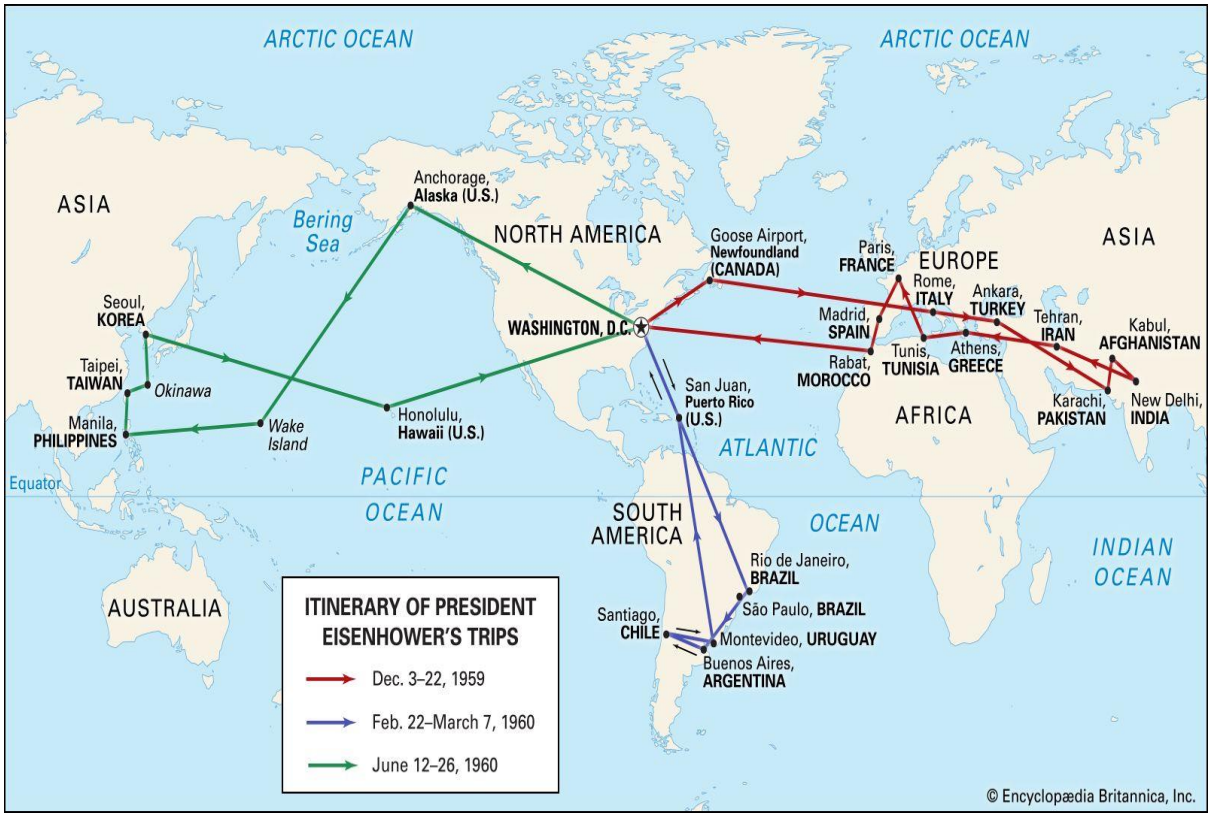
The election campaign of 1956, however, had been complicated by a crisis in the Middle East over Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal. The subsequent attack on Egypt by Great Britain, France, and Israel and the Soviet Union's support of Egypt prompted the president to go before Congress in January 1957 to urge adoption of what came to be called the Eisenhower Doctrine, a pledge to send U.S. armed forces to any Middle Eastern country requesting assistance against communist aggression.

When the U.S. Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional (*Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*), controversy and violence broke out, especially in the South. In September 1957 Eisenhower dispatched 1,000 federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to halt an attempt by Gov. Orval E. Faubus to obstruct a federal court order integrating a high school. This action was the most serious challenge of his presidency. On several occasions Eisenhower had expressed distaste for racial segregation, though he doubtless believed that the process of integration would take

time. Significantly, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first such law passed since 1875.

Dwight D. Eisenhower U.S. Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959.

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, the first man-made satellite to orbit the Earth. Americans were stunned by the achievement, and many blamed Eisenhower for the administration's insistence on low military budgets and its failure to develop a space program. Steps were taken to boost space research and to provide funds to increase the study of science, and these would culminate in the creation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in July 1958. The administration again came under fire in the fall of 1957 for an economic recession that lasted through the following summer. For fear of fueling inflation, Eisenhower refused to lower taxes or increase federal spending to ease the slump.



Dwight D. Eisenhower's world travels Map of Dwight D. Eisenhower's world travels during his two presidential terms.

Dwight D. Eisenhower and Nikita Khrushchev

U.S. Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) with Nikita Khrushchev at Camp David, Maryland, 1959.

Dwight D. Eisenhower and Nikita Khrushchev (From left to right) Nina Petrovna Khrushchev, Mamie Eisenhower, Nikita Khrushchev, and Dwight D. Eisenhower at a state dinner in Washington, D.C., 1959.

Following the death of Dulles in the spring of 1959, Eisenhower assumed a more vigorous and personal role in the direction of American foreign policy. He traveled over 300,000 miles (480,000 km) to some 27 countries in his last two years of office, a period historians have termed the era of "the new Eisenhower." His masterly use of the new medium of television—holding regularly televised news conferences and participating in high-profile motorcades in foreign capitals around the world—and his exploitation of the advent of jet travel captivated the public and led some scholars to term Eisenhower the first of the imperial presidents. To improve relations with the Soviet Union, he invited Premier Nikita Khrushchev to visit the United States. Khrushchev toured parts of the country in September 1959 and held private talks with Eisenhower. Another summit meeting was planned, and a new era of personal diplomacy seemed at hand. But when a U-2 reconnaissance plane piloted

by Francis Gary Powers of the United States was shot down over the U.S.S.R. in May 1960, Khrushchev scuttled the talks and angrily withdrew his invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. Eisenhower admitted that the flights had gone on for four years and shouldered much of the blame for the ill-timed affair. In a national address on May 25, 1960, Eisenhower said in part:

Our program of aerial reconnaissance had been undertaken with my approval;...this government is compelled to keep abreast, by one means or another, of military activities of the Soviets, just as their government has for years engaged in espionage activities in our country and throughout the world.

In January 1961, during the last weeks of the Eisenhower administration, the United States broke diplomatic relations with Cuba, which for two years had been under the control of Fidel Castro.

Dwight D. Eisenhower: Farewell Address U.S. Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower at his Farewell Address, January 17, 1961.

Funeral of Dwight D. Eisenhower Dwight D. Eisenhower funeral service at the Washington National Cathedral, March 1969.

Funeral of Dwight D. Eisenhower Funeral service for Dwight D. Eisenhower, March 1969.

Although his administrations had a great many critics, Eisenhower remained extraordinarily popular. In his Farewell Address he warned against the rise and power of "the military-industrial complex," but his successors ignored him amid the perceived demands of the Cold War. When he left office, Congress restored his rank as general of the army. He retired to his farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and devoted much of his time to his memoirs. In 1963 he published *Mandate for Change*, which was followed in 1965 by *Waging Peace*. A lighter work, *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*, appeared in 1967.

Cabinet of President

Dwight D. Eisenhower

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Cabinet of President Dwight D. Eisenhower

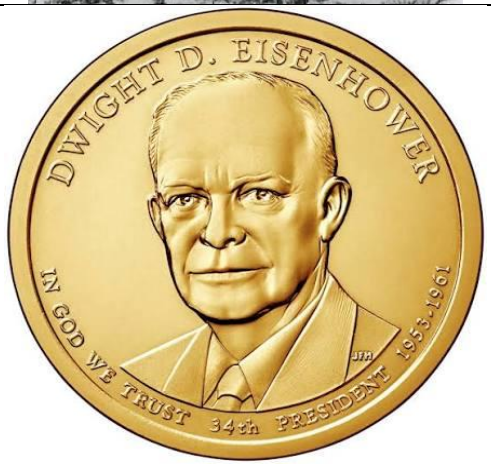
January 20, 1953–January 20, 1957 (Term 1)	
*Newly created department.	
State	John Foster Dulles
Treasury	George Magoffin Humphrey
Defense	Charles Erwin Wilson
Attorney General	Herbert Brownell

Cabinet of President Dwight D. Eisenhower

January 20, 1953–January 20, 1957 (Term 1)	
Interior	Douglas McKay
	Frederick Andrew Seaton (from June 8, 1956)
Agriculture	Ezra Taft Benson
Commerce	Sinclair Weeks
Labor	Martin Patrick Durkin
	James Paul Mitchell (from October 9, 1953)
Health, Education, and Welfare*	Oveta Culp Hobby (from April 11, 1953)
	Marion Bayard Folson (from August 1, 1955)
January 20, 1957–January 20, 1961 (Term 2)	
State	John Foster Dulles
	Christian Archibald Herter (from April 22, 1959)
Treasury	George Magoffin Humphrey
	Robert Bernerd Anderson (from July 29, 1957)

Cabinet of President Dwight D. Eisenhower

January 20, 1953–January 20, 1957 (Term 1)	
Defense	Charles Erwin Wilson
	Neil Hosler McElroy (from October 9, 1957)
	Thomas Sovereign Gates, Jr. (from December 2, 1959)
Attorney General	Herbert Brownell, Jr.
	William Pierce Rogers (from January 27, 1958)
Interior	Frederick Andrew Seaton
Agriculture	Ezra Taft Benson
Commerce	Sinclair Weeks
	Frederick Henry Mueller (from August 10, 1959)
Labor	James Paul Mitchell
Health, Education, and Welfare	Marion Bayard Folsom
	Arthur Sherwood Flemming (from August 1, 1958)


DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
IN GOD WE TRUST
34th PRESIDENT 1953-1961

John F Kennedy

35th President of the United States

[20 January 1961 <::> 22 November 1963]

Please visit:

01] https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/life-of-john-f-kennedy

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/johnfkennedy

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-F-Kennedy/Assassination

04] https://www.history.com/articles/john-f-kennedy

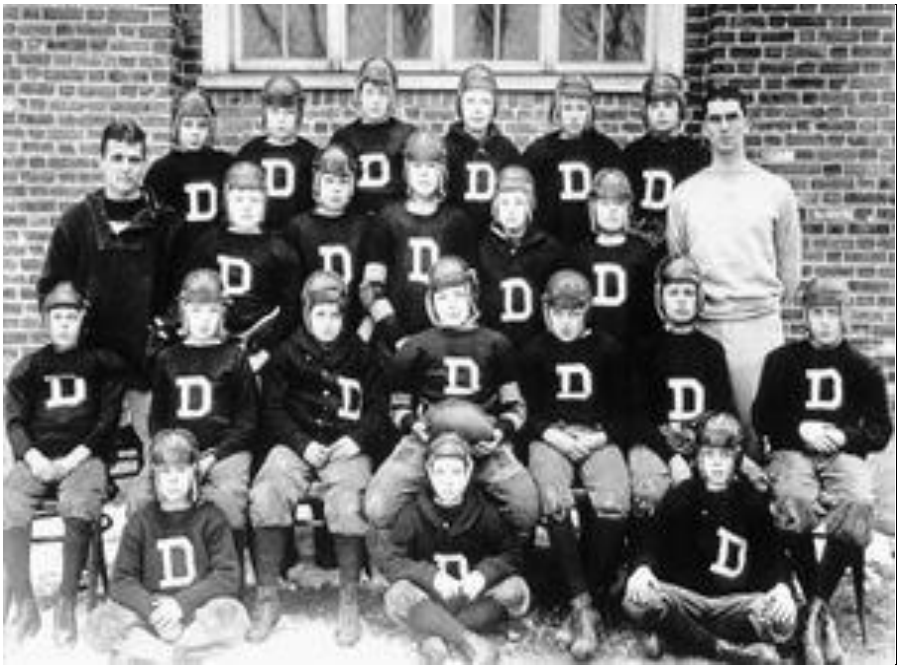
05] John F. Kennedy's Wit and Humour https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ua8HCwDvcK0 [1:08:03]

06] A Portrait of John F. Kennedy: The Early Years
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dMHh5txuvd4 [1:02:53]
07] President Kennedy and His Legacy
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S5HjLhZKg0M [1:30:09]
08] The Life and Legacy of JFK | Kennedy | History
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qip_0HyxC1w [1:06:24]

John F. Kennedy (born May 29, 1917, Brookline, Massachusetts, U.S.—died November 22, 1963, Dallas, Texas) was the 35th president of the United States (1961–63), who faced numerous foreign crises, especially in Cuba and Berlin, but managed to secure such achievements as the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and the Alliance for Progress. He was assassinated while riding in a motorcade in Dallas.

Early life

Kennedy family Kennedy family photo c. 1931: (from left) Rosemary; Joseph, Jr.; Kathleen; Patricia; Rose; Joseph, Sr.; Jean; Eunice; John; and Robert.



John F. Kennedy: boyhood football John F. Kennedy (seated, front row, far right) photographed with the Dexter School football team.

John F. Kennedy A young John F. Kennedy dressed in a police officer costume.

John F. Kennedy: college graduation John F. Kennedy wearing college graduation attire.

The second of nine children, Kennedy was reared in a family that demanded intense physi and intellectual competition among the sibling family's touch football games at their Hyannis Port retreat later became legendary and was scholed in the religious teachings of the Roman Catholic church and the political precepts of the Democratic Party. Joseph Patrick Kennedy had acquired a multi-million-dollar fortune in banking, bootlegging, shipbuilding, and the film industry, and as a skilled player of the stockmarket. His mother, Rose, was the daughter of John F. ("Honey Fitz") Fitzgerald, one time mayor of Boston. They established t for their children that guaranteed lifelong financial independence. After serving as the hea the Securities and Exchange Commission, Joseph Kennedy became the U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, and for six months in 1938 John served as his secretary, drawing on that experienc write his senior thesis at Harvard University (B.S., 1940) on Great Britain's military unpreparedness. He then expanded that thesis-selling book *Why England Slept* (1940).

John F. Kennedy and PT-109 John F. Kennedy commanding the U.S. Navy torpedo boat PT-109, 1943.

In the fall of 1941 Kennedy joined the U.S. Navy and two years later was sent to the South Pacific. By the time he was discharged in 1945, his older brother, Joe, who the father had expect be the first Kennedy to run for office, had been killed in the war, and the family's political passed to John, who had planned to pursue an academic or journalistic career.

John Kennedy himself had barely escaped death in battle. Commanding a patrol torpedo (PT) he was gravely injured when a Japanese destroyer sank it in the Solomon Islands. Maroon behind enemy lines, he led his men back to safety and was awarded the U.S. Navy and U.S. Navy Corps Medal for heroism. He also returned to active command at his own request. (These were later depicted in a Hollywood [illegible], that contributed to the Kennedy mystique.) However, the further injury to his back, which had bothered him since his teens, never rea healed. Despite operations in 1944, 1954, and 1955, he was in pain for much of the rest of He also suffered from Addison disease, though this affliction was publicly concealed. "At least one half of the days he spent on this earth," wrote his Robert, "were days of intense physical pain." (After he became president, Kennedy combated the pain with injections of amphetamine—then thought to be harmless and used by more than a few celebrities for th

energizing effect. According to some reports, both Kennedy and the [illegible] became heavily dependent on these injections through weekly use. None of this prevented Kennedy from undertaking strenuous life in politics. His family expected him to run for public office and to win.

Congressman and senator

Kennedy did not disappoint his family, in fact, he never lost an election. His first opportunity in 1946, when he ran for Congress. Although still physically weak from his war injuries, he campaigned aggressively, bypassing the Democratic organization. Massachusetts' congressional district and depending instead upon his family, college friends, and fellow n[illegible] officers. In the Democratic primary he received nearly double the vote of his nearest oppo[illegible] the November election he overwhelmed the Republican Heavy only 29.

Kennedy served three terms in House of Representatives (1947-53) as a bread-and-butter liberal. He advocated better working conditions, [illegible] public housing, [illegible] wages, lower prices, cheaper rents, and more Social Security for the people. He was an early supporter of Cold War policies. He backed Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan but was sharply critical of the Truman administration's record in Asia. He [illegible] State Department of trying to force Chiang Kai-shek into a coalition with Mao Zedong. "What you young men had saved," he told the House on January 25, 1949, "our diplomats and our President have frittered away

Jacqueline Kennedy Jacqueline Kennedy, 1961.

John F. Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy and his wife, Jacqueline Kennedy, in the Blue Room of the White House at Christmastime, 1961.

His congressional district in Boston was a safe seat, but Kennedy was too ambitious to ren
in the House of Representatives. In 1952 he ran for US Senate against the popular
incumbent, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. His mother and sister Eunice, Patricia, and Jean held "Kennedy
teas" across the state. Thousands of volunteers flocked to help, including his 27-year-old brother
Robert, who managed the campaign. That fall the Republican presidential candidate,
General Dwight D. Eisenhower, carried Massachusetts by 208,000 votes, but Kennedy defeated
Lodge by 70,000 votes. Less than a year later, on September 12, 1953, Kennedy
electoral appeal by marrying Jacqueline Lee Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. Twelve years
younger than Kennedy and from a socially prominent family, the beautiful "Jackie" was th
complement to the handsome politician; they made a glamorous couple.

As a senator, Kennedy quickly won a reputation for responsiveness constituents from
except on certain occasions when the national interest was at stake. In 1954 he was the o
England senator to approve an extension of President Eisenhower's reciprocal, and
he vigorously backed the opening of Lawrence Seaway, despite the fact that over a period
of 20 years no Massachusetts senator or congressman had ever voted for it.

John F. Kennedy John F. Kennedy seated at a typewriter.

To the disappointment of liberal Democrats, Kennedy's [illegible] excesses of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, who in the early 1950s conducted witch-hunting campaigns against government workers accused of being communists. Kennedy's father like McCarthy, contributed to his campaign, and even entertained him [illegible] Hyannis Port Cape Cod in Massachusetts. Kennedy himself disapproved of McCarthy, but, as once observed, "Half my people in Massachusetts look on McCarthy as a hero." Yet, on the vote over condemnation of McCarthy's conduct (1954), Kennedy expected the vote against prepared speech explaining why, but he was absent on the day of the vote. Later, at a Na Press Club Gridiron dinner, costumed reporters sang, "Where were you, John, where were John, when the Senate censured Joe?" Actually, John had been in a hospital, in critical condition after back surgery. For six months afterward the pay strapped to a board in his father's hou in Palm Beach, Florida. It was during this period that he wrote *Profiles in Courage* (1956), an account of eight great American political leaders who had defied popular opinion in matte of conscience, which was award Pulitzer Prize in 1957. Although Kennedy was credited as the book's author, it was later revealed that his assistant Theodore Sorensen had done much o research and writing.

Back in the Senate, Kennedy led a fight against a proposal to abolish the college crusaded for labour reform, and became increasingly committed to civil rights legislation. As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in the late 1950s, he advocated extensive foreign aid to the emerging nations in Africa and Asia, and he surprised his colleague by calling upon France to grant Algerian independence.

During these years his political outlook was moving leftward. Possibly because of their father's dynamic personality, the sons of Joseph Kennedy matured slowly. Gradually John's stature among Democrats grew, until he had inherited the legions that had once followed Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, the two-time presidential candidate who by appealing to idealism had transformed the Democratic Party and made Kennedy's rise possible.

At a glance: the Kennedy presidency
Presidential candidate and president

John F. Kennedy: The Cuban missile crisis, the Bay of Pigs, and his assassination
An overview of John F. Kennedy.

Kennedy had nearly become Stevenson's vice presidential running mate in 1956. The charismatic young New England's victory victory and his television concession (Estes Kefauver won the vice presidential nomination) brought him into some 40 million America Overnight he had become one of the best-known political figures in country. Already his campaign for the 1960 nomination had begun. One newspaper man called him a "young man in hurry." Kennedy felt that he had to redouble his efforts because of the widespread no Roman Catholic candidate could be president. He made his 1958 race for re-election to the Senate a test of his popular Massachusetts margin of victory was 874,608 the largest ever in Massachusetts politics and the greatest of any senatorial candidate that yea

John F. Kennedy U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy.

Robert Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, and John F. Kennedy (From left) Robert F. Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, and John F. Kennedy posing together at the White House in 1963.

A steady stream of speeches and periodical profiles followed, with photographs of him and wife appearing on many magazine covers. Kennedy's carefully calculated pursuit of the presidency years before the first primary established a practice that became the norm for candidates seeking the nation's highest office. To transport him and his staff around the c his father bought a 40-passenger Convair aircraft. His brother Robert ("Bobby," or "Bob") and Edward ("Teddy," or "Ted") pitched in. After having graduated from Harvard University (1948) and from the University of Virginia Law School (1951), Bobby had embarked on a justice Department attorney and counsel for congressional committees. Ted likewise had graduated from Harvard (1956) and from Virginia Law School (1959). Both campaigners.

Watch Democrats campaigning in the 1960 U.S. presidential primariesScenes from the 1960 Democratic Party primary election campaigns, with U.S. Sen. John F. Kennedy striving to prove himself to the public and to party leaders in the race to become the Democratic nominee in the U.S. presidential election.

See how Kennedy emerged from a crowded field to become the Democratic Party's 1960 presidential nominee Scenes from the 1960 Democratic National Convention, which nominated as candidate for president U.S. Sen. John F. Kennedy, who, in his acceptance speech, spoke of his hopes for a "New Frontier."

In January 1960 John F. Kennedy formally announced his candidacy for the presidency. His chief were the senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. Kennedy knocked Humphrey out of the campaign and dealt the religious issue against Roman Cath blow by winning the primary in Protestant West Virginia. He tackled the Catholic issue again, by avowing his belief in separation of church and state in a televised speech before a group of Protestant ministers in Houston, Texas. Nominated on the first ballot, he named the Democrat ticket by choosing Johnson as his running mate. In his acceptance speech, Kennedy declare stand today on the edge of a New Frontier." The phrase "New Frontier" was associated with his presidential programs.

Father and son John F. Kennedy Jr. plays in his father's desk in the Oval Office. The photograph was taken in October 1963, just weeks before President John F. Kennedy's assassination.

Another phrase "the Kennedy style" encapsulated the candidate's engaging identity. It was glamorous and elitist, an amalgam of his father's John Kennedy's charism and easy wit, Jacqueline Kennedy's beauty and fashion sense (the suits and pillbox hats she wore became widely popular), the charm of their children and relatives, and the erudition of the Harvard advisers who surrounded him (called the "best and bright" David Halberstam).

Kennedy won the general election, narrowly defeating the Republican candidate, Vice Pres Richard M. Nixon, by a margin of less than 120,000 out of some 70,000,000 votes cast. Many observers, then and since, believed vote fraud contributed to Kennedy's victory, especially the critical state of Illinois, where Kennedy enlisted the help-power of Richard.

Daley, mayor of Chicago. Nixon had defended the Eisenhower record; Kennedy, whose slog
been "Let's get this country moving again," had deployed unemployment, the sluggish economy,
the so-called missile gap (a presumed Soviet superiority of United States in the number of
nuclear-armed missiles), and the new communist government in Havana. A major factor in
campaign was a unique series of four televised debates between the two men; an estimat
120 million Americans watched one of the debates. Both demonstrated a firm grasp of the
issues, but Kennedy's poise in front of the camera, his tony Harvard accents, and his good l
contrast to Nixon's "five o'clock shadow") convinced many viewers that he had won the d
president, Kennedy continued to exploit the new medium, speaking-setting televised
weekly press conferences.

John F. Kennedy: inaugural address :U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy delivering his inaugural address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1961.

John F. Kennedy: presidential oath :John F. Kennedy being sworn in as U.S. president, January 20, 1961.

Watch President John F. Kennedy delivering his inaugural address in Washington, D.C., January 20, 1961U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy delivering his inaugural address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1961.

He was the youngest man and the first Roman Catholic ever elected to the presidency of the United States. His administration lasted 1,037 days. From the onset he was engaffed with

In his memorable inaugural address, he called upon Americans "to bear the burden of a lo

twilight struggle against the common enemies of mentyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."

He declared:

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it.…The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world. And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

The administration's first brush with foreign affairs was a disaster. In the last year of the

Eisenhower presidency, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had equipped and trained a brigade

of anticommunist Cuban exiles for an invasion of their homeland. The Joint Chiefs of

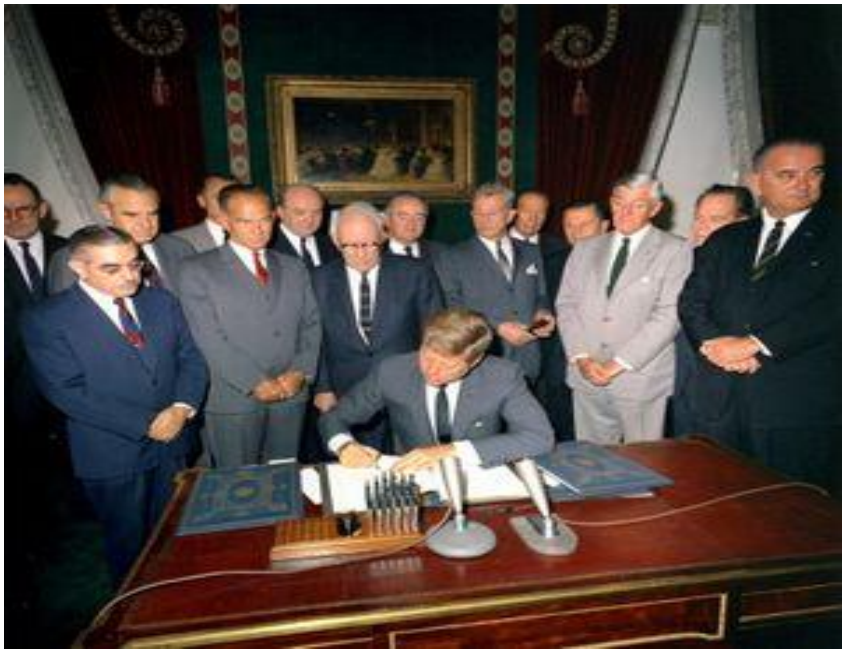
Staff unanimously advised the new president that this force, once ashore, would spark a ge

uprising against the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro. But the Bay of Pigs invasion was a fiasco, every

man on the beachhead was either killed or captured. Kennedy assumed sole responsibilit
the setback. Privately he told his father that he would never again accept the Joint Chiefs
recommendation without challenging it.

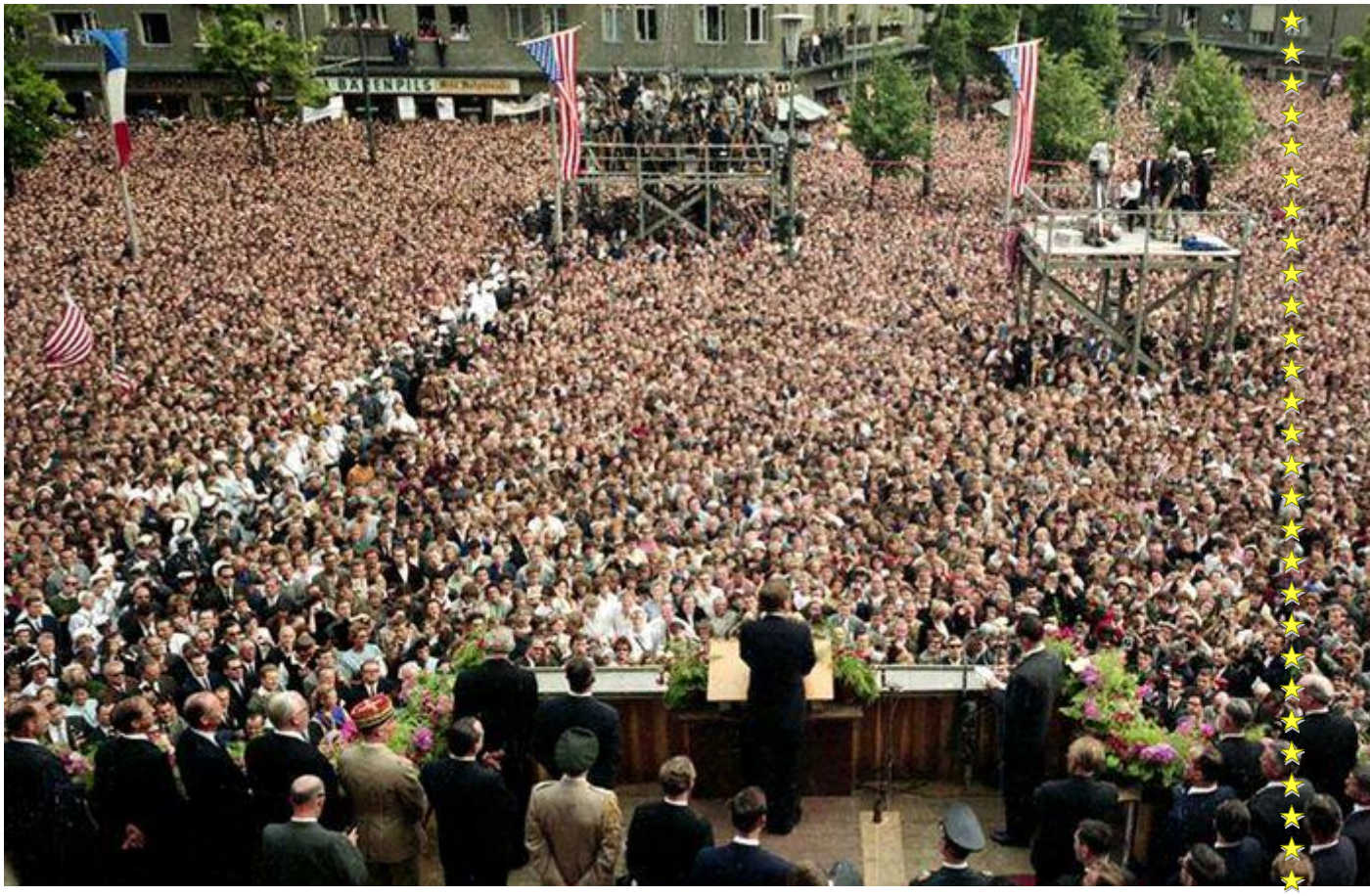
Track the rapid escalation of the Vietnam War under Pres. John F. Kennedy's administration Under U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy, the number of U.S. advisers to the South Vietnamese military rose from 1,500 to 15,000. From *Vietnam Perspective* (1985), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Kennedy announces U.S. naval blockade of Cuba : U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy announcing on television the U.S. naval blockade of Cuba, October 22, 1962.



Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty : U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy signing the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, October 7, 1963.

Cuban missile crisis: The world on the brink of war : Overview of the Cuban missile crisis and its effect on Germany, 1962.



JFK's historic "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech revisited John F. Kennedy visiting West Berlin in June 1963 and delivering his "Ich bin ein Berliner" ("I Am a Berliner") speech.

The Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, thought he had taken the young president's measure when the two leaders met in Vienna in June 1961. Khrushchev ordered a wall built between East and West Berlin and threatened to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. The president activated National Guard and reserve units, and Khrushchev backed down on his separate peac threat. Kennedy then made a dramatic visit to West Berlin, where he told a cheering crow in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein [I am a] Berliner." In October 1962, a build-up of Soviet short and intermediate range nuclear missiles was discovered in Cuba. Kennedy demanded that the missiles be dismantled; he ordered a "quarantine," of Cuba a blockade that would stop Soviet ships from reaching that island. For 13 days nuclear war near; then the Soviet premier announced that the offensive would withdraw. Ten

months later Kennedy scored his greatest foreign triumph when Khrushchev and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Great Britain joined him in signing the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Yet Kennedy's commitment to combat the spread of communism led him to escalate American involvement in the conflict in Vietnam, where he sent not just supplies and financial assistance, as President Eisenhower had, but 15,000 military advisers as well.

Why did Kennedy want to go to the Moon? : Pres. John F. Kennedy rallying the people of the United States to support NASA's Apollo program to land human beings on the Moon, September 12, 1962.

John F. Kennedy : U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy speaking about the U.S. space program at Rice University, Houston, September 12, 1962.

Each Section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Explained : Decades later, the Civil Rights Act is still a critical piece of American legislation.

Because of his slender victory in 1960, Kennedy approached Congress warily, and with goo
Congress was largely indifferent to his legislative program, it approved his Alliance for
Progress (Alianza) in Latin America and Peace Corps, which won the enthusiastic endorsement
of thousands of college students. But his two most projects, his proposed income tax cuts
and a sweeping civil rights measure, were not passed until after his death. In May 1961 Kenned
committed the United States to land a man on the Moon by the end of the decade, and, w
would not live to see this achievement, his advocacy of the space program contributed to
the successful launch of the first American manned spaceflights.

Kennedy family : John and Jackie Kennedy with their children, Caroline and John, Jr., at the White House, Washington, D.C., 1961.

He was an immensely popular president, at home and abroad. At times he seemed to be everywhere at once, encouraging better physical fitness, improving the morale of government workers, inviting artists and writers to the White House, and beautifying Washington, D.C. His wife joined him as an advocate for American culture. Their two young children, Caroline Bouvier and John F., Jr., were familiar throughout the country. The charm and optimism of the Kennedy family seemed contagious, sparking the idealism of a generation for whom the Kennedy White House became, in journalist Theodore White's famous phrase, Camelot, the magical court of Arthurian legend, which was celebrated in a popular Broadway musical of the early 1960s.

Joseph Kennedy, meanwhile, had been incapacitated by a stroke, but the c Kennedys were in and out of Washington. Robert Kennedy, as attorney general, was the second most powerful man in the country. He advised the president on all matters of fore domestic policy, national security, and political affairs.

In 1962 Ted Kennedy was elected to the president's former Senate seat in Massachusetts. Their sister Eunice's husband, Sargent Shriver, became director of the Peace Corps. Their sister Jean's husband, Stephen Smith, was preparing to manage the Democratic Party's 1964 presidential campaign. Another sister, Patricia, had married Peter Lawford, an English-born actor who served the family as an unofficial envoy to the entertainment world. All Americans knew who Rose, Jackie, Bobby, and Teddy were, and most could identify Bobby's wife as Ethel and Teddy's Joan. But if the first family had become America's royalty, its image of perfection would be years later by allegations of a marital infidelity by the president (most notably, an affair with motion-picture icon Marilyn Monroe) and of his association with organized crime

Assassination of John F. Kennedy

John F. Kennedy in Dallas motorcadePres. John F. Kennedy and first lady Jacqueline Kennedy riding in a motorcade, sitting in the back seat of the custom-built Lincoln Continental presidential convertible and beaming at bystanders lining the streets of Dallas, November 22, 1963. In the vehicle's middle jump seat are Texas Gov. John Connally and his wife, Nellie. Kennedy was assassinated as the motorcade neared the Texas School Book Depository building, where sniper Lee Harvey Oswald waited.

John F. Kennedy assassinated : The front page of the *Chicago Tribune* on November 23, 1963, the day after the assassination of Pres. John F. Kennedy.

Lyndon B. Johnson, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Lady Bird JohnsonJacqueline Kennedy and Lady Bird Johnson standing by U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson as he takes the oath of office aboard Air Force One after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963.

John F. Kennedy: pallbearers at U.S. Capitol : Pres. John F. Kennedy's body being carried by pallbearers into the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, November 24, 1963.

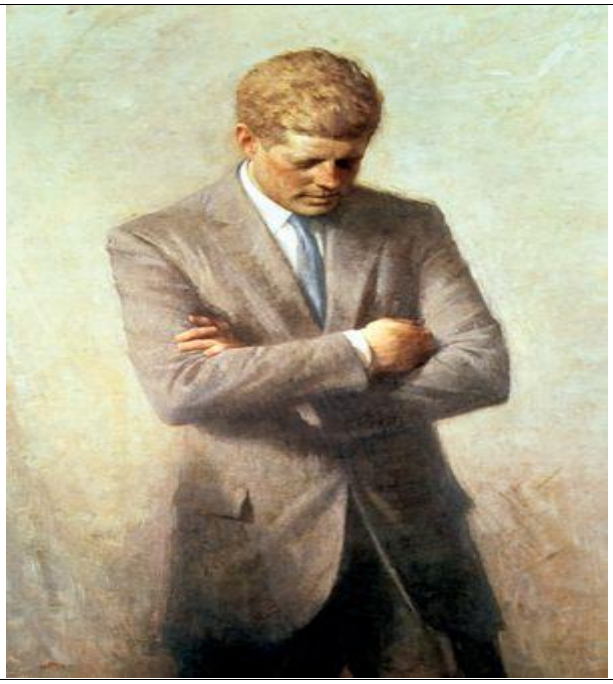
John F. Kennedy lying in state : In a flag-draped coffin, the body of Pres. John F. Kennedy lying in state in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, November 24, 1963.

John F. Kennedy: funeral procession : Pres. John F. Kennedy's funeral procession on its way to Arlington National Cemetery, November 25, 1963.

President Kennedy believed that his Republican opponent in 1964 would be Barry Goldwater of Arizona. He was convinced that he could defeat Goldwater in an avalanche of votes, thus receiving a mandate for major legislative reforms. One obstacle to his plan was a feud in the Democratic Party between Governor John B. Connally, Jr., of Texas and Senator Ralph Yarborough, both Democrats. To present a unity ticket, the president decided to tour the state with both men. On Friday, November 22, 1963, Jacqueline Kennedy were in an open limousine riding slowly in a motorcade through Dallas, Texas. The president was struck by two rifle shots, one at the base of his neck and one in the head. He was pronounced dead shortly after arrival at Parkland Memorial Hospital. The assassination was captured on film by Abraham Zapruder and his home movie became a key and indisputable piece of evidence. Governor Connally, although severely wounded, recovered. Vice President Johnson took

as president at 2:38 PM Lee Harvey Oswald, a 24-year-old Dallas citizen, was accused of the slaying. Two days later Oswald was shot to Jack Ruby, a local nightclub owner with connections to the criminal underworld, in the basement of a Dallas police station. *(Read about assassination attempts involving U.S. presidents and presidential candidates.)*

A presidential commission headed by the justice of the United States, Earl Warren, later found that neither the sniper nor his killer "was part of any domestic or foreign, to assassinate President Kennedy," but that Oswald had acted. The Warren Commission however, was not able to convincingly explain all the particular circumstances of Kennedy's murder. In 1979 a special committee of the U.S. House of Representatives declared although the president had undoubtedly been slain by Oswald, acoustic analysis suggested presence of a second gunman who had missed. But this declaration did little to squ theories that Oswald was part of a conspiracy involving Lyndon Kennedy's handling of the Bay of Pigs fiasco or mendacious crime seeking revenge for Attorney General Bobby Kennedy's relentless criminal investigations. Kennedy's assassination, the most notorious political murder of the 20th century, remains a source of bafflement, controve and speculation



Official presidential portrait of John F. Kennedy : U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy, oil on canvas by Aaron Shikler, 1970; in the collection of the White House.

John Kennedy was dead, but the Kennedy mystique was still alive. Both Robert and Ted ran for president (in 1968 and 1980, respectively). Yet tragedy would become nearly synonymous with the Kennedys when Bobby, too, was assassinated on the campaign trail in 1968.

Jacqueline Kennedy and her children moved from the White House to a home in the Georgetown section of Washington. Continuing crowds of the worshipful and curious made peace impossible, however, and in the summer of 1964 she moved to New York City. Pursuit continued until October 20, 1968, when she married Aristotle Onassis, a wealthy Greek shipping magnate. The Associated Press said that the marriage "broke the spell of almost complete adulation of a woman who had become virtually a legend in her own time." Widowed by Onassis, the former first lady returned to the public eye in the mid-1970s as a high-profile book editor, and she remained among the most admired women in the United States until her death in 1994. As an adult, daughter Caroline was jealous of her privacy, but John Jr.—a lawyer like his sister and debonair and handsome like his father—was much more of a public figure. Long remembered as "John-John," the three-year-old who stoically saluted his father's casket during live television coverage of the funeral procession, John became the founder and editor-in-chief of the political magazine *George* in the mid-1990s. In 1999, when John Jr., his wife, and his sister-in-law died in the crash of the private plane he was piloting, the event was the focus of an international media watch that further proved the immortality of the Kennedy mystique. It was yet another chapter in the family's "curse" of tragedy.

Cabinet of President John F. Kennedy

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President John F. Kennedy.

Cabinet of President John F. Kennedy	
January 20, 1961–November 22, 1963	
State	Dean Rusk
Treasury	C. (Clarence) Douglas Dillon
Defense	Robert S. McNamara
Attorney General	Robert F. Kennedy
Interior	Stewart Lee Udall
Agriculture	Orville Lothrop Freeman
Commerce	Luther Hartwell Hodges
Labor	Arthur Joseph Goldberg W. (William) Willard Wirtz (from September 25, 1962)
Health, Education, and Welfare	Abraham Alexander Ribicoff Anthony Joseph Celebrezze (from July 31, 1962)

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November 22, 1963
Death of the President

By the fall of 1963, President John F. Kennedy and his political advisers were preparing for the next presidential campaign. Although he had not formally announced his candidacy, it was clear that President Kennedy was going to run and he seemed confident about his chances for re-election.

At the end of September, the president traveled west, speaking in nine different states in less than a week. The trip was meant to put a spotlight on natural resources and conservation efforts. But JFK also used it to sound out themes—such as education, national security, and world peace—for his run in 1964.

Campaigning in Texas

A month later, the president addressed Democratic gatherings in Boston and Philadelphia. Then, on November 12, he held the first important political planning session for the upcoming election year. At the meeting, JFK stressed the importance of winning Florida and Texas and talked about his plans to visit both states in the next two weeks.

Mrs. Kennedy would accompany him on the swing through Texas, which would be her first extended public appearance since the loss of their baby, Patrick, in August. On November 21, the president and first lady departed on Air Force One for the two-day, five-city tour of Texas.

President John F. Kennedy and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy arrive in Houston, Texas. November 21, 1963.

President Kennedy was aware that a feud among party leaders in Texas could jeopardize his chances of carrying the state in 1964, and one of his aims for the trip was to bring Democrats together. He also knew that a relatively small but vocal group of extremists was contributing to the political tensions in Texas and would likely make its presence felt—particularly in Dallas, where US Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson had been physically attacked a month earlier after making a speech there. Nonetheless, JFK seemed to relish the prospect of leaving Washington, getting out among the people and into the political fray.

The first stop was San Antonio. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Governor John B. Connally, and Senator Ralph W. Yarborough led the welcoming party. They accompanied the president to Brooks Air Force Base for the dedication of the Aerospace Medical Health Center. Continuing on to Houston, he addressed the League of United Latin

American Citizens, and spoke at a testimonial dinner for Congressman Albert Thomas before ending the day in Fort Worth.

Morning in Fort Worth

A light rain was falling on Friday morning, November 22, but a crowd of several thousand stood in the parking lot outside the Texas Hotel where the Kennedys had spent the night. A platform was set up and the president, wearing no protection against the weather, came out to make some brief remarks.

"There are no faint hearts in Fort Worth," he began, "and I appreciate your being here this morning. Mrs. Kennedy is organizing herself. It takes longer, but, of course, she looks better than we do when she does it." He went on to talk about the nation's need for being "second to none" in defense and in space, for continued growth in the economy and "the willingness of citizens of the United States to assume the burdens of leadership."

The warmth of the audience response was palpable as the president reached out to shake hands amidst a sea of smiling faces.

President Kennedy reaches out to the crowd gathered at the Hotel Texas parking lot rally in Fort Worth, Texas.

Back inside the hotel the president spoke at a breakfast of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, focusing on military preparedness. "We are still the keystone in the arch of freedom," he said. "We will continue to do…our duty, and the people of Texas will be in the lead."

On to Dallas

The presidential party left the hotel and went by motorcade to Carswell Air Force Base for the thirteen-minute flight to Dallas. Arriving at Love Field, President and Mrs. Kennedy disembarked and immediately walked toward a fence where a crowd of well-wishers had gathered, and they spent several minutes shaking hands.
The first lady received a bouquet of red roses, which she brought with her to the waiting limousine. Governor John Connally and his wife, Nellie, were already seated in the open convertible as the Kennedys entered and sat behind them. Since it was no longer raining, the plastic bubble top had been left off. Vice President and Mrs. Johnson occupied another car in the motorcade.

The procession left the airport and traveled along a ten-mile route that wound through downtown Dallas on the way to the Trade Mart where the President was scheduled to speak at a luncheon.

The Assassination

Crowds of excited people lined the streets and waved to the Kennedys. The car turned off Main Street at Dealey Plaza around 12:30 p.m. As it was passing the Texas School Book Depository, gunfire suddenly reverberated in the plaza.

Bullets struck the president's neck and head and he slumped over toward Mrs. Kennedy. The governor was shot in his back.

The car sped off to Parkland Memorial Hospital just a few minutes away. But little could be done for the President. A Catholic priest was summoned to administer the last rites, and at 1:00 p.m. John F. Kennedy was pronounced dead. Though seriously wounded, Governor Connally would recover.

The president's body was brought to Love Field and placed on Air Force One. Before the plane took off, a grim-faced Lyndon B. Johnson stood in the tight, crowded compartment and took the oath of office, administered by U.S. District Court Judge Sarah Hughes. The brief ceremony took place at 2:38 p.m.

President Lyndon B. Johnson is sworn in aboard Air Force One. November 22, 1963.

Less than an hour earlier, police had arrested Lee Harvey Oswald, a recently hired employee at the Texas School Book Depository. He was

being held for the assassination of President Kennedy and the fatal shooting, shortly afterward, of Patrolman J.D. Tippit on a Dallas street.

On Sunday morning, November 24, Oswald was scheduled to be transferred from police headquarters to the county jail. Viewers across America watching the live television coverage suddenly saw a man aim a pistol and fire at point blank range. The assailant was identified as Jack Ruby, a local nightclub owner. Oswald died two hours later at Parkland Hospital.

The President's Funeral

That same day, President Kennedy's flag-draped casket was moved from the White House to the Capitol on a caisson drawn by six grey horses, accompanied by one riderless black horse. At Mrs. Kennedy's request, the cortege and other ceremonial details were modeled on the funeral of Abraham Lincoln. Crowds lined Pennsylvania Avenue and many wept openly as the caisson passed. During the 21 hours that the president's body lay in state in the Capitol Rotunda, about 250,000 people filed by to pay their respects.
On Monday, November 25, 1963 President Kennedy was laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery. The funeral was attended by heads of state and representatives from more than 100 countries, with untold millions more watching on television. Afterward, at the grave site, Mrs. Kennedy and her husband's brothers, Robert and Edward, lit an eternal flame.

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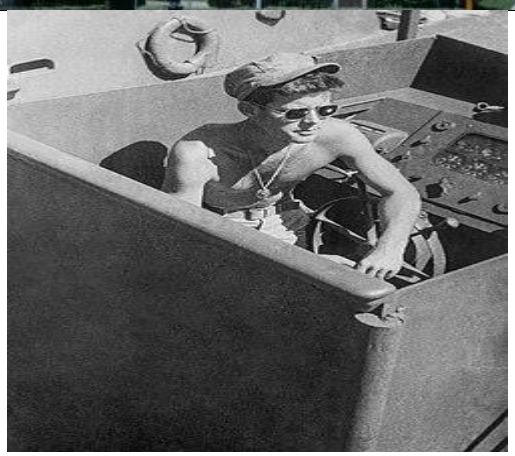

LOUI
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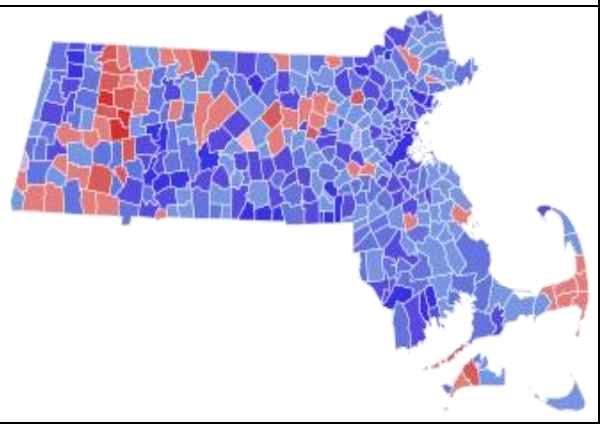
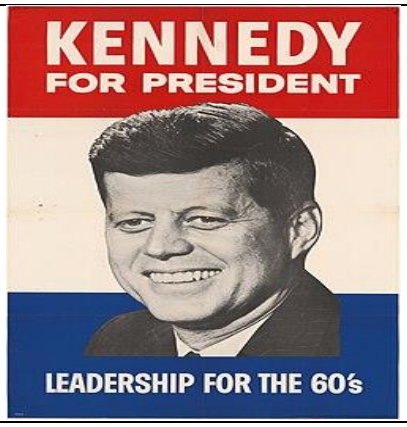
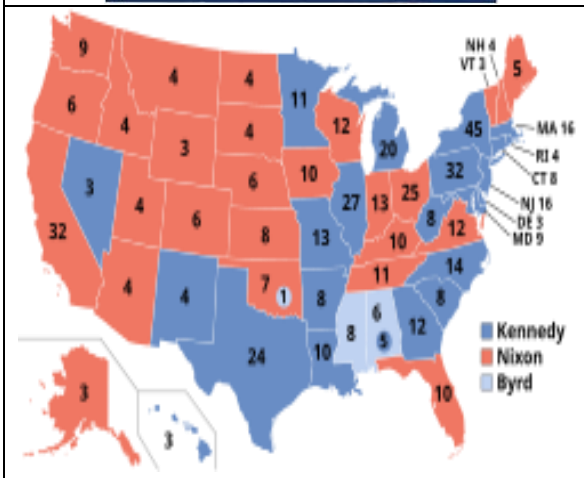



KENNEDY
FOR PRESIDENT
LEADERSHIP FOR THE 60's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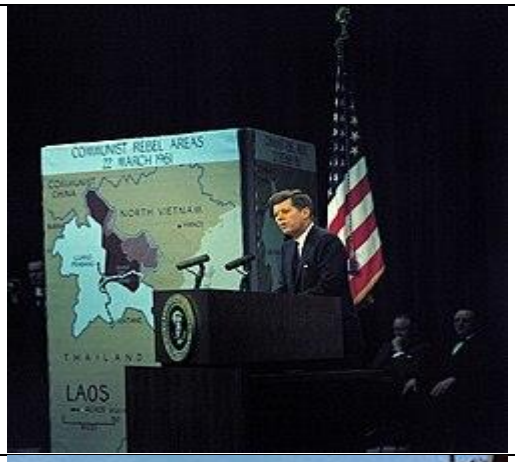
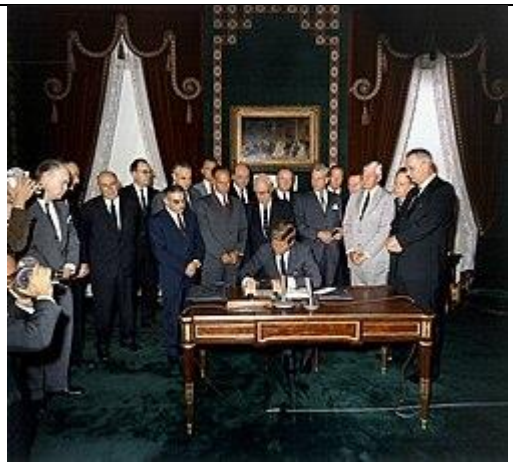
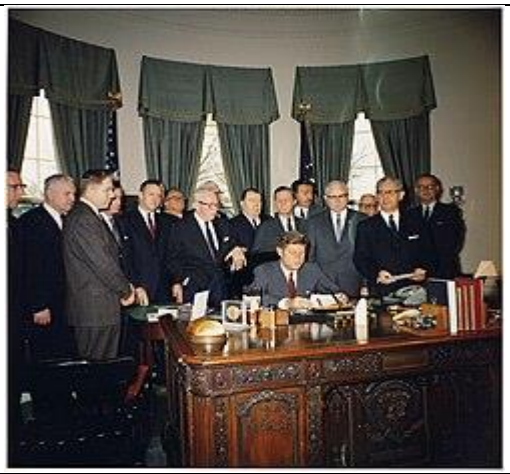
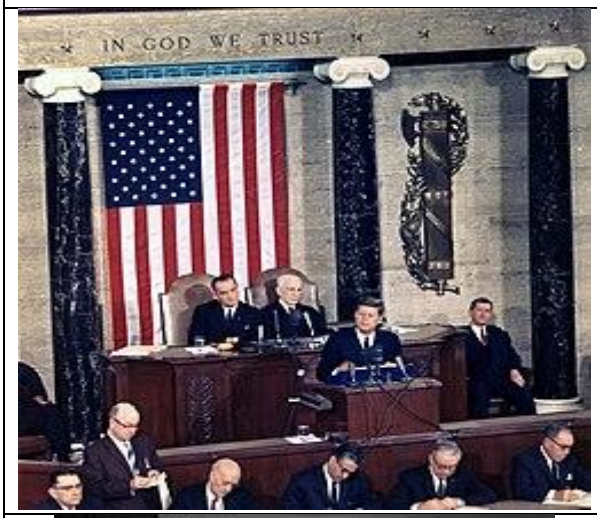
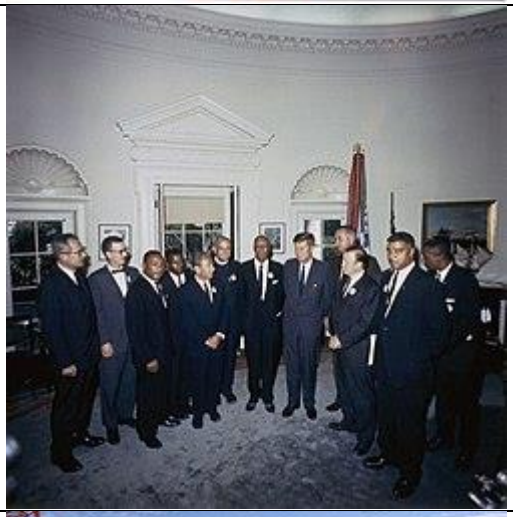

COMMUNIST REBEL AREAS
27 MARCH 1961
NORTH VIETNAM
THAILAND
LAOS

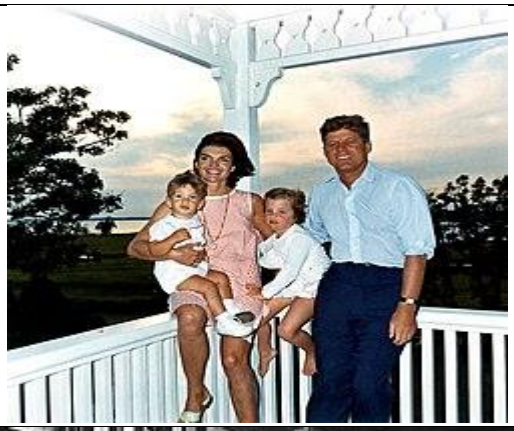
BIENVENIDOS

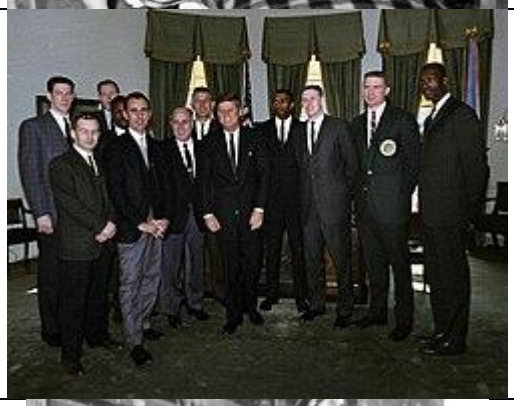


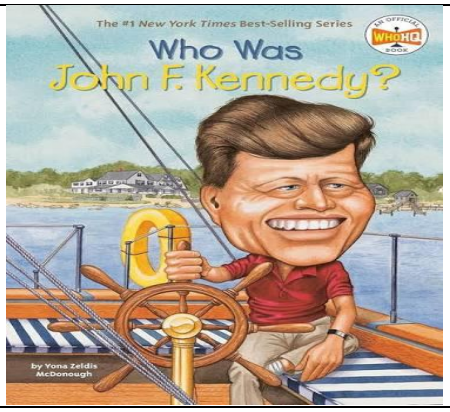



IN GOD WE TRUST








The #1 New York Times Best-Selling Series
Who Was
John F. Kennedy?
by Yona Zeldis McDonough

Lyndon B. Johnson

36th President of the United States

[22 November 1963 <::> 20 January 1969]

Please visit:

01] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/lyndonbjohnson

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/lyndon-b-johnson

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lyndon-B-Johnson

04] https://www.lbjlibrary.org/life-and-legacy/the-man-himself/biography

05] First 100 Days: Lyndon Johnson's Presidency after JFK Assassination
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-Rq-oAQzko [55:22]
06] The Complicated Legacy of Lyndon B. Johnson
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jsjkU_EYNXU [51:00]
In the wake of JFK's assassination, President Lyndon B. Johnson faces monumental challenges as he steps into the role of leader. Amid civil rights struggles, the Vietnam War, national unrest, and tragic assassinations, LBJ works tirelessly to steer America through its darkest days. This documentary delves into his complex presidency, exploring his drive for progress, his personal struggles, and the deep divisions that divided his time in the office.

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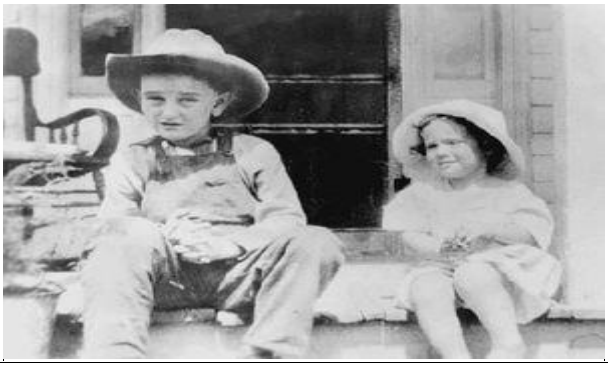
Lyndon B. Johnson (born August 27, 1908, Gillespie county, Texas, U.S.—died January 22, 1973, San Antonio, Texas) was the 36th president of the United States (1963–69). A moderate Democrat and vigorous leader in the United States Senate, Johnson was elected vice president in 1960 and acceded to the presidency in 1963 upon the assassination of Pres. John F. Kennedy. During his administration he signed into law the Civil Rights Act (1964), the most comprehensive civil rights legislation since the Reconstruction era, initiated major social service programs, and bore the brunt of national opposition to his vast expansion of American involvement in the Vietnam War.

EARLY LIFE



Lyndon B. Johnson Lyndon B. Johnson (left), c. 1915.

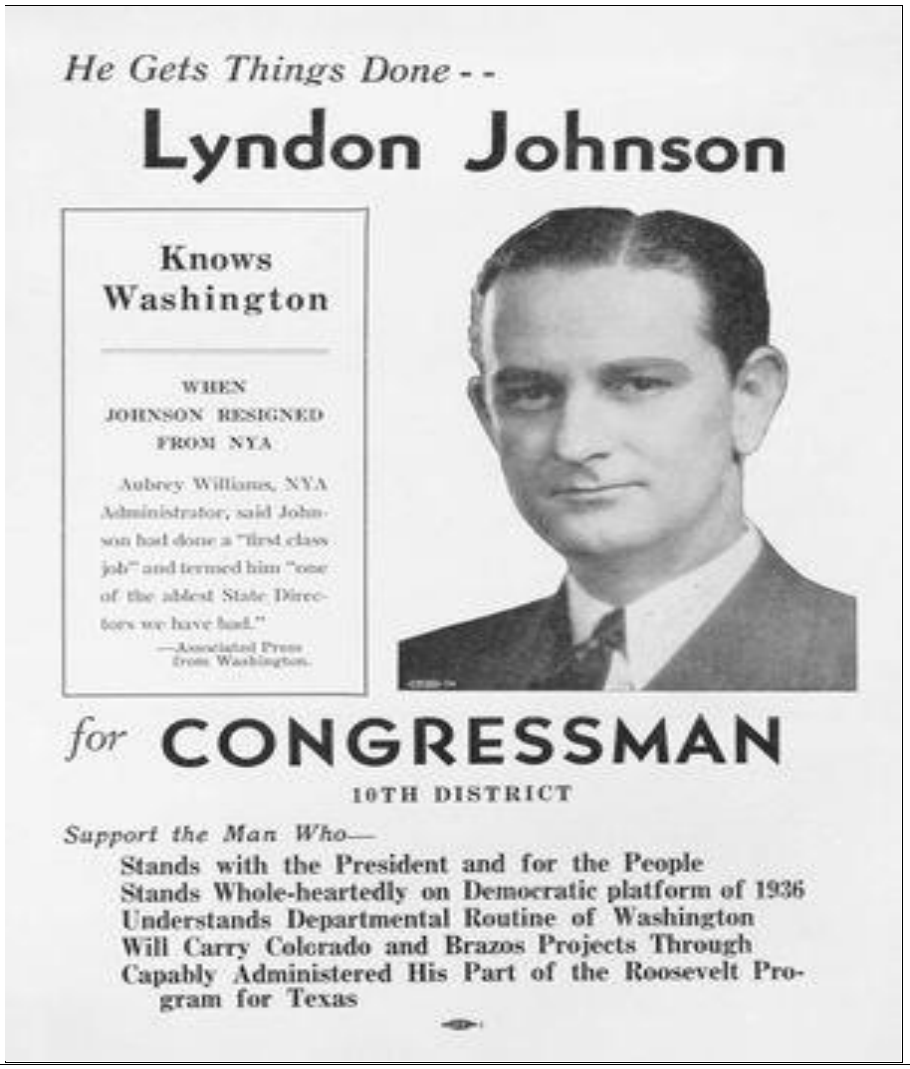
Johnson, the first of five children, was born in a three-room house in the hills of south-central Texas to Sam Ealy Johnson, Jr., a businessman and member of the Texas House of Representatives, and Rebekah Baines Johnson, who was a daughter of state legislator Joseph Baines and had studied at Baylor Female College (now the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor), Baylor University, and the University of Texas. Sam Johnson had earlier lost money in cotton speculation, and, despite his legislative career, the family often struggled to make a living. After graduating from high school in 1924, Johnson spent three years in a series of odd jobs before enrolling at Southwest Texas State Teachers College (now Texas State University) in San Marcos. While pursuing his studies there in 1928–29, he took a teaching job at a predominantly Mexican American school in Cotulla, Texas, where the extreme poverty of his students made a profound impression on him. Through his later work in state politics, Johnson developed close and enduring ties to the Mexican American community in Texas—a factor that would later help the Kennedy-Johnson ticket carry Texas in the presidential election of 1960.

Career in Congress

After graduating from college in 1930, Johnson won praise as a teacher of debate and public speaking at Sam Houston High School in Houston. That same year he participated in the congressional campaign of Democrat Richard Kleberg (son of the owner of the King Ranch, the largest ranch in the continental United States), and upon Kleberg's election he accompanied the new congressman to Washington, D.C., in 1931 as his legislative

assistant. While in Washington, Johnson worked tirelessly on behalf of Kleberg's constituents and quickly developed a thorough grasp of congressional politics.

In 1934, in San Antonio, Texas, Johnson married Claudia Alta Taylor, known from childhood as "Lady Bird." A recent graduate of the University of Texas, where she had finished near the top of her class, Lady Bird Johnson was a much-needed source of stability in her husband's life as well as a shrewd judge of people.


He Gets Things Done - -
Lyndon Johnson
Knows Washington
WHEN JOHNSON RESIGNED FROM NYA
Aubrey Williams, NYA Administrator, said Johnson had done a "first class job" and termed him "one of the ablest State Directors we have had."
—Associated Press from Washington.
for CONGRESSMAN
10TH DISTRICT
Support the Man Who—
Stands with the President and for the People
Stands Whole-heartedly on Democratic platform of 1936
Understands Departmental Routine of Washington
Will Carry Colorado and Brazos Projects Through
Capably Administered His Part of the Roosevelt Program for Texas

Lyndon B. Johnson: 1937 campaign poster Poster for Lyndon B. Johnson's first political campaign, 1937.

In Washington, Johnson's political career blossomed rapidly after he was befriended by fellow Texan Sam Rayburn, the powerful chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and later Democratic leader of the House of Representatives. Following two years as director of the National Youth Administration in Texas (1935–37), he ran successfully for a seat in the House as a supporter of the New Deal policies of Democratic Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt. He represented his district in the House for most of the next 12 years, interrupting his legislative duties for six months in 1941–42 to serve as lieutenant commander in the navy—thereby becoming the first member of Congress to serve on active duty in World War II. While on an observation mission over New Guinea, Johnson's plane survived an attack by Japanese fighters, and Gen. Douglas MacArthur awarded Johnson the Silver Star for gallantry. Johnson proudly wore the decoration in his lapel for the rest of his life.

Johnson ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the United States Senate in a special election in 1941. Running again in 1948, he won the Democratic primary (which in Texas was tantamount to election) after a vicious campaign that included vote fraud on both sides. His extraordinarily slim margin of victory—87 votes out of 988,000 votes cast—earned him the nickname "Landslide Lyndon." He remained in the Senate for 12 years, becoming Democratic whip in 1951 and minority leader in 1953. With the return of a Democratic majority in 1955, Johnson, age 46, became the youngest majority leader in that body's history.

During his years in the Senate, Johnson developed a talent for negotiating and reaching accommodation among divergent political factions. Despite a severe heart attack in 1955—which he would later describe as “the worst a man could have and still live”—Johnson became a vigorous and effective leader of his party. By methods sometimes tactful but often ruthless, he transformed the Senate Democrats into a remarkably disciplined and cohesive bloc. At the Democratic convention in 1956, Johnson received 80 votes as a favorite-son candidate for president. With an eye on the presidential nomination in 1960, he attempted to cultivate his reputation among supporters as a legislative statesman; during this time he engineered the passage of two civil rights measures, in 1957 and 1960, the first such legislation in the 20th century.

At a glance: the Johnson presidency

Vice presidency

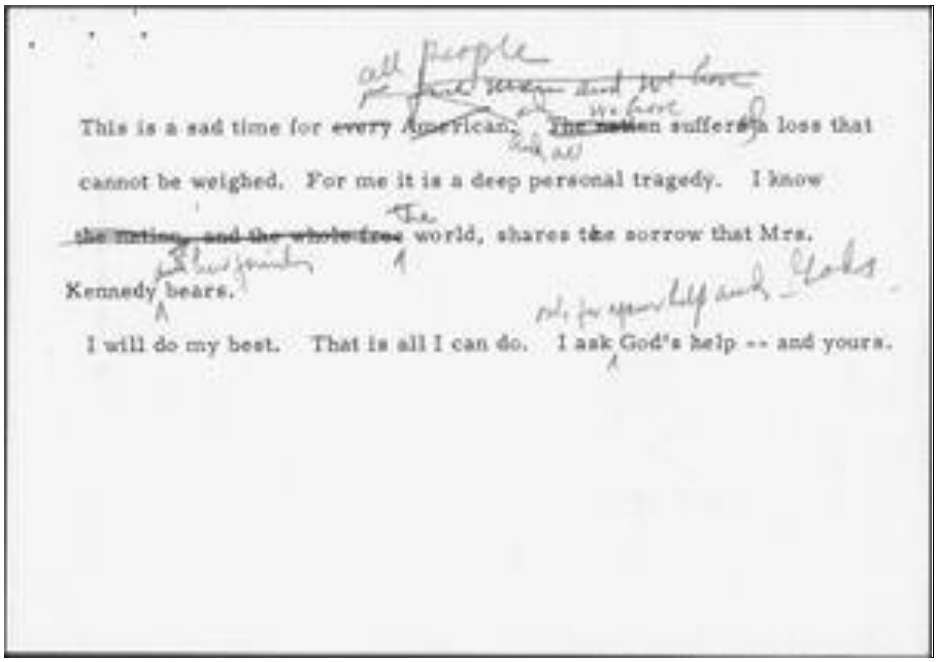
At the Democratic convention in 1960, Johnson lost the presidential nomination to John F. Kennedy on the first ballot, 809 votes to 409. He then surprised many both inside and outside the party when he accepted Kennedy’s invitation to join the Democratic ticket as the vice presidential candidate. Overcoming his disappointment at not heading the ticket himself, he campaigned energetically, and many observers felt that without his presence Kennedy could not have carried Texas, Louisiana, and the Carolinas, states that were

essential to his victory over the Republican candidate, Richard M. Nixon.

Johnson was generally uncomfortable in his role as vice president. His legendary knowledge of Congress went largely unused, despite Kennedy's failure to push through his own legislative program. Although he served on the National Security Council and was appointed chairman of some important committees—such as the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the Peace Corps Advisory Council, and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity—Johnson regarded most of his assignments as busywork, and he was convinced that the president was ignoring him. His frustration was compounded by the apparent disdain with which he was regarded by some prominent members of the Kennedy administration—including the president's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who later regarded LBJ, with his Texas drawl and crude, occasionally scatological sense of humor, as the "usurper" of Kennedy's Camelot. Johnson, in turn, envied President Kennedy's handsome appearance and his reputation for urbanity and sophisticated charm. Despite Johnson's physically imposing presence (he stood six feet three inches [nearly two meters] tall and usually weighed more than 200 pounds [more than 90 kg]), he suffered from deep-seated feelings of inferiority, which his dealings with the Kennedys—the scions of the "Eastern establishment"—seemed to make all the more acute. As he frequently said, it was his curse to have hailed from "the wrong part of the country."

Accession to the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Lady Bird JohnsonJacqueline Kennedy and Lady Bird Johnson standing by U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson as he takes the oath of office aboard Air Force One after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963.



This is a sad time for every American. The nation suffers a loss that cannot be weighed. For me it is a deep personal tragedy. I know the world, shares the sorrow that Mrs. Kennedy bears.

I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask God's help -- and yours.

Lyndon B. Johnson: speech card U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson's notes for his brief address at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, November 22, 1963.

In Dallas on November 22, 1963, during a political tour of Johnson's home state, President Kennedy was assassinated. At 2:38 PM that day, Johnson took the oath of office aboard the presidential plane, Air Force One, as it stood on the tarmac at Love Field, Dallas, waiting to take Kennedy's remains back to Washington. In one afternoon Johnson had been thrust into the most difficult—and most prized—role of his long political career. One of the new president's first acts was to appoint a commission to investigate the assassination of Kennedy and the shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged assassin, two days later. Chaired by Earl Warren, the chief justice of the United States, the Warren Commission concluded in September 1964 that there had been no conspiracy in Kennedy's death.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and Lyndon Johnson U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson talking with Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Oval Office at the White House, Washington, D.C., 1963.

In the tempestuous days after the assassination, Johnson helped to calm national hysteria and ensure continuity in the presidency. On November 27 he addressed a joint session of Congress and, invoking the memory of the martyred president, urged the

passage of Kennedy's legislative agenda, which had been stalled in congressional committees. He placed greatest importance on Kennedy's civil rights bill, which became the focus of his efforts during the first months of his presidency. "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory," he said, "than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill." In February 1964, after a series of amendments by civil rights supporters, the House passed a much stronger bill than the one that Kennedy had proposed, and the measure was finally passed by the Senate in June, after an 83-day filibuster by Southern opponents.

Read about LBJ's role in the history of DEI programs.

Each Section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Explained Decades later, the Civil Rights Act is still a critical piece of American legislation.

Civil Rights Act and Lyndon B. Johnson U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson preparing to sign the Civil Rights Act during a ceremony at the White House on July 2, 1964.

Civil Rights Act and Lyndon B. Johnson U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson addressing the nation as he signs the Civil Rights Act, July 2, 1964.

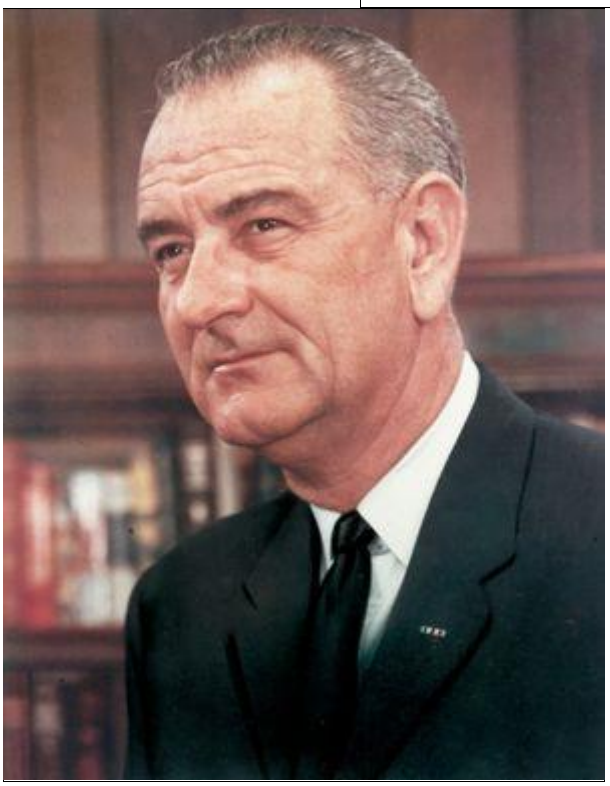
The Civil Rights Act, which Johnson signed into law on July 2, 1964, was the most comprehensive and far-reaching legislation of its kind in American history. Among its provisions were a prohibition of racial segregation and discrimination in places of public accommodation, a prohibition of discrimination by race or sex in employment and union membership, and new guarantees of equal voting rights. The law also authorized the Department of Justice to bring suit against local school boards to end allegedly discriminatory practices, thereby speeding up school desegregation. The constitutionality of the law was immediately challenged but was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1964.

Lyndon B. Johnson: Medicare Former U.S. president Harry S. Truman (right) looking on as U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Medicare bill at the Harry S. Truman Library and Museum in Independence, Missouri, July 30, 1965.

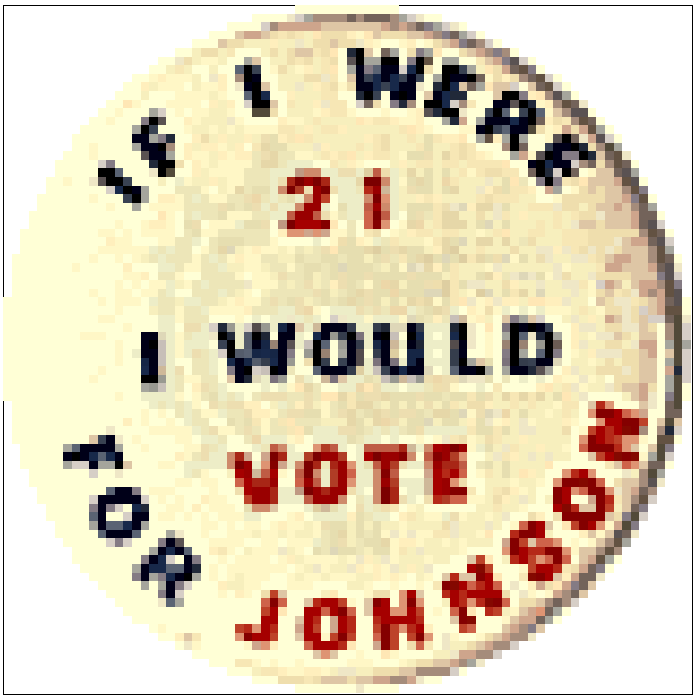
Voting Rights Act Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson signing the Voting Rights Act into law in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda in Washington, D.C., on August 6, 1965.

Johnson outlined his domestic agenda in a commencement address at the University of Michigan in May 1964: “In your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time.” The Great Society program, beginning with the Civil Rights Act and continuing with other important measures passed during Johnson’s second term, was the most impressive body of social legislation since the New Deal of the 1930s. It encompassed measures designed to fight the “war on poverty,” including legislation establishing the Job Corps for the unemployed and the Head Start program for preschool children; new civil rights legislation, such as the Voting Rights Act (1965), which outlawed the literacy tests and other devices used to prevent African Americans from voting; and Medicare and Medicaid, which provided health benefits for the elderly and the poor, respectively. Other legislation addressed problems in education, housing and urban development, transportation, environmental conservation, and immigration. Johnson saw these measures as building on and completing the New Deal vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt; with their adoption the United States joined the ranks of the welfare states of western Europe and Scandinavia. However, the effect of these undertakings was soon vitiated by increasing American military involvement in the war in Vietnam, which had begun during the Eisenhower administration and was accelerated by President Kennedy.

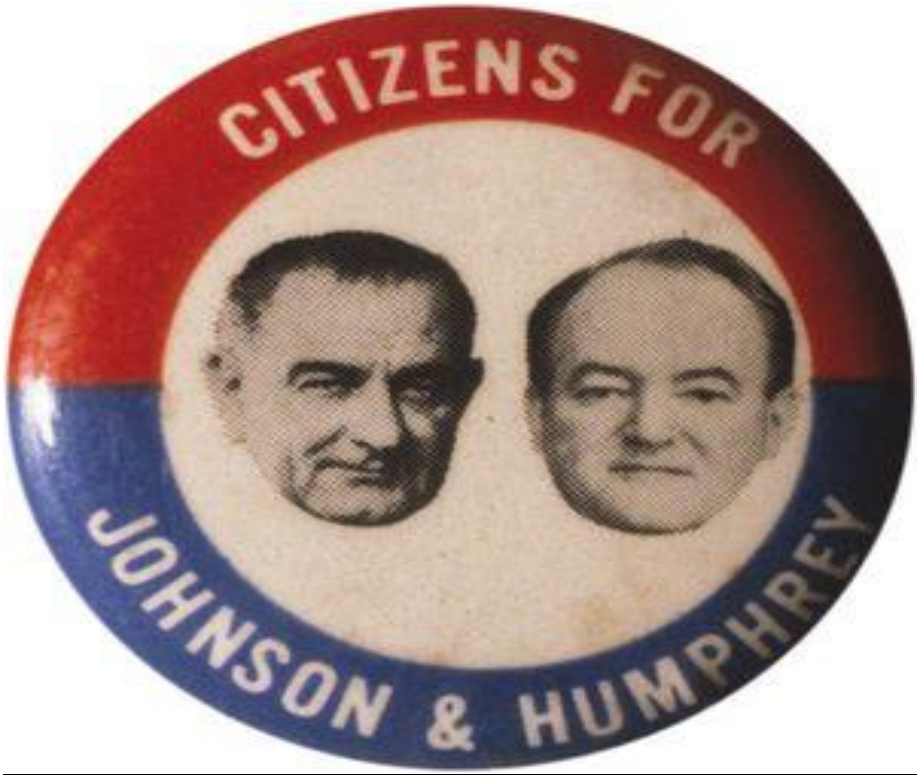
Election and the Vietnam War



Architect of the "Great Society" Lyndon B. Johnson got passed some of the most consequential social legislation in U.S. history, but the quagmire in Vietnam ultimately doomed his presidency.



Lyndon B. Johnson campaign button Button from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 U.S. presidential campaign.



Lyndon B. Johnson campaign button Button from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 U.S. presidential campaign.

In the presidential election of 1964, Johnson was opposed by conservative Republican Barry Goldwater. During the campaign Johnson portrayed himself as level-headed and reliable and suggested that Goldwater was a reckless extremist who might lead the country into a nuclear war. When Republican supporters of Goldwater declared, "In your heart, you know he's right," Democrats responded by saying, "In your heart, you know he might." Goldwater's remark to a reporter that, if he could, he would "drop a low-yield atomic bomb on Chinese supply lines in Vietnam" did nothing to reassure voters. The Johnson campaigned aired perhaps the most famous political ad of all time – the "Daisy ad" – laying out the threat of nuclear war without ever mentioning Goldwater. On election day Johnson defeated Goldwater easily, receiving more than 61 percent of the popular vote, the largest

percentage ever for a presidential election; the vote in the electoral college was 486 to 52. Johnson interpreted his victory as an extraordinary mandate to push forward with his Great Society reforms.

Lyndon B. Johnson, the Great Society, and the Vietnam War An overview of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Analyze the effects of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed under the Lyndon Johnson administration during the Vietnam War In August 1964, in response to an alleged attack by North Vietnamese patrol boats on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, the U.S. Congress authorized Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson to take any action necessary to deal with threats against U.S. forces and allies in Southeast Asia. From *Vietnam Perspective* (1985), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

In early August 1964, after North Vietnamese gunboats allegedly attacked U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin near the coast of North Vietnam without provocation, Johnson ordered retaliatory bombing raids on North Vietnamese naval installations and, in a televised address to the nation, proclaimed, “We still seek no wider war.” Two days later, at Johnson’s request, Congress overwhelmingly passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized the president to take “all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.” In effect, the measure granted Johnson the constitutional authority to conduct a war in Vietnam without a formal declaration from Congress. Although there were contradictory reports about the “engagement” in the gulf—about which side did what, if anything, and when—Johnson never discussed them with the public.

Lyndon B. Johnson: button and ribbon Commemorative button and ribbon from Lyndon B. Johnson's inauguration as U.S. president, c. 1965.

Creighton Abrams and Lyndon B. Johnson : Creighton Abrams, U.S. commander in South Vietnam, speaking as Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson (center) and his advisers listen, 1968.

Despite his campaign pledges not to widen American military involvement in Vietnam, Johnson soon increased the number of U.S. troops in that country and expanded their mission. In February 1965, after an attack by Viet Cong guerrillas on an U.S. military base in Pleiku, Johnson ordered “Operation Rolling Thunder,” a series of massive bombing raids on North Vietnam intended to cut supply lines to North Vietnamese and Viet Cong fighters in the South; he also dispatched 3,500 Marines to protect the border city of Da Nang. Fifty thousand additional troops were sent in July, and by the end of the year the number of military personnel in the country had reached 180,000. The number increased steadily over the next two years, peaking at about 550,000 in 1968.

As each new American escalation met with fresh enemy response and as no end to the combat appeared in sight, the president’s public support declined steeply. American casualties gradually mounted, reaching nearly 500 a week by the end of 1967. Moreover, the enormous financial cost of the war, reaching $25 billion in 1967,

diverted money from Johnson's cherished Great Society programs and began to fuel inflation. Beginning in 1965, student demonstrations grew larger and more frequent and helped to stimulate resistance to the draft. From 1967 onward, antiwar sentiment gradually spread among other segments of the population, including liberal Democrats, intellectuals, and civil rights leaders, and by 1968 many prominent political figures, some of them former supporters of the president's Vietnam policies, were publicly calling for an early negotiated settlement of the war. As his popularity sank to new lows in 1967, Johnson was confronted by demonstrations almost everywhere he went. It pained him to hear protesters, especially students—who he thought would venerate him for his progressive social agenda—chanting, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" To avoid the demonstrations, he eventually restricted his travels, becoming a virtual "prisoner" in the White House.

Domestic problems

Meanwhile, as Johnson's reform consensus gradually unraveled, life for the nation's poor, particularly African Americans living in inner-city slums in the North, failed to show significant improvement. Vast numbers of African Americans still suffered from unemployment, run-down schools, and lack of adequate medical care, and many were malnourished or hungry. Expectations of prosperity arising from the promise of the Great Society failed to materialize, and discontent and alienation grew accordingly, fed in part by a surge in African American political

radicalism and calls for Black power. Beginning in the mid-1960s, violence erupted in several cities, as the country suffered through “long, hot summers” of riots or the threat of riots—in the Watts district of Los Angeles (1965), in Cleveland, Ohio (1966), in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan (1967), in Washington, D.C. (1968), and elsewhere. Fears of a general “race war” were in the air. The president responded by appointing a special panel to report on the crisis, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which concluded that the country was in danger of dividing into two societies—one white, one Black, “separate and unequal.”

Last Days of Lyndon B. Johnson

On January 23, 1968, the American intelligence-gathering vessel USS *Pueblo* was seized by North Korea; all 80 members of the crew were captured and imprisoned. Already frustrated by the demands of the Vietnam War, Johnson responded with restraint but called up 15,000 navy and air force reservists and ordered the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS *Enterprise* to the area. The *Pueblo* crew was held for 11 months and was freed only after the United States apologized for having violated North Korean waters; the apology was later retracted.

Discover the effect of the Viet Cong's Tet Offensive on American morale despite the attack's failure The Tet Offensive was a military failure for the Viet Cong, but, at the same time, it devastated the American public's support for the war. From *Vietnam Perspective* (1985), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

To make matters worse, only one week after the seizure of the *Pueblo*, the Tet Offensive by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces in South Vietnam embarrassed the Johnson administration and shocked the country. Although the attack was a failure in military terms, the news coverage—including televised images of enemy forces firing on the U.S. embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), the South Vietnamese capital—completely undermined the administration's claim that the war was being won and added further to Johnson's nagging "credibility gap."

"I shall not seek, and I will not accept …" : On March 31, 1968, President Lyndon Johnson stunned the nation by announcing he would not seek re-election. Watch his speech.

Examine how demonstrations against the Vietnam War led President Lyndon Johnson to not seek reelection : In March 1968, with protests against the Vietnam War growing, U.S. Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson announced that he would not seek reelection that year. From *Vietnam Perspective* (1985), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Meanwhile, Sen. Eugene McCarthy declared his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, an unprecedented affront to a sitting president, and Robert Kennedy announced his own candidacy soon thereafter. On March 31, 1968, Johnson startled television viewers with a national address that included three announcements: that he had just ordered major reductions in the bombing of North Vietnam, that he was requesting peace talks, and that he would neither seek nor accept his party's renomination for the presidency.

The assassination of African American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968 provoked new rioting in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. Two months later Robert Kennedy was shot dead in Los Angeles, and the Democratic presidential nomination of Vice Pres. Hubert Humphrey was ensured. At the tumultuous Democratic convention in Chicago in August, delegates nominated Humphrey against weak opposition by McCarthy as antiwar protesters and student radicals engaged in televised battles with police outside the convention hall. During his campaign against Republican candidate Richard Nixon and third-party candidate George Wallace, Humphrey, heavily burdened by his association with Johnson's unpopular Vietnam policies, tried to distance himself from the president by calling for an unconditional end to the bombing in North Vietnam. Meanwhile, negotiations had begun with the North Vietnamese, and in October, one week before the election, Johnson announced a complete cessation of the bombing, to be followed by direct negotiations with Hanoi. But it

was too late for Humphrey, who narrowly lost the election to Nixon by a popular vote of nearly 30.9 million to Nixon's 31.7 million.

Walter Cronkite and Lyndon B. Johnson Walter Cronkite (left) interviewing Lyndon B. Johnson, 1971.

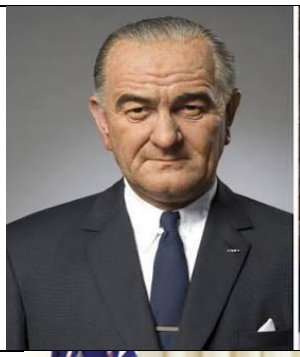
After attending his successor's inauguration in January 1969, Johnson retired to his home in Texas, the LBJ Ranch near Johnson City, where he worked on plans for his presidential library (dedicated May 1971) and wrote his memoirs, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969* (1971). In January 1973, less than one week before all the belligerents in Vietnam signed an agreement in Paris to end the war, Johnson suffered a heart attack and died. He was buried at the place he felt most at home: his ranch.

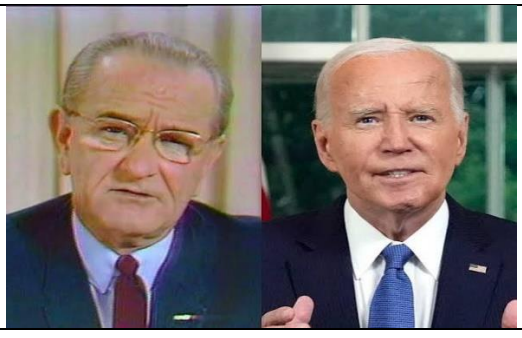
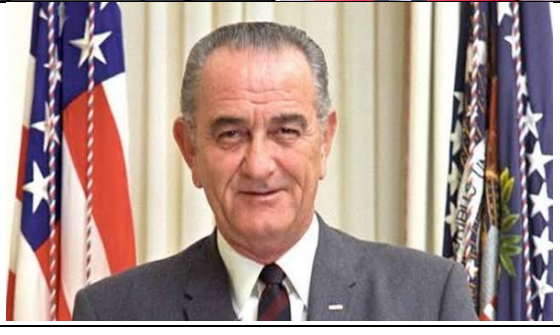
Cabinet of President Lyndon B. Johnson

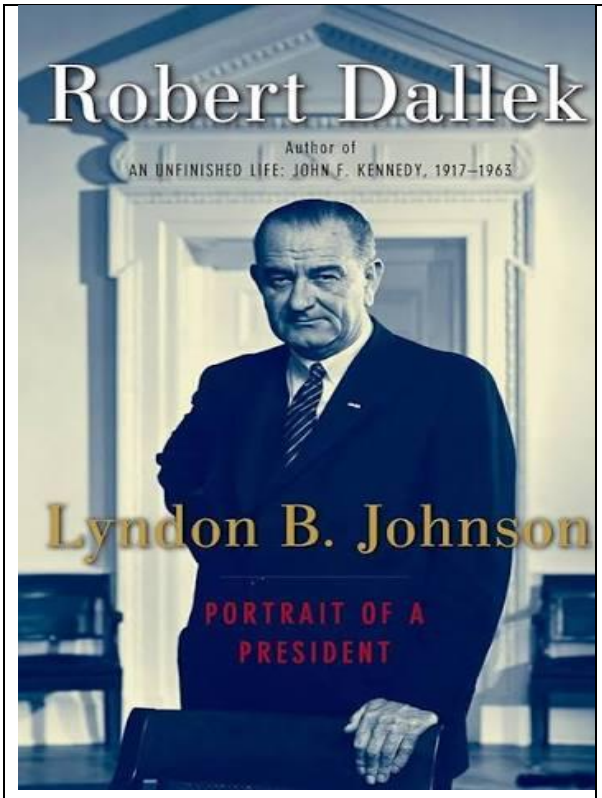
The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson.

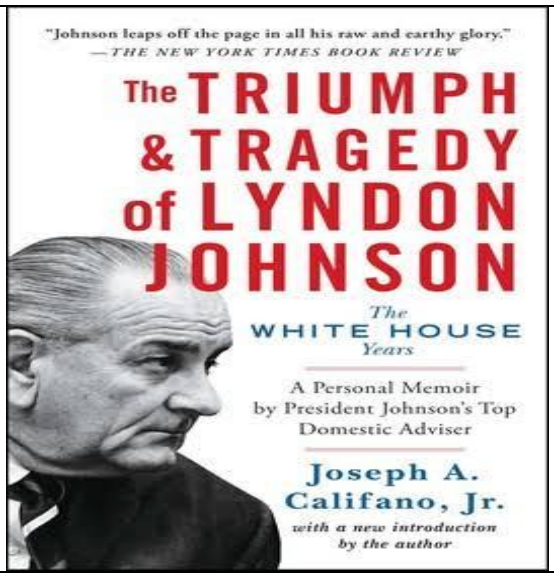
Cabinet of President Lyndon B. Johnson	
November 22, 1963-January 20, 1965 (Term 1)	
State	Dean Rusk
Treasury	C. (Clarence) Douglas Dillon
Defense	Robert S. McNamara
Attorney General	Robert F. Kennedy
Interior	Stewart Lee Udall
Agriculture	Orville Lothrop Freeman
Commerce	Luther Hartwell Hodges
Labor	W. (William) Willard Wirtz
Health, Education, and Welfare	Anthony Joseph Celebrezze
January 20, 1965-January 20, 1969 (Term 2)	
State	Dean Rusk
Treasury	C. (Clarence) Douglas Dillon Henry Hamill Fowler (from April 1, 1965) Joseph Walker Barr (from December 23, 1968)
Defense	Robert S. McNamara Clark M. Clifford (from March 1, 1968)
Attorney General	Nicholas deBelleville Katzenbach William Ramsey Clark (from March 10, 1967)
Interior	Stewart Lee Udall

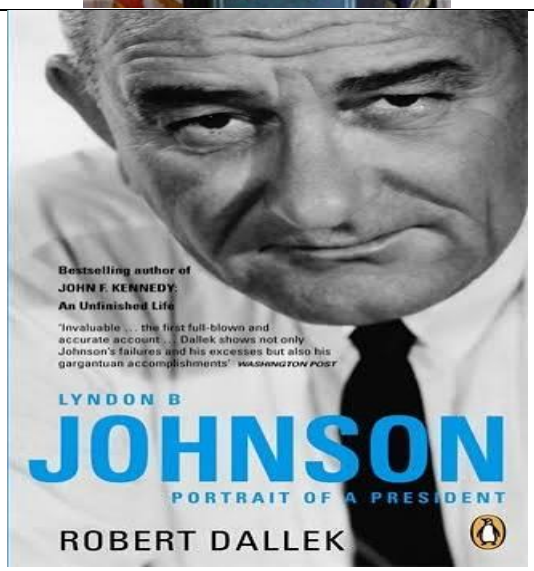
Agriculture	Orville Lothrop Freeman
Commerce	John Thomas Connor Alexander Buel Trowbridge (from June 14, 1967) Cyrus Rowlett Smith (from March 6, 1968)
Labor	W. (William) Willard Wirtz
Health, Education, and Welfare	Anthony Joseph Celebrezze John William Gardner (from August 18, 1965) Wilbur Joseph Cohen (from May 9, 1968)
Housing and Urban Development*	Robert C. Weaver (from January 18, 1966) Robert Coldwell Wood (from January 7, 1969)
Transportation*	Alan Stephenson Boyd (from January 16, 1967)



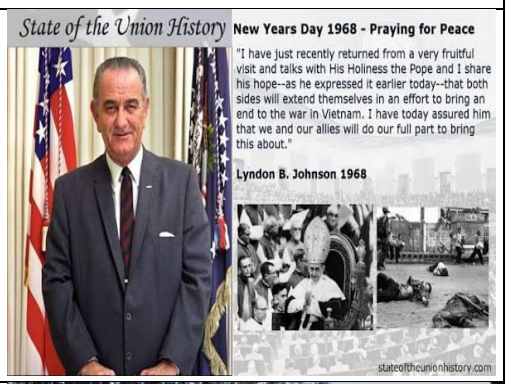




Robert Dallek
Author of
AN UNFINISHED LIFE: JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1917–1963
Lyndon B. Johnson
PORTRAIT OF A PRESIDENT


"Johnson leaps off the page in all his raw and earthy glory."
—THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW
The TRIUMPH & TRAGEDY of LYNDON JOHNSON
The WHITE HOUSE Years
A Personal Memoir by President Johnson's Top Domestic Adviser
Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
with a new introduction by the author


Bestselling author of
JOHN F. KENNEDY:
An Unfinished Life
"Invaluable . . . the first full-blown and accurate account . . . Dallek shows not only Johnson's failures and his excesses but also his gargantuan accomplishments" WASHINGTON POST
LYNDON B
JOHNSON
PORTRAIT OF A PRESIDENT
ROBERT DALLEK

Who?
What?
Lyndon B. Johnson
Fast Facts


State of the Union History
New Years Day 1968 - Praying for Peace
"I have just recently returned from a very fruitful visit and talks with His Holiness the Pope and I share his hope--as he expressed it earlier today--that both sides will extend themselves in an effort to bring an end to the war in Vietnam. I have today assured him that we and our allies will do our full part to bring this about."
Lyndon B. Johnson 1968
stateoftheunionhistory.com

LIFE

SCHOOL HISTORY

Lyndon B. Johnson

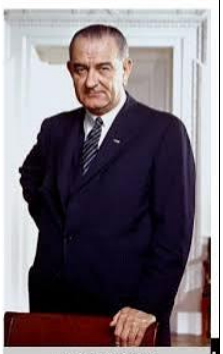
WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW

- Early Life
- Early Political Career
- Johnson's Presidency
- Life after Presidency

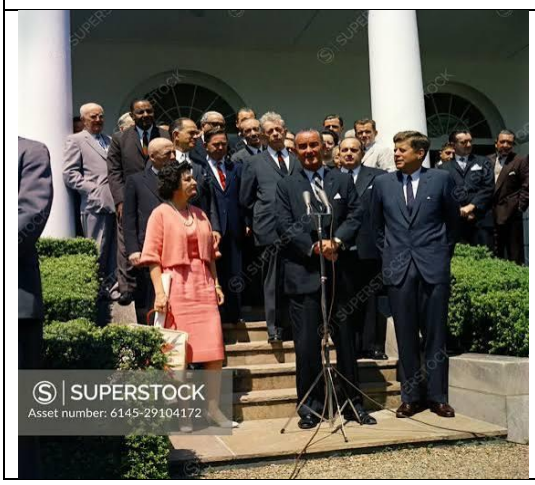
FACT FILE

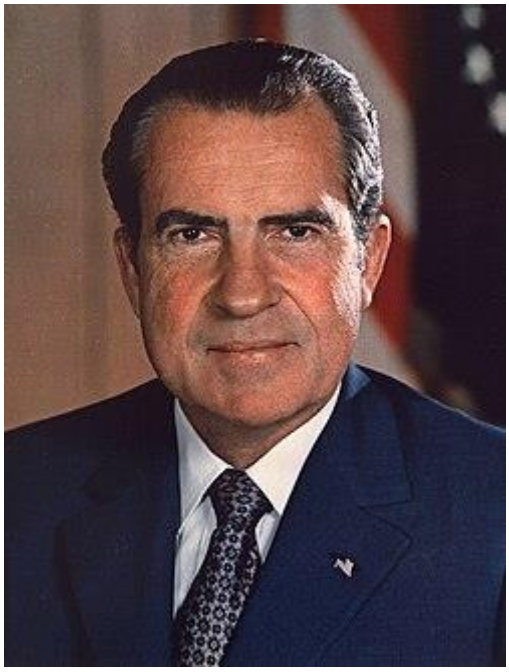
Let's find out more about Lyndon B. Johnson!

Lyndon B. Johnson was the 36th president of the United States (US) who succeeded after the assassination of John F. Kennedy (JFK). Believing that he needed to connect himself with the deceased president to build popular support for his bills, Johnson adopted some of JFK's stalled agenda, including the Civil Rights Act. His domestic policy, the Great Society, created programmes to expand civil rights, Medicare, Medicaid, education aid, urban and rural development, and public services. When he was granted the power to launch a full military campaign in Southeast Asia in 1964, this helped escalate American involvement in the Vietnam War.



Lyndon B. Johnson





Richard M. Nixon

37th President of the United States

[20 January 1969 <::> 9 August 1974]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/richard-m-nixon/

02] https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/president-nixon

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Richard-Nixon

04] The Rise and Fall of Richard Nixon | Full Documentary | American Experience PBS
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CIqOj0GCTvc [2:45:05]

Richard Nixon — one of the most controversial and enduring figures on the American political landscape — is the subject of this profile that traces the 37th president's life from his boyhood in Yorba Linda, California, through his resignation in the face of likely impeachment in 1974.

Featuring interviews with former presidential aides John Ehrlichman, Charles Colson, and John Dean, early campaign staffers Patrick Hillings and Ted Rogers, Nixon biographer and Kissinger aide Roger Morris, and more, NIXON explores the fateful combination of strengths and weaknesses that propelled him to the presidency and then brought him down.

Part One, "The Quest," (04:40) begins with the former president's farewell speech to his staff on his last day in office — August 9, 1974 — and moves back and forth in time between Nixon's youth in Yorba Linda, California, and his musings on his parents in that famous speech.

Part Two, "Triumph," (54:50) shows how Nixon emerged from political oblivion to gain the presidency in 1968. Against the background of the growing pressure of the antiwar movement, Nixon used the power of his office to reach for a bold vision of world peace — and to undermine those he believed were his political enemies.

Part Three, "The Fall," (1:52:45) documents the unravelling of Nixon's presidency, from his landslide victory in the election of 1972 to his departure from the White House less than two years later.

05] America's Biggest Political Scandal: The Full Nixon Story
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FizXJr2ZXbI [1:12:44]
Follow the tumultuous career of Richard Nixon, from his early political battles and the complexities of the Vietnam War to his groundbreaking diplomatic efforts with China, all leading up to the shocking Watergate scandal that ultimately forced his resignation and redefined the American political landscape, leaving a lasting impact on public trust.

(☺) @@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@ (☺)

Richard Nixon (born January 9, 1913, Yorba Linda, California, U.S.—died April 22, 1994, New York City, New York) was the 37th president of the United States (1969–74), who, faced with almost certain impeachment for his role in the Watergate scandal, became the first American president to resign from office. He was also vice president (1953–61) under Dwight D. Eisenhower

Watergate's legacy: How the scandal changed politics and journalism.

EARLY LIFE AND CONGRESSIONAL CAREER

Richard Nixon was the second of five children born to Frank Nixon, a service station owner, grocer, and Hannah Milhous Nixon, who was devout Quaker. Nixon graduated from Whittier College in California in 1934 and from Duke University School of Law in Durham, North Carolina, in 1937. Returning to Whittier to practice law, he met Thelma Catherine ("Pat") Ryan, a teacher and amateur actress, after they were cast in the same play at a local community theater. The couple married in 1940.

Whittaker Chambers testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948.

In August 1942, after a brief stint in the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D.C., Nixon joined the navy, serving as a naval officer in the Pacific and rising to the rank of lieutenant commander. Following his return to civilian life in 1946, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, defeating three-term liberal Democratic Congressman Jerry Voorhis in a campaign that relied heavily on innuendo about Voorhis's alleged communist sympathies. Running for reelection in 1948, Nixon entered and won both the Democratic and Republican primaries, which enabled him to participate in the general election. As a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1948, he took a leading role in the investigation of Alger Hiss, a former State Department official accused of spying for the Soviet Union. Dramatic testimony before the committee by Whittaker Chambers, a journalist and former spy, claimed that in 1937 Hiss had given him classified State Department papers for transm

to a Soviet agent. His vehemently denied the charge but was later convicted of [illegible] hostile questioning of Hiss during the committee hearings did much to make his national reputation as a fervent anticommunist.

• *Who survives a political scandal?*

In 1950 Nixon successfully ran for United States Senate against Democratic Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas. After his campaign distributed "pink sheets" comparing Douglas's voting re to that of Vito Marcantonio, a left-wing representative from New York, the *Independent Review*, a small Southern California newspaper, nicknamed him "Tricky Dick." The epithet later beca favorite among Nixon's opponents

At a glance: the Nixon presidency

Vice Presidency

Richard Nixon and Dwight D. Eisenhower Dwight D. Eisenhower (center), the Republican Party nominee for U.S. president, with running mate Richard Nixon (left, holding child) at campaign headquarters in Washington, D.C., September 10, 1952.

At the Republican convention 1952 Nixon won nomination as vice president on a ticket with Dwight D. Eisenhower, largely because of his anticommunist credentials but also because Republicans thought he could draw valuable support in the West. In the midst of the camp the *New York Post* reported that Nixon had been maintaining a secret "slush fund" provided b contributions from a group of southern Californian businessmen. Eisenhower was willing to give Nixon a chance to clear himself but emphasized that Nixon needed to emerge from the cri

clear as a bell." On September 23, 1952, Nixon delivered a nationally televised address, the so-called "Checkers" speech, in which he acknowledged the existence of the fund but denied that any of it had been improperly used. To demonstrate that he had not enriched himself in office, he listed his family's financial assets and liabilities in detail, noting that his wife, Pat, unlike the wives of many Democratic politicians, did not own a fur coat but "a respectable Republican cloth coat." The speech is perhaps best remembered for its maudlin conclusion, in which Nixon admitted accepting a gift—a cocker spaniel that his six-year-old daughter, Tricia, had named Checkers. "Regardless of what they say about it," declared, "we are going to keep it." Although Nixon initially thought that the speech had been a failure, the public responded favorably, and Eisenhower told him, "You're my boy." The Eisenhower-Nixon ticket defeated the Democratic candidates, Adlai E. Stevenson and John Sparkman, with just under 34 million popular votes to their 27 million; the vote in the electoral college was 442 to 89.

Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard Nixon at the 1956 Republican convention Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) and Richard M. Nixon after being renominated at the 1956 Republican National Convention in San Francisco.

Richard M. Nixon and Pat Nixon U.S. Vice Pres. Richard M. Nixon and his wife, Pat Nixon, receiving flowers from a young girl during a visit to South Korea in 1953.

During his two terms as vice president, Nixon campaigned actively for Republican candida
otherwise did not assume significant responsibilities. (Asked at a press conference to desc
Nixon's contributions to administration policies, Eisenhower replied, "If you give me a week, I
might think of one.") Nevertheless, his performance in office helped to make the role of vi
president more prominent and its constitutional importance. In 1955–57 Eisenhower
suffered a series of serious illnesses, including a heart attack, an attack of ileitis, and a stroke
While Eisenhower was incapacitated, Nixon was called in to chair several cabinet sessions
and National Security Council meetings, though real power in the circle of Eisenhower
advisers, from which Nixon was always excluded, remained unchanged. After his stroke, Eisenhower forma
agreement with Nixon on the powers and responsibilities of the vice president in the event of
presidential disability; the agreement was accepted by the administration until the adop
the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1967. Nixon's vice presidency was also
noteworthy for his many publicized trips abroad, including a 1953 tour of Latin America
trip that journalist Walter Lippmann termed a "diplomatic Pearl Harbor," during which his car
was stoned, spat upon, and spat upon by anti-American protesters, and a 1959 visit to the Soviet
Union, highlighted by impromptu profanity-filled "kitchen debate" in Moscow with Soviet
Premier Nikita Khrushchev

Election of 1960

Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy in presidential debate

Richard Nixon (left) and John F. Kennedy during a live television broadcast of their fourth presidential debate, New York City, 1960.

Nixon received his party's presidential nomination and was opposed in the 1960 general election by Democrat John F. Kennedy. The campaign was memorable for an unprecedented series of four televised debates between the two candidates. Although Nixon performed well rhetorically, Kennedy managed to convey a more appealing image of youthfulness, energy, and physical poise, which convinced many that he had won the debates. In the close presidential contest since Grover Cleveland defeated James G. Blaine in 1884, Nixon lost to Kennedy by fewer than 120,000 popular votes. Irregularities in Illinois and Texas, many observers questioned whether Kennedy had legally won those states, and some Republicans—including Eisenhower—urged Nixon to contest the results. He refused, however, declaring that

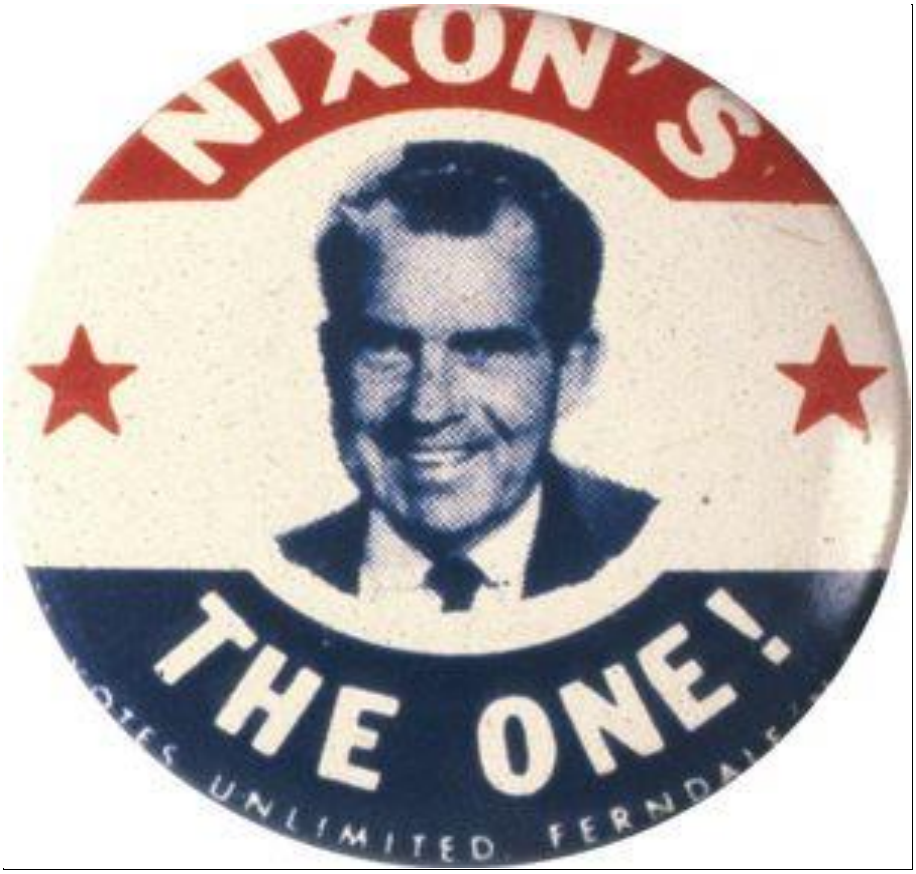
I could think of no worse example for nations abroad, who for the first time were trying to put free electoral procedures into effect, than that of the United States wrangling over the results of our presidential election, and even suggesting that the presidency itself could be stolen by thievery at the ballot box.

Nixon's supporters and critics alike, both then and later, praised him for the dignity and unselfishness with which he had accepted defeat despite the suspicion that could have cost him the presidency.

Nixon then retired to private life in California, where he wrote a best-selling book, *Six Crises* (1962). In 1962 he ran for governor of California but lost to incumbent Democrat Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown in a memorable post-election news conference he announced his retirement from politics and attacked the press, declaring that they would not "have Dick Nixon to kick around anymore." He moved to New York City to practice law and over the next few years built a reputation as an expert in foreign affairs and a leader who could appeal to both moderate and conservative wings of his party.

Read about five great political comebacks, including Richard Nixon's.

PRESIDENCY



Richard M. Nixon campaign button Button from Richard M. Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign.

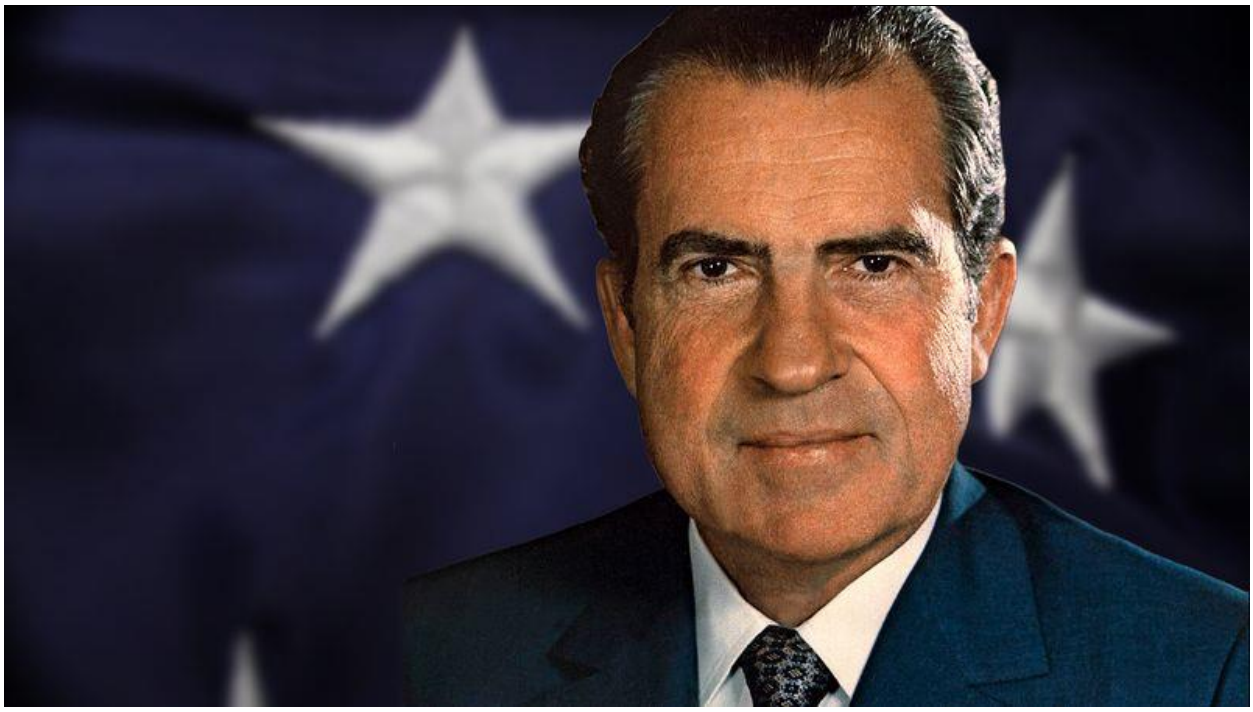
Richard M. Nixon campaign bumper sticker Bumper sticker with the slogan "Nixon's the One!" for Richard M. Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign.

Richard M. Nixon and Gerald Ford Richard M. Nixon (right) accepting the Republican Party's U.S. presidential nomination in 1968. At left is Gerald Ford, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives.

Nixon won the Republican nomination for president in 1968 by putting together a coalition that included Southern conservatives led by Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. As part of his campaign "Southern strategy," Nixon garnered Southern support by promising to appoint "strict constructionists" to the federal judiciary, to name a Southerner to the Supreme Court, to court-order busing and to choose a vice presidential candidate acceptable to the South. With Maryland Gov. Spiro Agnew as his running mate, Nixon campaigned against Hubert H. Humphrey and third-party candidate George Wallace on a vague platform promising an honorable peace in Vietnam. Nixon said that he had a "secret plan" to end the Vietnam of law and order in the cities, a crackdown on illegal drugs, and an draft. Humphrey, who as Lyndon B. Johnson's vice president was heavily burdened by the latter's unpopular Vietnam policies, called for an end to the bombing of North Vietnam as "an acceptable risk for peace." Johnson himself halted the bombing on October 31, less than one week before the election, in preparation for direct negotiations with Hanoi. Had he taken this step earlier, Humphrey might have won the election, as polls showed him gaining rapidly on Nixon in the final days of the campaign. Nixon won the election by a narrow margin, 31.7 million popular votes to Humphrey's nearly 30.9 million, electoral votes was 301 to 191.

Domestic Policies

Richard M. Nixon U.S. Pres. Richard M. Nixon, 1970.



Richard Nixon and the Watergate scanda lAn overview of Richard Nixon.

Richard M. Nixon's first inaugural address U.S. Pres. Richard M. Nixon delivering his first inaugural address, January 20, 1969.

Despite expectations from some observers that Nixon would be a "do-nothing" president, his administration undertook a number of important reforms in welfare policy, civil rights, law enforcement, the environment, and other areas. Nixon's proposed Family Assistance Program

(FAP), intended to replace the existing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), would have provided working and nonworking poor families with a guaranteed annual income through Nixon preferred to call it a "negative income tax." Although the measure was defeated in the Senate, it is fair to be helped to separate incremental legislation incorporating similar ideas—such as Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which provided a guaranteed income to elderly, the blind, and the disabled, and cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs) for Social Security recipients—and it also promoted the expansion and improvement of existing programs such as food stamps and health insurance for low-income families. In the area of civil rights, Nixon's administration instituted "set aside" policies to reserve a certain percentage of jobs for minorities on federally funded construction projects—the first "affirmative action" program. Although Nixon opposed school busing and delayed desegregation until federal court orders forced his hand, his administration drastically reduced the percentage of African American students attending all-black schools. In addition, funding for many federal civil rights agencies, in particular the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), was substantially increased while Nixon was in office in response to pressure from consumer and environmental groups. Nixon proposed legislation to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). His revenue-sharing program, called "New Federalism," provided state and local governments with billions of tax dollars.

Richard Nixon U.S. Pres. Richard Nixon.

Prior to 1973 the most important of Nixon's domestic problems was the economy. In order to [illegible] inflation he initially tried to restrict federal spending, but beginning in 1971 his budget proposal contained deficits of several billion dollars, the largest in American history up to that time. Nixon's New Economic Policy, announced in August 1971 in response to continuing inflation, increasing unemployment, and a deteriorating trade deficit, included an 8 percent devaluation of the dollar, new surcharges on imports, and unprecedented peacetime controls on wages and prices. These policies produced temporary improvements in the economy by the end of 1972, but, once price and wage controls were lifted, inflation returned with vengeance, reaching 8.8 percent in 1973 and 12.2 percent in 1974.

Foreign affairs

Vietnam War

Examine President Nixon's threefold plan to unilaterally de-escalate the Vietnam War
While conducting negotiations with North Vietnam, U.S. President Richard M. Nixon began a program of "de-escalation," or reduction of U.S. combat forces, and of "Vietnamization," or development of South Vietnam's ability to wage war on its own. From *Vietnam Perspective* (1985), a documentary by Encyclopædia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Aiming to achieve "peace with honor" in the Vietnam War, Nixon gradually reduced the number of U.S. military personnel in Vietnam. Under his policy of "Vietnamization," combat troops were transferred to South Vietnamese troops, who nevertheless remained heavily dependent on American supplies and air support. At the same time, however, Nixon resumed the bombing of North Vietnam (suspended by President Johnson in October 1968) and expanded the air and ground war to neighboring Cambodia and Laos. In the spring of 1970, U.S. and South Vietnamese forces attacked North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia, which prompted widespread protests in the United States, one of these demonstrations at Kent State University on May 4, 1970 ended tragically when soldiers of the Ohio National Guard fired into a crowd of about 2,000 protesters, killing four and wounding nine.

After intensive negotiations between National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Le Duc Tho, the two sides reached an agreement in October 1972, and Kissinger announced, "Peace is at hand." But the South Vietnamese objected to the terms, and

agreement quickly broke down. An 11-day bombing campaign of the North Vietnamese cities in December (the "Christmas bombings") was followed by more negotiations and a new agreement was finally reached in January 1973. It included an immediate cease-fire, the withdrawal of all American military personnel, the release of all prisoners of war, and an international force to keep the peace. For their work on this accord, Kissinger and Le Duc Tho were awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace (though Le Duc Tho refused the honor).

China and the Soviet Union

Richard M. Nixon and Zhou Enlai U.S. Pres. Richard M. Nixon (left) with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, Beijing, 1972.

Nixon's most significant achievement in foreign affairs may have been the establishment of relations with the People's Republic of China after a 21-year estrangement. Following a series of low-level diplomatic contacts in 1970 and the lifting of U.S. trade and travel restrictions the following year, the Chinese indicated that they would welcome a high-level visit. Nixon sent his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, to China for secret talks. The thaw in relations became apparent with the "ping-pong diplomacy" conducted by American and Chinese table tennis teams in reciprocal visits in 1971–72. Nixon's visit to China in February 1972, the first by an American president while in office, concluded with the Shanghai Communiqué, in which the United States formally recognized the "One China" principle that there is only one China, and that Taiwan is part of China.

The rapprochement with China, undertaken in part to take advantage of Sovietowing Sino rift in the late 1960s, gave Nixon more leverage in his dealings with the Soviet Union. By 1971 the Soviets were more amenable to improved relations with the United States, and in May 1972 Nix paid a state visit to Moscow to sign 10 formal agreements, the most important of which w nuclear arms limitation treaties known as SALT (based on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks conducted between the United States and the Soviet Union beginning in 1969) and a memorandum, the Basic Principles of Soviet Relations, summarizing the new relationship between the two countries in the nature of détente

The Middle East and Latin America

Nixon was less successful in the Middle East, where his administration's comprehensive plan for peace, the Rogers Plan (named for Nixon's first secretary of state, William Rogers), was rejected by both Israel and the Soviet Union. After the 1973 Arab Israeli war (the "Yom Kippur War"), Kissinger's back-and-forth visits between the Arab states and Israel (dubbed "shuttle diploma helped to broker disengagement agreements but did little to improve U.S. relations with t

Fearing communist revolution in Latin America, the Nixon administration helped to under the coalition government of Chile's Marxist Salvador Allende, elected in 1970. After Allende nationalized American-owned mining companies, the administration restricted Chile's access t international economic assistance and discouraged private investment, increased aid to th Chilean military, cultivated secret contacts with Allende police and military officials, and undertook various other destabilizing measures, including funneling millions of dollars in c payments to Chilean opposition groups. In September 1973 Allende was overthro a military coup led by army commander in chief Augusto Pinochet

WATERGATE AND OTHER SCANDALS

Watergate scandal White House reporters watching the televised Watergate address by U.S. Pres. Richard M. Nixon on April 30, 1973.

Renominated with Agnew, Nixon defeated his Democratic challenger, Liberal Sen. George S. McGovern, in one of the largest landslide victories in the history of American presidential elections: 46.7 million to 28.9 million in the popular vote and 520 to 17 in the electoral vote. In the his resounding victory, Nixon would soon be forced to resign in the worst political scandal in United States history.

(What U.S. presidents have been impeached? Hint: Nixon isn't on the list.)

The Watergate scandal stemmed from illegal activities by Nixon and his aides related to the burglary and wiretapping of the national headquarters of the Democratic Party at the Watergate office complex in Washington, D.C., eventually encompassing allegations of other closely related crimes committed both before and after the Watergate. The five men involved in the burglary, who were hired by the Republican Party's Committee to Re-elect the President (four of the five had been recruited by former CIA operative E. Howard Hunt) were arrested and charged on June 17, 1972. In the days following the arrests, Nixon secretly directed White House counsel John Dean to oversee a cover-up to conceal the administration's involvement. Nixon also obstructed Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in its inquiry and authorized secret cash payments to the Watergate burglars in an effort to prevent them from implicating the administration.

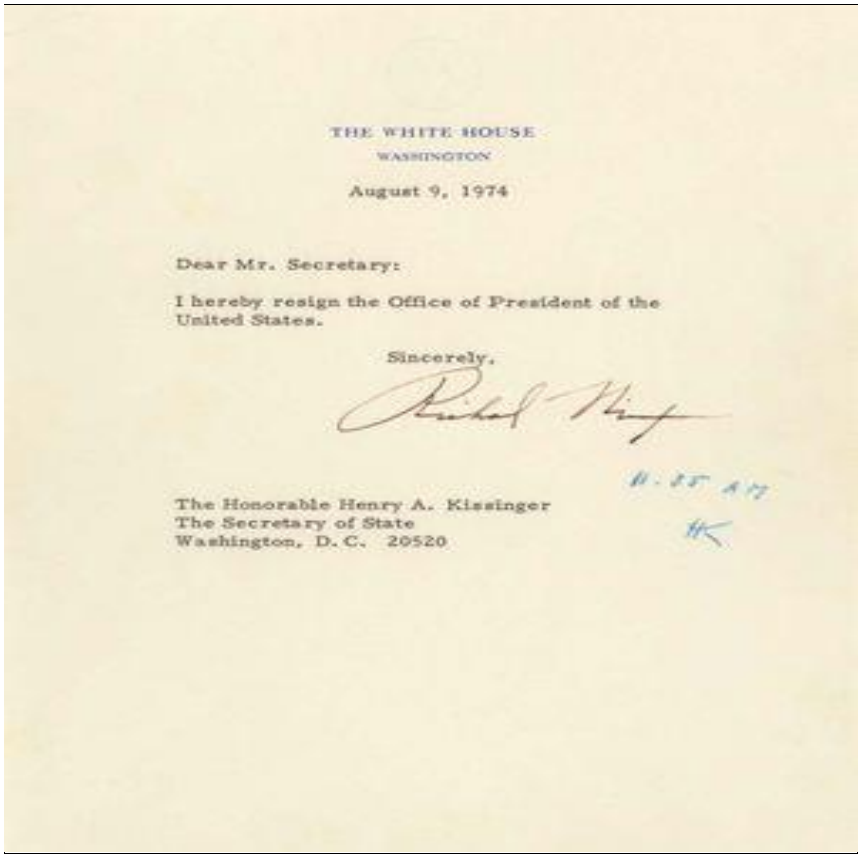
Several major newspapers investigated the possible involvement of the White House in the burglary. Leading the pack was *The Washington Post* and its two hungry newshounds, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, whose stories were based largely on information from an unnamed source called "Deep Throat." The mysterious identity of Deep Throat became a news story in its own right and led to decades of speculation. Mark Felt, a top-ranking FBI official at the time of the investigation, revealed himself as the informant in 2005. In February 1973 a special Senate committee, the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, chaired by Sen. Ervin was established to look into the Watergate affair. In televised committee hearings, Dean accused the president of involvement in the cover-up, and others testified to illegal activities by the administration and the campaign staff, including the use of federal agencies to harass perceived enemies (many of whose names appeared on an "enemies" politicians, journalists, entertainers, academics, and others) and acts of politically inspired espionage. The special White House investigative unit, known as the "plumbers" because they investigated leaks.

In July the committee learned that in 1969 Nixon had installed a recording system in the White House and that all the president's conversations in the Oval Office had been recorded. When the tapes were subpoenaed by Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor appointed to investigate the Watergate affair, Nixon refused to comply, offering to provide summary transcripts instead. Cox rejected the offer. Then, in a series of episodes that came to be known as Saturday Night Massacre, Nixon ordered Attorney Gen. Elliot Richardson to fire Cox, and Richardson resigned rather than comply. Nixon then fired Richardson's assistant, William Ruckelshaus, when he refused to fire Cox. Cox was finally removed by Solicitor Robert Bork, though a federal district court subsequently ruled the action illegal.

Richard M. Nixon and the Watergate scandal U.S. Pres. Richard M. Nixon announcing that he would release tapes of White House conversations regarding the Watergate scandal, November 17, 1973.

Amid calls for his impeachment, Nixon agreed to the appointment of another special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, and promised that he would not fire him without congressional consent. After protesting in a news conference that "I am not a crook," Nixon released sev the nine tapes requested by Cox, one of which contained a suspicious gap-half 8 and one minutes. Although damning, the tapes did not contain the "smoking gun" that would prove president himself ordered the break-in or attempted to obstruct justice. Jaworski later subpoenaed 64 tapes that Nixon continued to withhold on grounds of "executive privilege July 1974 the Supreme Court unanimously that Nixon's claim of executive privilege were invalid. By that time the House Judiciary Committee had already voted to recommend thre of impeachment, relating to obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and failure to comply w congressional subpoenas. On August 5, in compliance with the Supreme Court's ruling, Nixon submitted transcripts of a conversation taped on June 23, 1972, in which he discussed a pl use the Central Intelligence Agency to block the FBI's investigation of the Watergate break smoking gun had finally been found.

What if Richard Nixon hadn't resigned? Learn more about U.S. Pres. Richard Nixon's resignation and the circumstances surrounding it.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1974

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I hereby resign the Office of President of the United States.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger
The Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Nixon resigns Richard M. Nixon's presidential resignation letter, August 9, 1974.

Faced with the certain prospect of impeachment by the Houseand conviction in the Senate, Nixon announced his resignation on the evening of August 8, 1974, effective at noon the n He was succeeded by Gerald Ford, whom he had appointed vice president in 1973 after Agnew resigned his office and charges of having committed bribery, extortion, and tax evasion during his tenure as governor of Maryland. Nixon was pardoned by President Ford on September 8, 1974.

Retirement and death

Jimmy Carter, Richard M. Nixon, and Deng Xiaoping U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter (left), former U.S. president Richard M. Nixon (center), and Chinese Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping (far right) in Washington, D.C., January 29, 1979.

Nixon retired with his wife to the seclusion of San Clemente, California. He wrote *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (1978) and several books on international affairs and American foreign policy, modestly rehabilitating his public reputation and earning a role as an elder statesman and foreign-policy expert. Nixon spent his last years campaigning for American political support and financial aid for Russia and the other former Soviet dependencies. Ni a massive stroke in April 1994, 10 months after his wife's death. In ceremonies after his death, Pres. Bill Clinton and other dignitaries praised him for his diplomatic achievements. He was buried beside his wife at his birthplace.

Cabinet of President Nixon

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Richard Nixon.

Cabinet of President Richard M. Nixon

January 20, 1969–January 20, 1973 (Term 1)	
State	William Pierce Rogers
Treasury	David Matthew Kennedy
	John Bowden Connally, Jr. (from February 11, 1971)
	George Pratt Shultz (from June 12, 1972)
Defense	Melvin Robert Laird
Attorney General	John Newton Mitchell
	Richard Gordon Kleindienst (from June 12, 1972)
Interior	Walter Joseph Hickel
	Rogers Clark Ballard Morton (from January 29, 1971)
Agriculture	Clifford Morris Hardin
	Earl Lauer Butz (from December 2, 1971)
Commerce	Maurice Hubert Stans

Cabinet of President Richard M. Nixon	
January 20, 1969–January 20, 1973 (Term 1)	
	Peter George Peterson (from February 21, 1972)
Labor	George Pratt Shultz
	James Day Hodgson (from July 2, 1970)
Health, Education, and Welfare	Robert Hutchinson Finch
	Elliot Lee Richardson (from June 24, 1970)
Housing and Urban Development	George Wilcken Romney
Transportation	John Anthony Volpe
January 20, 1973–August 9, 1974 (Term 2)	
State	William Pierce Rogers
	Henry A. Kissinger (from September 22, 1973)
Treasury	George Pratt Shultz
	William Edward Simon (from May 8, 1974)
Defense	Elliot Lee Richardson
	James Rodney Schlesinger (from July 2, 1973)

Cabinet of President Richard M. Nixon	
January 20, 1969–January 20, 1973 (Term 1)	
Attorney General	Richard Gordon Kleindienst
	Elliot Lee Richardson (from May 25, 1973)
	William Bart Saxbe (from January 4, 1974)
Interior	Rogers Clark Ballard Morton
Agriculture	Earl Lauer Butz
Commerce	Frederick Baily Dent
Labor	Peter Joseph Brennan
Health, Education, and Welfare	Caspar Willard Weinberger
Housing and Urban Development	James Thomas Lynn
Transportation	Claude Stout Brinegar

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Timeline of the Watergate scandal

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Watergate_scandal

The Watergate scandal refers to the burglary and illegal wiretapping of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, in the Watergate complex by

members of President Richard Nixon's re-election campaign, and the subsequent cover-up of the break-in resulting in Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974, as well as other abuses of power by the Nixon White House that were discovered during the course of the scandal.

1960s

- November 5, 1968: Richard Nixon elected President.[1]
- January 20, 1969: Richard Nixon is inaugurated as the 37th President of the United States.

1970s

- July 1, 1971: David Young and Egil "Bud" Krogh write a memo suggesting the formation of what later became the "White House Plumbers" in response to the leak of the *Pentagon Papers* by Daniel Ellsberg, after *The New York Times* began publishing excerpts on June 13, 1971.[2]
- August 21, 1971: Nixon's Enemies List is started by White House aides (though Nixon himself may not have been aware of it); to "use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies."[3]
- September 3, 1971: "White House Plumbers" E. Howard Hunt, G. Gordon Liddy, and others break into the offices of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist Lewis Fielding looking for material that might discredit Ellsberg, under the direction of John Ehrlichman or his staff within the White House. This was the Plumbers' first major operation.[4]
- By early 1972, the Plumbers, at this stage assigned to the Committee to Re-Elect the President (abbreviated **CRP**, but often mocked by the acronym **CREEP**[5]), had become frustrated at the lack of additional assignments they were being asked to perform, and that any plans and proposals they suggested were being rejected by CRP. Liddy and Hunt took their complaints to the White House – most likely to Charles Colson – and requested that the White House start putting pressure on CRP to assign them new operations. It is likely that both Colson and White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman did so, starting the chain of events that led to the Watergate break-ins a few months later. This narrative was confirmed in the famous "Cancer on the Presidency" conversation between Nixon and White House Counsel John Dean on March 21, 1973.[6]
- May 2, 1972: J. Edgar Hoover dies; L. Patrick Gray is appointed acting FBI director.[7] Associate Director Mark Felt (Deep Throat) is passed over.
- May 28, 1972: Liddy's team breaks into DNC Headquarters at the Watergate complex for the first time, bugging the telephones of staffers.[8]
- June 17, 1972: The plumbers are arrested at 2:30 a.m. in the process of burgling and planting surveillance bugs in the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate Building Complex.
- June 19, 1972: Despite efforts by Steve King, Martha Mitchell acquires a copy of the Los Angeles Times, and recognizes the name of one of the Watergate burglars, James W. McCord Jr., security director of the CRP.[9]

- June 20, 1972: Reportedly based on a tip from Deep Throat (associate director of the FBI Mark Felt), Bob Woodward reports in *The Washington Post* that one of the burglars had E. Howard Hunt in his address book and possessed checks signed by Hunt, and that Hunt was connected to Charles Colson. On the same day, Nixon and Haldeman have a conversation that is recorded by the White House taping system. Eighteen and a half minutes of this conversation will later be erased.[10]
- June 23, 1972: In the Oval Office, H.R. Haldeman recommends to President Nixon that they attempt to shut down the FBI investigation of the Watergate break-in, by having CIA Director Richard Helms and Deputy Director Vernon A. Walters tell acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray to, "Stay the hell out of this". Haldeman expects Gray will then seek and take advice from Deputy FBI Director Mark Felt, and Felt will obey direction from the White House out of ambition. Nixon agrees and gives the order.[11] The conversation is recorded.
- September 15, 1972: Hunt, Liddy, and the Watergate burglars are indicted by a federal grand jury.
- November 7, 1972: Nixon re-elected, defeating George McGovern with the largest plurality of votes in American history.
- January 8, 1973: Five defendants plead guilty as the burglary trial begins. Liddy and James W. McCord Jr. are convicted after the trial.
- January 20, 1973: Nixon is inaugurated for his second term.
- February 28, 1973: Confirmation hearings begin for confirming L. Patrick Gray as permanent Director of the FBI. During these hearings, Gray reveals that he had complied with an order from John Dean to provide daily updates on the Watergate investigation, and also that Dean had "probably lied" to FBI investigators.
- March 17, 1973: Watergate burglar McCord writes a letter to Judge John Sirica, claiming that some of his testimony was perjured under pressure and that the burglary was not a CIA operation, but had involved other government officials, thereby leading the investigation to the White House.
- March 21, 1973: Dean tells Nixon there is a "cancer" on the presidency.
- March 23, 1973: The McCord letter is made public by Judge Sirica in open court at McCord's sentencing hearing.
- April 6, 1973: White House counsel John Dean begins cooperating with federal Watergate prosecutors.
- April 27, 1973: L. Patrick Gray resigns after it comes to light that he destroyed files from E. Howard Hunt's safe. William Ruckelshaus is appointed as his replacement.
- April 30, 1973: Senior White House administration officials Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Richard Kleindienst resign, and John Dean is fired.
- May 17, 1973: The Senate Watergate Committee begins its nationally televised hearings.
- May 19, 1973: Independent special prosecutor Archibald Cox appointed to oversee investigation into possible presidential impropriety.

- June 3, 1973: John Dean tells Watergate investigators that he has discussed the cover-up with Nixon at least 35 times, a claim which was proven to be false in a call between President Nixon and Ronald Ziegler [12][13] and with Charles Colson [14]
- July 13, 1973: Alexander Butterfield, former presidential appointments secretary, reveals that all conversations and telephone calls in Nixon's office have been taped since 1971.
- July 18, 1973: Nixon orders White House taping systems disconnected.
- July 23, 1973: Nixon refuses to turn over presidential tapes to the Senate Watergate Committee or the special prosecutor.
- Vice President replaced:
    - October 10, 1973: Spiro Agnew resigns as Vice President of the United States due to corruption while he was the governor of Maryland.
    - October 12, 1973: Gerald Ford is nominated as vice president under the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.
- October 20, 1973: "Saturday Night Massacre" – Nixon orders Elliot Richardson and Ruckelshaus to fire special prosecutor Cox. They both refuse to comply and resign. Robert Bork considers resigning but carries out the order.
- November 1, 1973: Leon Jaworski is appointed new special prosecutor.
- November 17, 1973: Nixon delivers "I am not a crook" speech at a televised press conference at Disney World in Orlando, Florida.
    - November 27, 1973: the Senate votes 92 to 3 to confirm Ford as vice president.
    - December 6, 1973: the House votes 387 to 35 to confirm Ford as vice president, and he takes the oath of office an hour after the vote.
- January 28, 1974: Nixon campaign aide Herbert Porter pleads guilty to perjury.
- February 25, 1974: Nixon personal counsel Herbert Kalmbach pleads guilty to two charges of illegal campaign activities.
- March 1, 1974: In an indictment against seven former presidential aides, delivered to Judge Sirica together with a sealed briefcase intended for the House Committee on the Judiciary, Nixon is named as an unindicted co-conspirator.
- March 4, 1974: The "Watergate Seven" (Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Colson, Gordon C. Strachan, Robert Mardian, and Kenneth Parkinson) are formally indicted.
- March 18, 1974: Judge Sirica orders the grand jury's sealed report to be sent to the House Committee on the Judiciary.
- April 5, 1974: Dwight Chapin convicted of lying to a grand jury.
- April 7, 1974: Ed Reinecke, Republican lieutenant governor of California, indicted on three charges of perjury before the Senate committee.

- April 16, 1974: Special Prosecutor Jaworski issues a subpoena for 64 White House tapes.
- April 30, 1974: White House releases edited transcripts of the Nixon tapes, but the House Judiciary Committee insists the actual tapes must be turned over.
- May 9, 1974: Impeachment hearings begin before the House Judiciary Committee.
- June 15, 1974: Woodward and Bernstein's book *All the President's Men* is published by Simon & Schuster (ISBN 0-671-21781-X).
- July 8, 1974: The United States Supreme Court hears oral argument in *United States v. Nixon*.
- July 24, 1974: *United States v. Nixon* decided: in a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court orders Nixon to release his Oval Office tapes to investigators.
- Congress moves to impeach Nixon.
    - July 27 to July 30, 1974: House Judiciary Committee passes Articles of Impeachment.
    - Early August 1974: A previously unknown tape from June 23, 1972 (recorded a few days after the break-in) documenting Nixon and Haldeman formulating a plan to block investigations is released. This recording later became known as the "Smoking Gun".
    - The House Republicans who opposed impeachment in committee now say they will vote to impeach Nixon on the House floor.
- August 7, 1974: Key congressional Republicans Sen. Barry Goldwater, House Republican Leader John Jacob Rhodes and Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott tell Nixon that there are enough votes to impeach him in the House and convict him in the Senate. That evening, Nixon finalizes decision to resign.
- August 8, 1974: Nixon delivers his resignation speech before a nationally televised audience.
- August 9, 1974: Nixon resigns from office and Ford becomes president.
- September 8, 1974: President Ford ends the investigations by granting Nixon a pardon.
- October 17, 1974: Ford testifies before Congress on the pardon, the first sitting president to testify before Congress since President Lincoln.
- November 7, 1974: 94th Congress elected: Democratic Party picks up 5 Senate seats and 49 House seats. Many of the freshman congressmen are very young; the media dubs them "Watergate Babies".
- December 31, 1974: As a result of Nixon administration abuses of privacy, Privacy Act of 1974 passes into law.
- January 1, 1975: John N. Mitchell, John Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman convicted of conspiracy, obstruction of justice and perjury.
- July 27, 1975: Church Committee, chaired by Frank Church, commences to investigate foreign and domestic intelligence-gathering activities.

- November 4, 1975: Ford replaces several Nixon cabinet members in the "Halloween Massacre", engineered by Ford aide Donald Rumsfeld. Richard Cheney, George H. W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft join the Ford administration; Rumsfeld becomes Secretary of Defense; Henry Kissinger remains as Secretary of State but not National Security Advisor.
- May 5, 1976: Church Committee superseded by Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.
- November 2, 1976: Ford is defeated in the United States presidential election by Jimmy Carter.
- January 20, 1977: Jimmy Carter is inaugurated as the 39th President of The United States.
- May 4, 1977: Nixon gives his first major interview about Watergate with British TV journalist David Frost.
- May 15, 1978: Nixon publishes RN: the Memoirs of Richard Nixon, giving more of his side of the Watergate saga.
- October 25, 1978: Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act enacted, creating Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court and limiting federal government domestic surveillance powers. Recommended by Church Committee.

1990s

- May, 1990: Publication of *Wars of Watergate* by Stanley Kutler, often cited as the definitive history of the Watergate Scandal.[15]
- January, 1992: Publication of *Silent Coup* by journalists Len Colodny and Robert Gettlin, blaming Watergate burglary on John Dean who wanted to cover up involvement of his fiancée with a call-girl ring. Book endorsed by Liddy in his first major statement about Watergate case, prompting Dean to sue Liddy, Colodny and Gettlin for defamation. Dean's case was dismissed and settled out of court; DNC secretary Ida "Maxine" Wells, also implicated by Liddy in call-girl cover-up, sued for defamation but jury in that case deadlocked and the judge dismissed the case in 2001.[16] The book, often dismissed as a revisionist, pro-Nixon apology or conspiracy theory, was also endorsed by Roger Stone.[17]
- April 22, 1994: Richard Nixon dies aged 81, after suffering a stroke. In keeping with his own wishes, he was not given a state funeral, though his funeral service five days later was a high-profile affair, attended by all five living U.S. Presidents and a host of other VIPs.

2000s

- May 31, 2005: W. Mark Felt, former Associate Director of the FBI during the Watergate years, declares that he is Deep Throat.[18] This declaration was later confirmed by reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, although it was disputed by some writers.[19][20]

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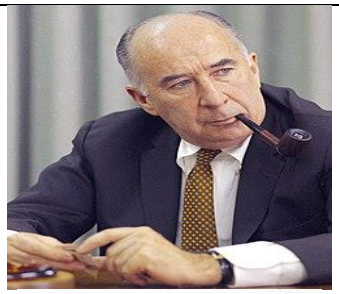
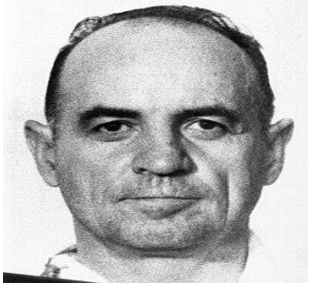
A view of the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., with the Howard Johnson's motel to the left, with legal notation from the trial of the White House Plumbers

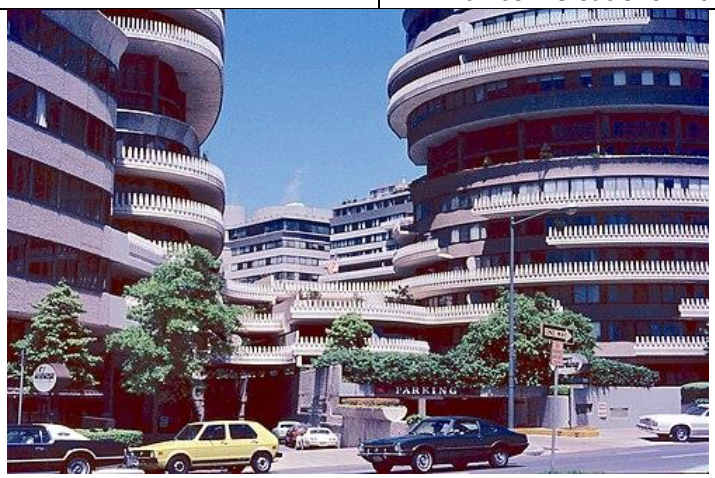




Attorney General John Mitchell (left) resigned to lead the CRP, which also hired former CIA officer James McCord (right) as its head of security.

Nixon giving his staple V sign in Pennsylvania during his 1968 campaign[1]

A Sony tape-recorder used by Nixon to record all conversations in the Oval Office



The Watergate Complex and its parking garage entrance (pictured 1982), through which the Plumbers first broke into the Democratic National Committee office on May 28, 1972

Chapstick radio microphones discovered in E. Howard Hunt's White House safe after the burglary

Washington Post reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, 2024

After the burglary, Martha Mitchell was kidnapped and sedated.

Following the death of E. Howard Hunt's wife Dorothy on United Air Lines Flight 553, Bay of Pigs invasion leader Manuel Artime (seen far left with President Kennedy in 1962) dispersed the hush money.

Jack Caulfield thrice met with James McCord alongside the George Washington Parkway to dissuade him from cooperating with prosecutors.

Attorney General Elliot Richardson (right)—seen with Senator John Stennis (left)—resigned when ordered by Nixon to fire Special Prosecutor Cox.

Nixon's secretary Rose Mary Woods demonstrating the implausible "Rose Mary Stretch" that the White House said erased the 18½ minute gap

President Nixon announcing the release of edited transcripts, April 29, 1974

First day of impeachment proceedings, May 9, 1974

Following an August 7 meeting with Senate minority leader Hugh Scott, Senator Barry Goldwater, and House minority leader John Rhodes (pictured left), Nixon decided to resign. He left the White House on August 9 (right).

President Ford announcing his pardon of Nixon on September 8, 1974

The Watergate Complex in September, 2025

Gerald Ford

38th President of the United States

[9 August 1974 <::> 20 January 1977]

Please visit:

01] https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/the-fords/gerald-ford/biography

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/gerald-r-ford/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gerald-Ford

04] The White House 1600 Sessions: An Ordinary Man: President Gerald R. Ford
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5_IAks6cW00 [58:56]

05] Gerald Ford Interview: His Greatest Achievement and Disappointment in Office
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7H4hgZOS-zU [56:45]

Gerald Ford (born July 14, 1913, Omaha, Nebraska, U.S.—died December 26, 2006, Rancho Mirage, California) was the 38th president of the United States (1974–77), who, as 40th vice president, had succeeded to the presidency on the resignation of President Richard Nixon, under the process decreed by the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution, and thereby became the country's only chief executive who had not been elected either president or vice president.

Early life

Gerald Ford: football at the University of Michigan
Gerald Ford as a member of the University of Michigan's football team, 1933.

Betty Ford First lady Betty Ford, 1974.

While Gerald Ford was still an infant, his parents were divorced, and his mother moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan, where she married Gerald R. Ford, Sr., who adopted the boy and gave him his name. After graduating from the University of Michigan (1935), where he was a star football player, Ford worked as an assistant coach while he earned a law degree from Yale University (1941). He joined the navy during World War II and served in the South Pacific, attaining the rank of lieutenant commander and nearly losing his life in 1944 during a deadly typhoon that killed hundreds. In 1948, the year he won his first elective office, as Republican congressman from Michigan, he married Elizabeth Anne Bloomer (Betty Ford),

with whom he had four children—three sons (Michael, John, and Steven) and one daughter (Susan).

At a glance: the Ford presidency

From congressman to vice president and president

Richard M. Nixon and Gerald Ford Richard M. Nixon (right) accepting the Republican Party's U.S. presidential nomination in 1968. At left is Gerald Ford, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives.

Ford served in Congress for 25 years. Well-liked and ideologically flexible, he won the role of House minority leader in 1965 and held this position until Nixon named him vice president in 1973. During his time in Congress, he had developed a reputation for honesty and openness. When Nixon's vice president, Spiro T. Agnew, was forced to resign from office in disgrace, the president had no choice but to nominate the only Republican

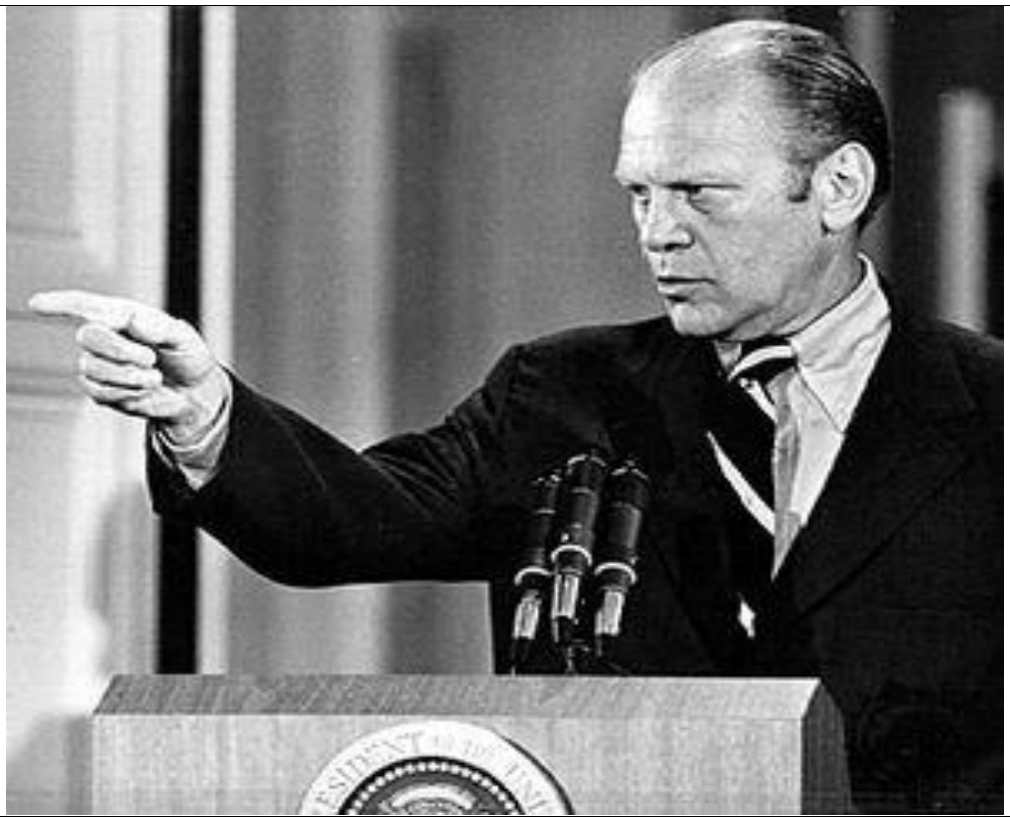
whom the Democratic leadership of Congress would approve, the affable Jerry Ford.

Watergate's legacy: How the scandal changed politics and journalism.

Gerald Ford Gerald Ford being sworn in as U.S. president, August 9, 1974.

Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford : Henry Kissinger with U.S. Pres. Gerald Ford at the White House, Washington, D.C.

In 1974, when it became clear that Nixon would face criminal charges for his role in the Watergate scandal and three articles of impeachment had been passed by the House Judiciary Committee, Nixon resigned, effective August 9. On that day, Ford took the oath of office and became president, stating, "Our long national nightmare is over." He retained the foreign and domestic policy staffs of the Nixon administration, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.



Gerald Ford, 1974 U.S. Pres. Gerald Ford defending the pardon of Richard Nixon at a White House press conference, September 16, 1974.

One of Ford's early acts as president was the announcement of a conditional amnesty program for those who had evaded the draft or deserted during the Vietnam War. The most

attention-getting act of his years in office, and the move that for many destroyed his credibility, followed in the next month. On September 8, 1974, declaring that in the end "it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me" but rather "the immediate future of this great country," Ford pardoned Nixon "for all offenses against the United States" that he had committed "or may have committed" while in office.

At the time, the pardon was enormously unpopular with the American public and some speculated that it was a result of a *quid pro quo*, between Nixon and Ford. (That is, that Ford promised Nixon a pardon in exchange for the presidency.) Ford voluntarily appeared before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives on October 17 to explain his reasoning—the first time a standing president had formally testified before a committee of Congress. In subsequent years, allegations of a deal have been dismissed both by former Watergate prosecutors and by Ben Bradlee, the editor of *The Washington Post* during Watergate who offered that Ford's pardon of Nixon was the act of "a compulsively decent man."

(What are quid pro quos and are they always bad?)

In another startling move, Ford annoyed members of his own party by naming Nelson A. Rockefeller, both a party liberal and

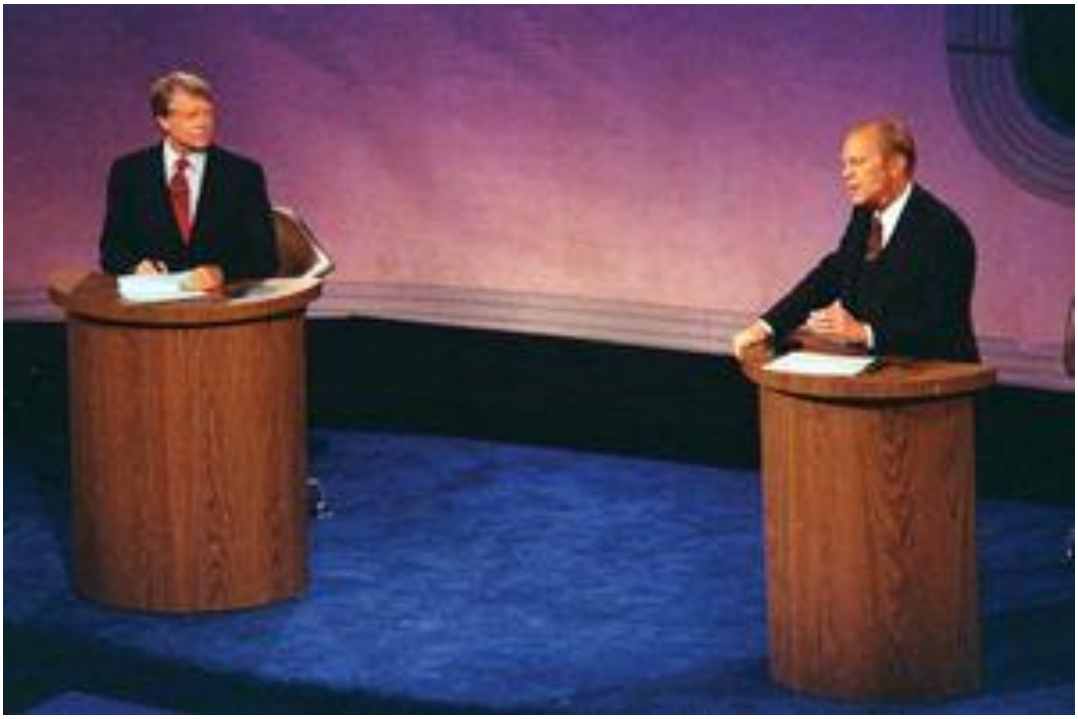
a representative of the so-called "Eastern establishment," as his vice president.

Gerald Ford in the Oval Office, 1975 : Gerald Ford at his desk in the Oval Office, Washington, D.C., 1975.

Ford's administration attempted to cope with the high rate of inflation, which he inherited from the Nixon administration, by slowing down the economy. The result was a very severe recession in 1974–75, which succeeded in lowering inflation but at the cost of an unemployment rate that rose to nearly 9 percent. Despite his WIN (Whip Inflation Now) program, he could do little to stop the country's economic problems. Ford's relations with the Democrat-controlled Congress were perhaps typified by his more than 50 vetoes of legislation by the end of 1976; more than 40 were sustained. Legislative gridlock set in.

During the final days of the Vietnam War, in March 1975, Ford ordered an airlift of some 237,000 anticommunist Vietnamese refugees from Da Nang, most of whom were taken to the United States. Two months later, after the seizure by Cambodia of the American cargo ship *Mayaguez*, Ford declared the event an "act of piracy" and sent the Marines to seize the ship. They succeeded, but the rescue operation to save the 39-member crew resulted in the loss of 41 American lives and the wounding of 50 others. Moreover, U.S. relations with Thailand became strained because the U.S. strike had been launched from a base in Thailand against the wishes of the Thai government.

Twice in September 1975, Ford was the target of assassination attempts. In the first instance, Secret Service agents intervened before shots were fired; in the second, the would-be assassin fired one shot at Ford but missed by several feet. In October he initially refused to consider loans to the city of New York, then on the brink of fiscal collapse, and thereby prompted the newspaper headline "Ford to City: Drop Dead." As the larger implications became clear, he retreated from his earlier position.



Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford : Jimmy Carter (left) and U.S. Pres. Gerald Ford in the first of three televised debates during the 1976 presidential campaign.

Elizabeth II and Gerald Ford : Queen Elizabeth II dancing with U.S. Pres. Gerald Ford during a state dinner in honor of the queen and Prince Philip at the White House, July 1976.

In a close contest at the Republican convention in August 1976, Ford won his party's nomination, despite a serious challenge by Ronald Reagan, the former governor of California. That fall Ford became the first incumbent president to agree to public debates with a challenger—Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee. Ford ran substantially behind from the beginning of the campaign, owing in large part to negative fallout from the Nixon pardon but also to the general public's perception of his ineptitude. His decisions in office had often seemed to be those of Kissinger and the others left over from the Nixon administration; sometimes, as those made during the *Mayaguez* incident, they seemed simply ill-considered. He misspoke on many occasions, notably declaring in a debate with Jimmy Carter, "There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe" and "I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union," which journalist William F. Buckley, Jr., called "the ultimate Polish joke." Even his physical pratfalls, such as hitting his head while deplaning, were well documented for the public. As journalist John Osborne summarized the situation, Ford was seen as

> *a loser, a bumbler, a misfit President who for some reason or other...was prone to slip on airplane ramps, bump his head on helicopter entrances, entangle himself in the leashes of his family dogs, and fall from skis in front of television cameras that showed him asprawl in snow.*

Ford was defeated in the November 1976 election by a popular vote of 40.8 million to 39.1 million and an electoral vote of 297 to 240.

Post-presidential life of Gerald Ford

Gerald Ford : Gerald Ford playing golf on Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1975.

After leaving the White House, Ford happily retired from public life, golfed and skied at his leisure, and ultimately joined the boards of directors of numerous corporations. During the race that ultimately ousted President Carter in 1980, he was offered the vice presidential role by candidate Ronald Reagan, whom Ford held responsible for dissipating Republican support for his 1976 campaign, and he refused. His autobiography, *A Time to Heal*, was published in 1979.

Cabinet of Pres. Gerald Ford

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Gerald Ford.

Cabinet of President Gerald R. Ford

August 9, 1974–January 20, 1977	
State	Henry A. Kissinger
Treasury	William E. Simon
Defense	James R. Schlesinger Donald H. Rumsfeld (from November 20, 1975)
Attorney General	William B. Saxbe Edward H. Levi (from February 7, 1975)
Interior	Rogers C. B. Morton Stanley K. Hathaway (from January 30, 1975) Thomas S. Kleppe (from October 17, 1975)
Agriculture	Earl L. Butz

Cabinet of President Gerald R. Ford

Cabinet of President Gerald R. Ford

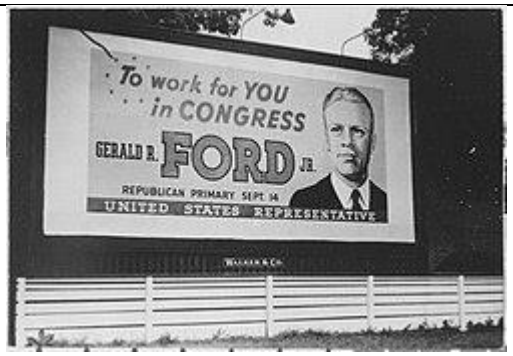
August 9, 1974–January 20, 1977	
	John Albert Knebel (from November 4, 1974)
Commerce	Frederick Baily Dent
	Rogers Clark Ballard Morton (from May 1, 1975)
	Elliot Lee Richardson (from February 2, 1976)
Labor	Peter Joseph Brennan
	John Thomas Dunlop (from March 18, 1975)
	William Usery, Jr. (from February 10, 1976)
Health, Education, and Welfare	Caspar Willard Weinberger
	Forrest David Mathews (from August 8, 1975)
Housing and Urban Development	James Thomas Lynn
	Carla Anderson Hills (from March 10, 1975)
Transportation	Claude Stout Brinegar

Cabinet of President Gerald R. Ford

August 9, 1974 – January 20, 1977

	William Thaddeus Coleman, Jr. (from March 7, 1975)

The Gunnery officers of USS *Monterey*, 1943. Ford is second from the right, in the front row.



A billboard for Ford's 1948 congressional campaign from Michigan's 5th district

The Warren Commission (with Ford fourth from left) presenting its report to President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964.

Congressman Ford, MSFC director Wernher von Braun, Congressman George H. Mahon, and NASA Administrator James E. Webb visiting the Marshall Space Flight Center for a briefing on the Saturn program, 1964.

Ford and his wife Betty with President Richard Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon after he became vice president, October 13, 1973

Ford taking the presidential oath of office administered by Chief Justice Warren Burger in the White House East Room, while Betty Ford looks on.

Ford meeting with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to sign a joint communiqué on the SALT treaty during the Vladivostok Summit, November 1974.

Ford exiting the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco seconds before Sara Jane Moore attempted to shoot him

Ford watching election returns with Joe Garagiola on election night, reacting to television reports that Ford had just been projected as having lost Texas to Carter

On July 16, 1980 (day 3 of the 1980 Republican National Convention), Ford consulting with Bob Dole, Howard Baker and Bill Brock before ultimately making a decision to decline the offer to serve as Ronald Reagan's running mate.

Ford joins President Bill Clinton and former presidents George H. W. Bush and Jimmy Carter onstage at the dedication of the George H.W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum at Texas A&M University on November 6, 1997

Ford lying in state in the U.S. Capitol rotunda

President George W. Bush with Ford and his wife Betty on April 23, 2006

Jimmy Carter

39th President of the United States

[20 August 1977 <::> 20 January 1981]

Please visit:

01] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/james-carter/

02] https://www.cartercenter.org/people/jimmy-carter/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jimmy-Carter

04] The life and legacy of former President Jimmy Carter
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BkIxo2L4IS8 [46:55]

05] Jimmy Carter: The Rise of an Unlikely President

https://ashbrook.org/viewpoint/jimmy-carter-the-rise-of-an-unlikely-president/

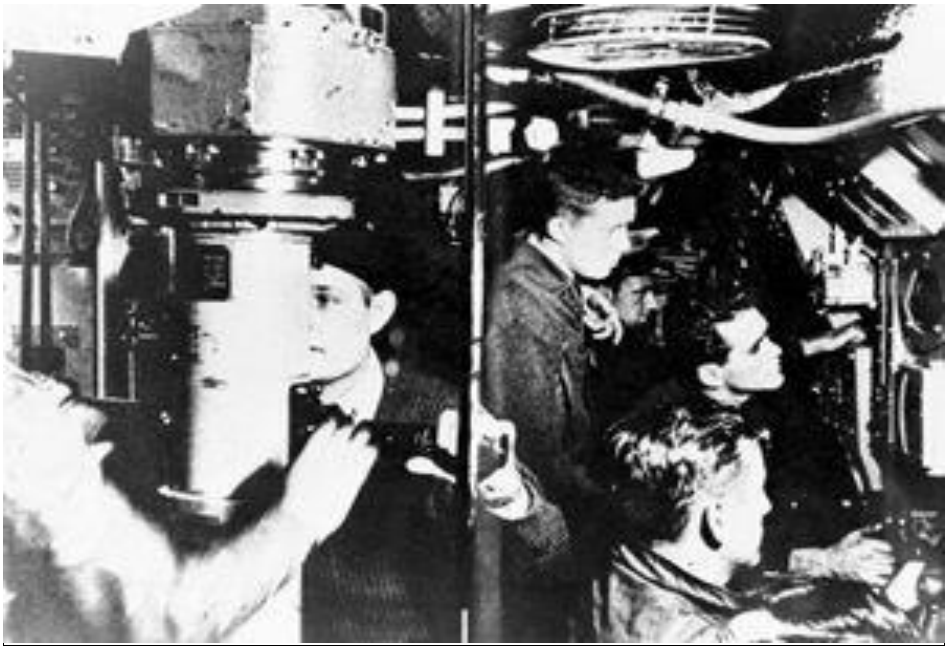
Jimmy Carter (born October 1, 1924, Plains, Georgia, U.S.—died December 29, 2024, Plains, Georgia) was the 39th president of the United States (1977–81), who served as the country's chief executive during a time of serious problems at home and abroad. His perceived inability to deal successfully with those problems led to an overwhelming defeat in his bid for reelection. However, for his work in diplomacy and advocacy, both during and after his presidency, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2002.

Early life and political career

Jimmy Carter's boyhood : Jimmy Carter as a boy sitting atop a Shetland pony on his family's farm near Plains, Georgia, U.S.

How Rosalynn Carter Redefined the Role of First Lady : Rosalynn Carter was the most active first lady since Eleanor Roosevelt.

Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn Carter : Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn Smith on their wedding day, July 7, 1946.



Jimmy Carter: navy service : Jimmy Carter (center, standing) aboard a U.S. Navy submarine.

The son of Earl Carter, a peanut warehouser who had served in the Georgia state legislature, and Lillian Gordy Carter, a registered nurse who went to India as a Peace Corps volunteer at age 68, Carter attended Georgia Southwestern College and the Georgia Institute of Technology before graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1946. After marrying Rosalynn Smith (Rosalynn Carter)—who came from Carter's small hometown, Plains, Georgia—he embarked on a seven-year career in the U.S. Navy, serving submarine duty for five years. He was preparing to become an engineering officer for the submarine *Seawolf* in 1953 when his father died. Carter resigned his commission and

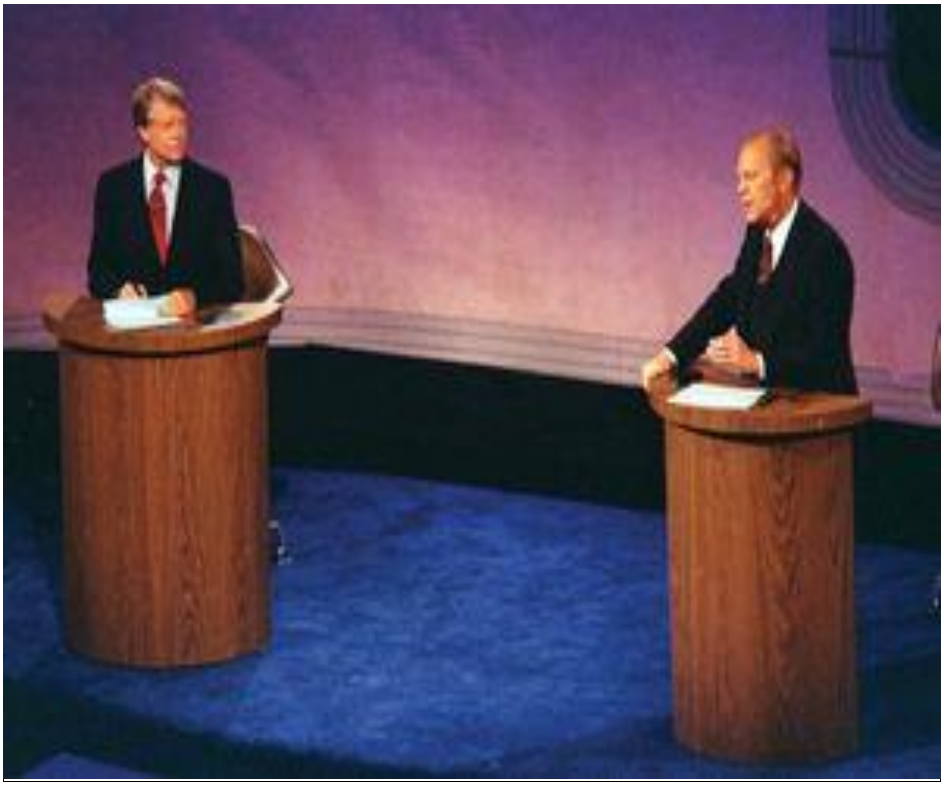
returned to Georgia to manage the family peanut farm operations.

Beginning his political career by serving on the local board of education, Carter won election as a Democrat to the Georgia state senate in 1962 and was reelected in 1964. In 1966 he failed in a bid for the governorship and, depressed by this experience, found solace in Evangelical Christianity, becoming a born-again Baptist.

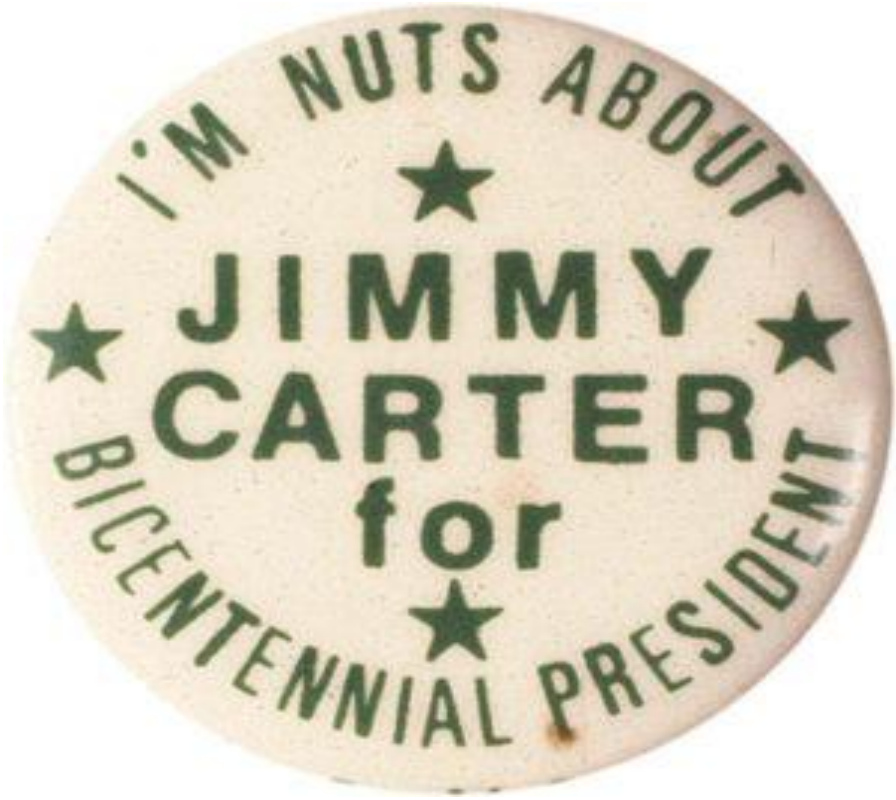
Prior to running again for governor and winning in 1970, Carter at least tacitly adhered to a segregationist approach. However, in his inaugural address he announced that "the time for racial discrimination is over" and proceeded to open Georgia's government offices to Blacks—and to women. As governor, he reorganized the existing maze of state agencies and consolidated them into larger units while introducing stricter budgeting procedures for them. In the process he came to national attention, finding his way onto the cover of *Time* magazine as a symbol of both good government and the "New South."

In 1974, just before his term as governor ended, Carter announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president. Although lacking a national political base or major backing, he managed through tireless and

systematic campaigning to assemble a broad constituency. In the aftermath of the Watergate scandal, which had raised widespread concern about the power of the presidency and the integrity of the executive branch, Carter styled himself as an outsider to Washington, D.C., a man of strong principles who could restore the faith of the American people in their leaders. Ironically, Carter's moral stance and candor caused a small stir when, during the campaign, he admitted in an interview with *Playboy* magazine that he had "committed adultery in [his] heart many times."



Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford : Jimmy Carter (left) and U.S. Pres. Gerald Ford in the first of three televised debates during the 1976 presidential campaign.



Jimmy Carter campaign button, 1976 : Button from Jimmy Carter's 1976 U.S. presidential campaign.

Jimmy Carter campaign button, 1976 : Button from Jimmy Carter's 1976 U.S. presidential campaign.

Winning the Democratic nomination in July 1976, Carter chose the liberal Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate. Carter's opponent was the unelected incumbent Republican president, Gerald R. Ford, who had come into office in 1974 when Richard Nixon resigned in the wake of Watergate. Many believed that the close race tipped in Carter's favor after Ford stumbled in a televised debate by saying that eastern Europe was not dominated by the Soviet Union. In November 1976 the Carter-Mondale ticket won the election, capturing 51 percent of the popular vote and garnering 297 electoral votes to Ford's 240.

At a glance: the Carter presidency

Presidency of Jimmy Carter

Witness the inaugural address of President Jimmy Carter at Washington, D.C., January 20, 1977 : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter delivering his inaugural address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1977.

Jimmy Carter, Rosalynn Carter, and Amy Carter : .President-elect Jimmy Carter with his wife, Rosalynn Carter, and their daughter, Amy Carter, on inauguration day, January 20, 1977.

Rosalynn Carter, Jimmy Carter, and Amy Carter : Jimmy Carter with his wife, Rosalynn (left), and daughter, Amy, at the White House, Washington, D.C.

Beginning with his inaugural walk with Rosalynn down Pennsylvania Avenue, Carter tried to reinforce his image as a man of the people. In his inaugural address Carter also reflected this approach, saying:

You have given me a great responsibility—to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes.

He adopted an informal style of dress and speech in public appearances, held frequent press conferences, and reduced the pomp of the presidency. Early on in his administration, Carter introduced a dizzying array of ambitious programs for social, administrative, and economic reform. Most of those programs, however, met with opposition in Congress despite the Democratic majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. On one hand, Congress, in the post-Watergate environment, was more willing to challenge the executive branch; on the other, Carter the populist was quick to criticize Congress and to take his agenda to the American people. In either case, Carter's difficulties with Congress undermined the success of his administration, and by 1978 his initial popularity had dissipated in the face of his inability to convert his ideas into legislative realities.

Jimmy Carter : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter holding a press conference, January 17, 1979.

Two scandals also damaged Carter's credibility. In summer 1977 Bert Lance, the director of the Office of Management and Budget and one of Carter's closest friends, was accused of financial improprieties as a Georgia banker. When Carter stood by Lance (whom he eventually asked to resign and who later was acquitted of all charges), many questioned the president's vaunted scruples. Carter's image suffered again—though less—in summer 1980 when his younger brother, Billy (widely perceived as a buffoon), was accused of acting as an influence peddler for the Libyan government of Muammar al-Qaddafi. Senate investigators concluded that, while Billy had acted improperly, he had no real influence on the president.

Read President Carter's Britannica essay on the Camp David Accords.

Israel-Egypt peace treaty: Jimmy Carter, Menachem Begin, and Anwar Sadat : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter (second from right), Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin (right), and Egyptian Pres. Anwar Sadat clasping hands on the White House lawn after the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, March 26, 1979.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter (seated left) and Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev signing the SALT II treaty in Vienna, June 18, 1979.

Jimmy Carter : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter speaking on the telephone in the Oval Office, November 20, 1978.

Jimmy Carter: fireside chat : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter appearing on television from the White House during a fireside chat on the Panama Canal Treaty, February 1978.

In foreign affairs, Carter received accolades for championing international human rights, though his critics charged that his vision of the world was naive. Carter's idealism notwithstanding, his major achievements were on the more pragmatic level of patient diplomacy. In 1977 he obtained two treaties between the United States and Panama that gave the latter control over the Panama Canal at the end of 1999 and guaranteed the neutrality of that waterway thereafter. In 1978 Carter brought together Egyptian Pres. Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the presidential retreat in Camp David, Maryland, and secured their agreement to the Camp David Accords, which ended the state of war that had existed between the two countries since Israel's founding in 1948. The difficult negotiations—which lasted 13 days and were salvaged only by Carter's tenacious intervention—provided for the establishment of full diplomatic and economic relations on condition that Israel return the occupied Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. On January 1, 1979, Carter established full diplomatic relations between the United States and China and simultaneously broke official ties with Taiwan. Also in 1979, in Vienna, Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed a new bilateral strategic

arms limitation treaty (SALT II) intended to establish parity in strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems between the two superpowers on terms that could be adequately verified. Carter removed the treaty from consideration by the Senate in January 1980, however, after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. He also placed an embargo on the shipment of American grain to the Soviet Union and pressed for a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics due to be held in Moscow.

Iran hostage crisis : Blindfolded American hostage surrounded by captors outside the U.S. embassy in Tehran, November 9, 1979.

Carter's substantial foreign policy successes were overshadowed by a serious crisis in foreign affairs and by a groundswell of popular discontent over his economic policies. On November 4, 1979, a mob of Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehrān and took the diplomatic staff there hostage. Their actions, in response to the arrival of the deposed shah (Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi) in the United States for medical treatment, were sanctioned by Iran's revolutionary government, led by Shiʿi cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

What Was the Iran Hostage Crisis? : After the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979 by Iranian students aligned with Ruhollah Khomeini, more than 50 Americans were held hostage for 444 days.

A standoff developed between the United States and Iran over the issue of the captive diplomats (*see* Iran hostage crisis). Carter responded by trying to negotiate the hostages' release while avoiding a direct confrontation with the Iranian government, but, as the crisis wore on (documented nightly on American television by a special news program that would become the influential *Nightline*), his inability to obtain the release of the hostages became a major political liability. The failure of a secret U.S. military mission to rescue the hostages (which ended almost before it began with a crash in the desert of a plane and helicopter) in April 1980 seemed to typify the inefficacy and misfortune of the Carter administration.

On the home front, Carter's management of the economy aroused widespread concern. The inflation rate climbed higher each year he was in office, rising from 6 percent in 1976 to more than 12 percent by 1980; unemployment remained high at 7.5 percent; and volatile interest rates reached a high of 20 percent or more twice during 1980. Both business leaders and the public at large blamed Carter for the nation's economic woes, charging that the president lacked a coherent strategy for taming inflation without causing a painful increase in unemployment.

Jimmy Carter showing reporters solar panels : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter showing reporters the solar panels he had installed on the West Wing of the White House in 1979.

The faltering economy was partly due to the energy crisis that had originated in the early 1970s as a result of the country's overdependence on foreign oil. In 1977 the president, whose mistrust of special interest groups such as the oil companies was well known, proposed an energy program that included an oil tax, conservation, and the use of alternative sources of energy. The House supported the program but the Senate quashed it. Moreover, one of those alternative sources, nuclear power, seemed much less viable after the disastrous meltdown of the core reactor at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, in March 1979.

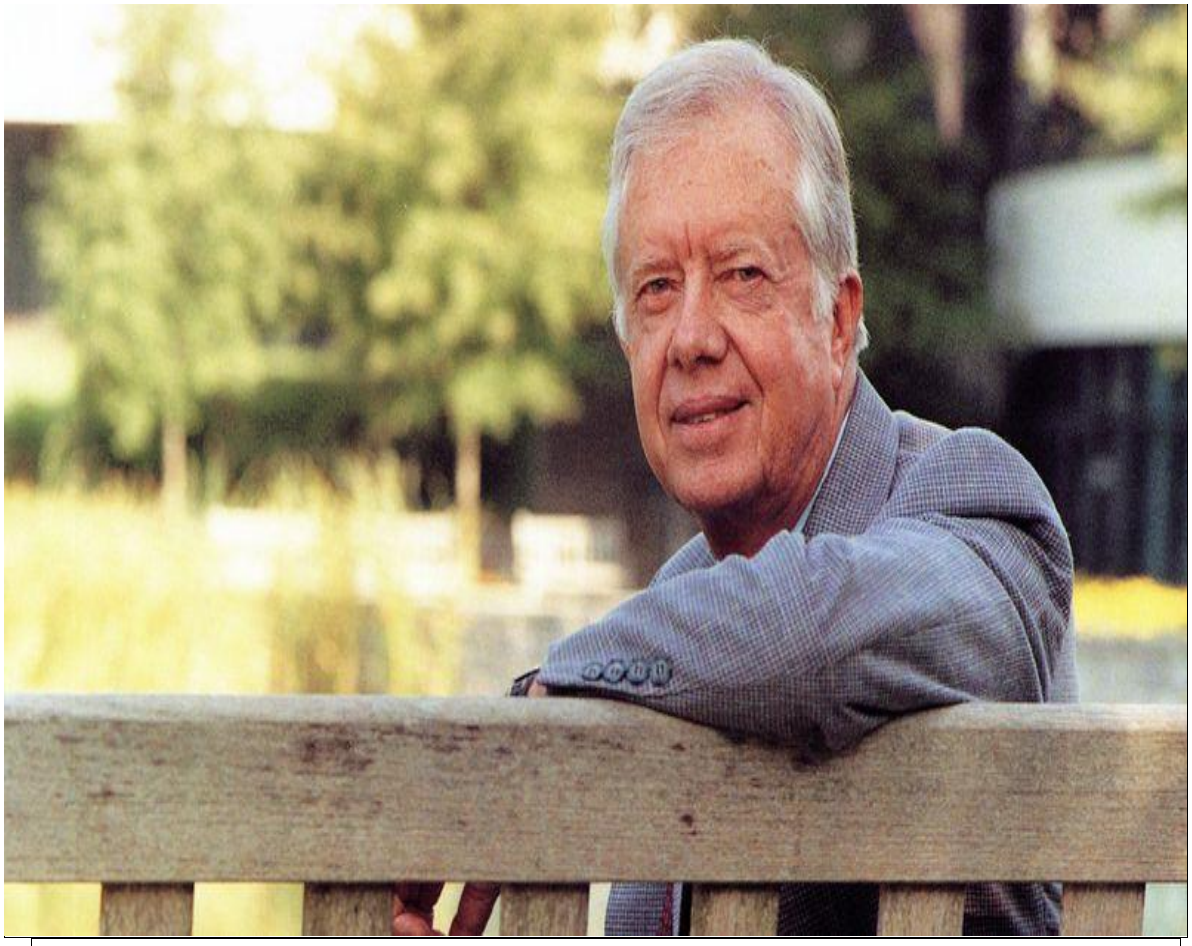
Jimmy Carter campaigning for reelection : U.S. Pres. Jimmy Carter campaigning for reelection, October 30, 1980.

In July 1979 Carter canceled a major policy speech and instead met with a wide cross section of American leaders at Camp David. In the nationally televised speech that followed that meeting, Carter spoke of a “crisis of spirit” in the country, but most Americans were ultimately no more interested in rising to the challenge of a national “malaise” than they were in Carter’s suggestion that they needed to lower some of their expectations. Still, Carter was able to fend off the challenge of Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy to win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1980. However, the public’s confidence in Carter’s executive abilities had fallen to an irretrievable low. Above all else, he was generally seen as indecisive.

In the election held that November, Carter was overwhelmingly defeated by the Republican nominee, a former actor and governor of California, Ronald W. Reagan, who pointed to what he called Carter's "misery index"—the inflation rate plus the unemployment rate, whose sum was over 20—and asked two poignant questions that the public took to heart: "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" and "Is America as respected throughout the world?" In the landslide, Carter won only 41 percent of the popular vote and 49 votes in the electoral college (third-party candidate John Anderson captured 7 percent of the vote). In the late 1980s, allegations surfaced that the Reagan campaign had made a secret agreement with the government of Iran to ensure that the hostages were not released before the election (thus preventing an "October Surprise" that might boost Carter's election chances); however, in 1993 a congressional subcommittee found the evidence inconclusive. Reagan invited Carter to greet the hostages in Germany after their release on January 21, 1981, one day after Reagan's inauguration.

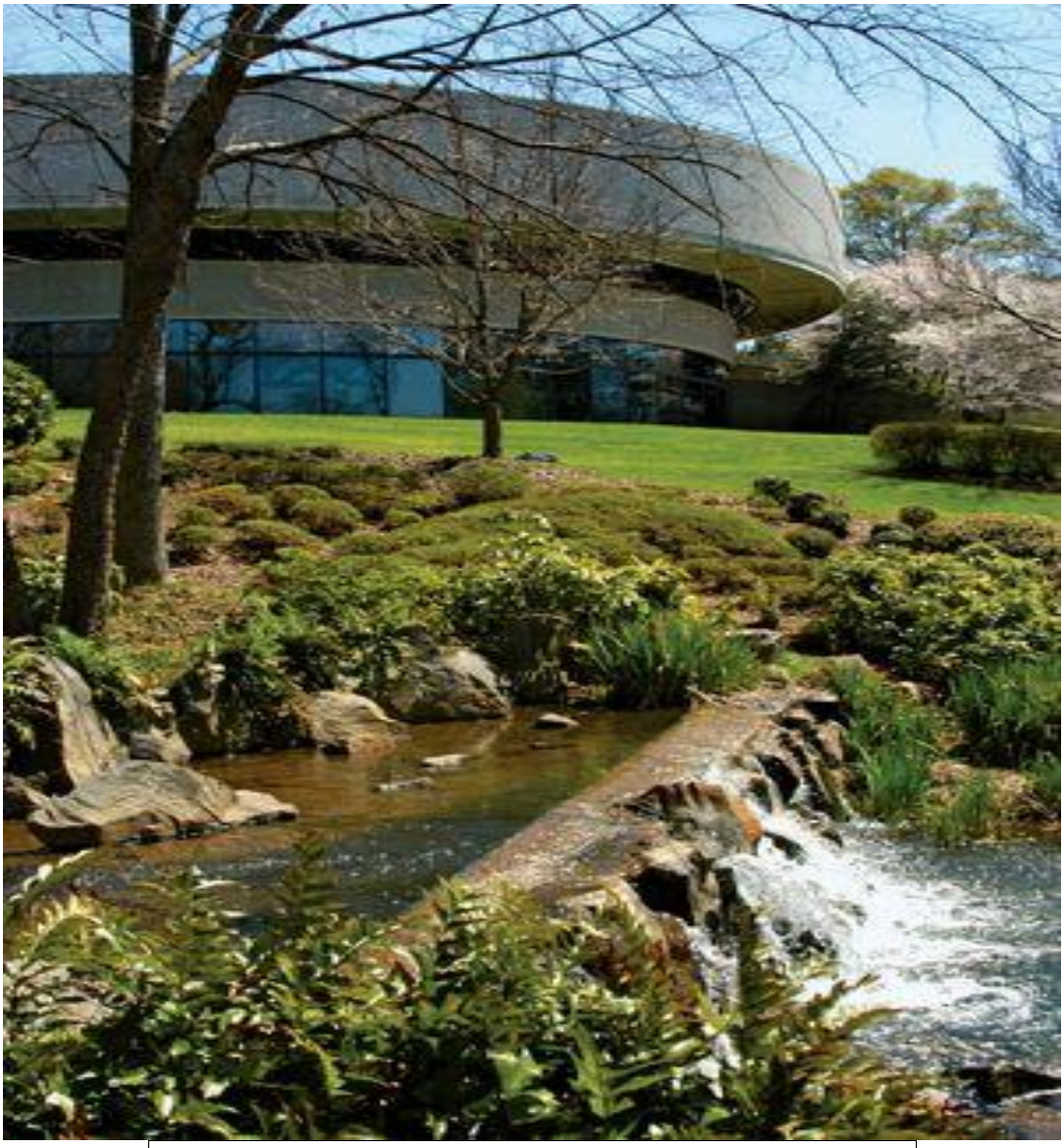
LIFE AFTER THE PRESIDENCY OF

Jimmy Carter



Jimmy Carter: Peanut farmer, Peace Prize winner, and president : Jimmy Carter is the longest-lived president in United States history.

In his final months in office, Carter was able to push through important legislation that created Superfund to clean up abandoned toxic waste dumps and that set aside some 100 million acres (40 million hectares) of land in Alaska to protect it from development. Carter would also be remembered for his inclusion of women and minorities in his cabinet, including Andrew Young, the African American former mayor of Atlanta, who played a prominent though controversial role as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.



Carter Center : The Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.

At the conclusion of the president's term, the Carters returned to their hometown. Rosalynn, who had taken an active role as first lady—not only acting as an adviser to the president but also attending cabinet meetings when the subjects under consideration were of interest to her—joined her husband in establishing the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta, which included a presidential library and museum.

guinea worm disease treatment at Savelugu Hospital, Northern Region, Ghana : At Savelugu Hospital in the Northern Region of Ghana, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, watching as a health worker dresses a child's extremely painful guinea worm wound, February 8, 2007.

Carter served as a sort of diplomat without portfolio in various conflicts in a number of countries—including Nicaragua (where he successfully promoted the return of the Miskito Indians to their homeland), Panama (where he observed and reported illegal voting procedures), and Ethiopia (where he attempted to mediate a settlement with the Eritrean People's Liberation Force). He was particularly active in this role in 1994, negotiating with North Korea to end nuclear weapons development there, with Haiti to effect a peaceful transfer of power, and

with Bosnian Serbs and Muslims to broker a short-lived cease-fire. His efforts on behalf of international peace and his highly visible participation in building homes for the poor through Habitat for Humanity established in the public mind a much more favorable image of Carter than had been the case during his presidency.

After leaving office, Carter also became a prolific author, writing on a variety of topics. Two books on the Middle East were *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (2006) and *We Can Have Peace in the Holy Land: A Plan That Will Work* (2009). His interview with Syria's *Forward Magazine*, published in January 2009, marked the first time that a former or current U.S. president had been interviewed by a Syrian media outlet. Carter was also the author of *The Hornet's Nest: A Novel of the Revolutionary War* (2003) and a collection of poetry. His presidency is chronicled in *White House Diary* (2010), which contains edited entries from a journal Carter kept during his years in the White House. Carter reflected on the lessons of aging and his long life in *The Virtues of Aging* (1998) and *A Full Life: Reflections at Ninety* (2015). *Faith: A Journey for All* was published in 2018.

When he died, at the age of 100, he was the oldest former president in United States history.

Cabinet of President

Jimmy Carter

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Jimmy Carter.

Cabinet of President Jimmy Carter

January 20, 1977-January 20, 1981	
*Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reorganized into Departments of Health and Human Services and Education.	
**Newly created department.	
State	Cyrus Vance
	Edmund Sixtus Muskie (from May 8, 1980)
Treasury	Werner Michael Blumenthal
	George William Miller (from August 6, 1979)
Defense	Harold Brown
Attorney General	Griffin Boyette Bell
	Benjamin Richard Civiletti (from August 16, 1979)

Cabinet of President Jimmy Carter

January 20, 1977-January 20, 1981	
Interior	Cecil Dale Andrus
Agriculture	Robert Selmer Bergland
Commerce	Juanita Morris Kreps
	Philip Morris Klutznick (from January 9, 1980)
Labor	Fred Ray Marshall
Health, Education, and Welfare*	Joseph Anthony Califano, Jr.
	Patricia Roberts Harris (from August 3, 1979)
Health and Human Services*	Patricia Roberts Harris (from September 27, 1979)
Housing and Urban Development	Patricia Roberts Harris
	Moon Landrieu (from September 24, 1979)
Transportation	Brockman Adams

Cabinet of President Jimmy Carter

January 20, 1977-January 20, 1981	
	Neil Edward Goldschmidt (from September 24, 1979)
Energy**	James Rodney Schlesinger (from October 1, 1977)
	Charles William Duncan, Jr. (from August 24, 1979)
Education*	Shirley Mount Hufstedler (from December 6, 1979)

Jimmy Carter 100th Birthday

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter celebrated his 100th birthday on October 1, 2024, becoming the first former U.S. president in history to reach the century mark.

Celebration and Milestones

- **Date:** October 1, 2024
- **Location:** His home in Plains, Georgia, where he lived under home hospice care.
- **Historic Status:** He is the longest-lived president in American history.
- **Tributes:** Celebrations included a grand musical tribute concert at the Fox Theatre in Atlanta, a military flyover, and community events in his hometown.

@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@

01] Happy 100th Birthday, Jimmy Carter
https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/100birthdayjimmycarter.htm

02] https://www.archives.gov/news/articles/president-carter-birthday-100

03] https://www.npr.org/sections/the-picture-show/2024/09/30/nx-s1-5133493/photos-jimmy-carter-birthday-100-years

04] Former US president Jimmy Carter celebrates 100th birthday | DW News
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R0rEuETdxPM [06:55]

Former US president Jimmy Carter is celebrating his 100th birthday today. He's the first former president to reach that milestone. After leaving office in 1981, Carter continued to work tirelessly for a better world. His grandson has said the former president looks forward to casting his ballot in next month's election.

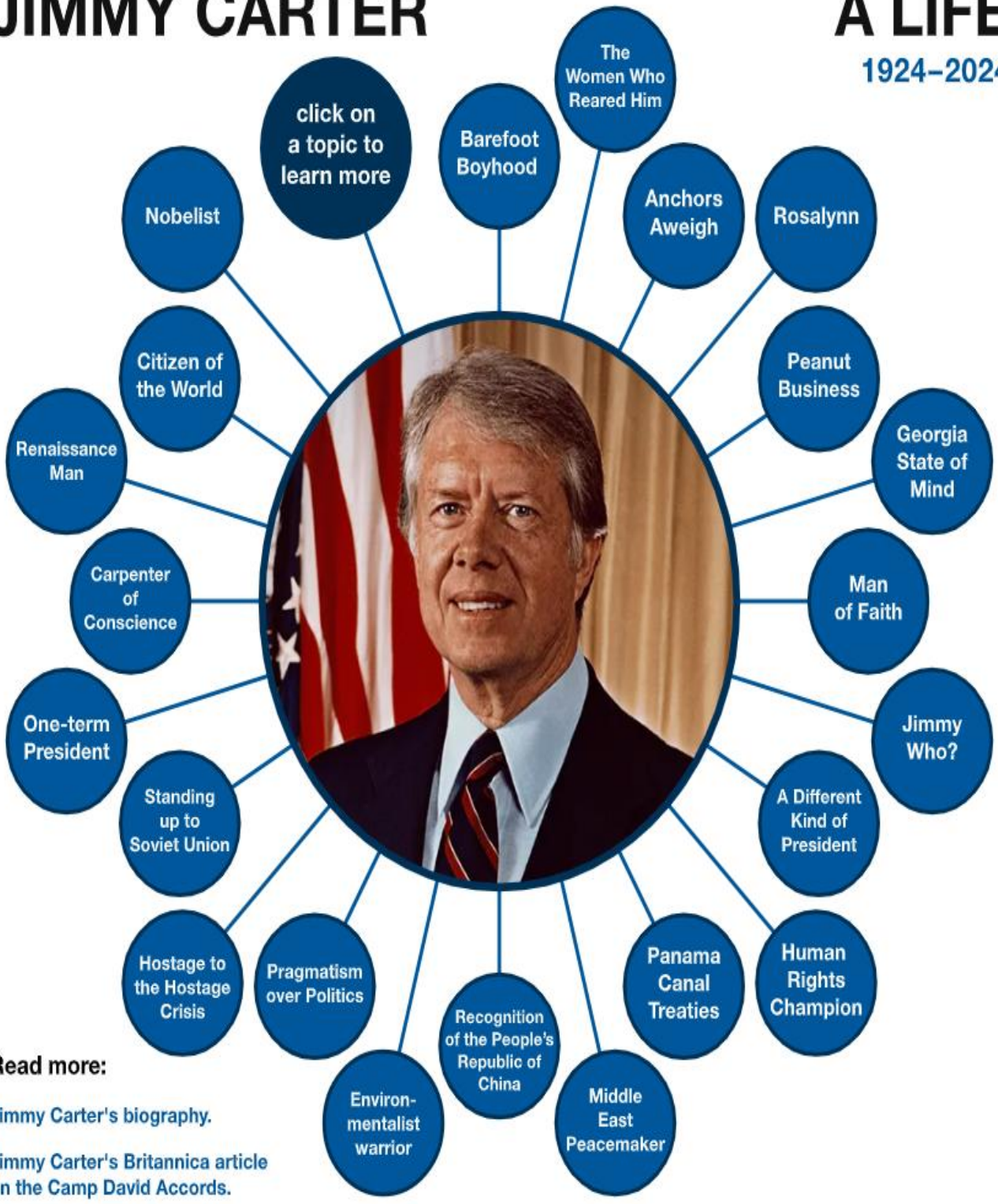
celebrating
100
Jimmy Carter

100

JIMMY CARTER

A LIFE

1924–2024



Read more:

Jimmy Carter's biography.

Jimmy Carter's Britannica article on the Camp David Accords.

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Photo: Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum in Atlanta, GA/NARA

Ronald Reagan

40th President of the United States

[20 January 1981 <::> 20 January 1989]

Please visit:

01] https://www.reaganfoundation.org/

02] https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/ronald-reagan/

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ronald-Reagan/The-Iran-Contra-Affair

04] Ronald Reagan: Everything You Didn't Know About His Sh*tty Past
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E8b7i0UAx2w [1:14:47]

05] President Ronald Reagan's First State of the Union Address, January 26, 1982
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9AdMVH-sATo [42:28]
06] Compilation of President Reagan's Humour from Selected Speeches
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BTIfGFJqLko [42:52]
07] The American Presidency: Ronald Reagan
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0PMiNawmMTw [52:42]

Ronald Reagan (born February 6, 1911, Tampico, Illinois, U.S.—died June 5, 2004, Los Angeles, California) was the 40th president of the United States (1981–89), noted for his conservative Republicanism, his fervent anticommunism, and his appealing personal style, characterized by a jaunty affability and folksy charm. The only movie actor ever to become president, he had a remarkable skill as an orator that earned him the title "the Great Communicator." His policies have been credited with contributing to the demise of Soviet communism.

Early life and acting career

Ronald Reagan : Ronald Reagan (second from right) with his parents, Jack and Nelle, and his brother, Neil, c. 1915.

Ronald Reagan : Ronald Reagan in Dixon, Illinois, 1920s.

Ronald Reagan was the second child of John Edward ("Jack") Reagan, a struggling shoe salesman, and Nelle Wilson Reagan. Reagan's nickname, "Dutch," derived from his father's habit of referring to his infant son as his "fat little Dutchman." After several years of moving from town to town—made necessary in part because of Jack Reagan's alcoholism, which made it difficult for him to hold a job—the family settled in Dixon, Illinois, in 1920. Despite their near poverty and his father's drinking problem, Reagan later recalled his childhood in Dixon as the happiest period of his life. At Eureka College in Eureka, Illinois, Reagan played football and was active in the drama society but earned only passing grades. A popular student, he was elected

class president in his senior year. Graduating in 1932 with a bachelor's degree in economics and sociology, he decided to enter radio broadcasting. He landed a job as a sportscaster at station WOC in Davenport, Iowa, by delivering entirely from memory an exciting play-by-play description of a Eureka College football game. Later he moved to station WHO in Des Moines, where, as sportscaster "Dutch Reagan," he became popular throughout the state for his broadcasts of Chicago Cubs baseball games. Because the station could not afford to send him to Wrigley Field in Chicago, Reagan was forced to improvise a running account of the games based on sketchy details delivered over a teletype machine.

Ronald Reagan : Ronald Reagan on the Eureka College football team, 1929.

In 1937 Reagan followed the Cubs to their spring training camp in southern California, a trip he undertook partly in order to try his hand at movie acting. After a successful screen test at Warner Brothers, he was soon typecast in a series of mostly B movies as a sincere, wholesome, easygoing "good guy." (As many observers have noted, the characters that Reagan portrayed in the movies were remarkably like Reagan himself.) During the next 27 years, he appeared in more than 50 films, notably including *Knute Rockne—All American* (1940), *Kings Row* (1942), and *The Hasty Heart* (1950). In 1938, while filming *Brother Rat*, Reagan became engaged to his costar Jane Wyman, and the couple married in Hollywood two years later. They had a daughter, Maureen, in 1941 and adopted a son, Michael, a few days after his birth in 1945. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1948. Reagan was the first president to have been divorced.

Commissioned a cavalry officer at the outbreak of World War II, Reagan was assigned to an army film unit based in Los Angeles, where he spent the rest of the war making training films. Although he never left the country and never saw combat, he and Wyman cooperated with the efforts of Warner Brothers to portray him as a real soldier to the public, and in newsreels and magazine photos he acted out scenes of "going off to war" and

"coming home on leave." After leaving Hollywood, Reagan became known for occasionally telling stories about his past—including stories about his happiness at "coming back from the war"—that were actually based on fictional episodes in movies. Some of Reagan's detractors pointed to such lapses to suggest that he lacked a basic interest in the truth and that he had trouble distinguishing between reality and fantasy.

Reagan had absorbed the liberal Democratic opinions of his father and became a great admirer of Franklin Roosevelt after his election in 1932. Reagan's father eventually found work as an administrator in a New Deal office established in the Dixon area, a fact that Reagan continued to appreciate even after his political opinion of Roosevelt had dramatically changed.

From 1947 to 1952 Reagan served as president of the union of movie actors, the Screen Actors Guild. He fought against communist infiltration in the guild, crossing picket lines to break the sometimes violent strikes. (Such violence and chaos were abhorrent to Reagan, and, when police and students clashed in Berkeley in May 1969, Reagan, as governor of California, called out the National Guard to restore order.) Much to the disgust of union members, he testified as a friendly witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee and cooperated in the blacklisting of actors, directors, and writers

suspected of leftist sympathies. Although Reagan was still a Democrat at the time (he campaigned for Harry Truman in the presidential election of 1948), his political opinions were gradually growing more conservative. After initially supporting Democratic senatorial candidate Helen Douglas in 1950, he switched his allegiance to Republican Richard Nixon midway through the campaign. He supported Republican Dwight Eisenhower in the presidential elections of 1952 and 1956, and in 1960 he delivered 200 speeches in support of Nixon's campaign for president against Democrat John F. Kennedy. He officially changed his party affiliation to Republican in 1962.

Ronald and Nancy Reagan : Ronald Reagan visiting Nancy Reagan on the movie set of *Donovan's Brain*, 1953.

Ronald Reagan : Ronald Reagan in the television series *General Electric Theater*, c. 1954–62.

Reagan met Nancy Davis (Nancy Reagan), a relatively unknown actress, at a dinner party in 1949, and the two were married in a simple ceremony in 1952, at which actor William Holden was best man. The Reagans appeared together in the war movie *Hell Cats of the Navy* in 1957. Nancy Reagan's conservative political views encouraged her husband's drift to the righ.

After his acting career began to decline in the 1950s, Reagan became the host of a television drama series, *General Electric Theater*, as well as spokesman for the General Electric Company.

In the latter capacity he toured GE plants around the country, delivering inspirational speeches with a generally conservative, pro-business message. Eventually, however, his speeches became too controversial for the company's taste, and he was fired as both spokesman and television host in 1962.

At a glance the Reagan presidency

Governorship of California of Ronald Reagan

Reagan campaigned actively for Nixon in his run for governor of California in 1962 and supported the presidential candidacy of conservative Republican Barry Goldwater in 1964, serving as cochairman of California Republicans for Goldwater. In the last week of the campaign, he delivered a 30-minute nationally televised address, "A Time for Choosing," that *The Washington Post* described as "the most successful political debut since William Jennings Bryan electrified the 1896 Democratic convention with his 'Cross of Gold' speech." Reagan's speech, which resulted in $1 million in campaign contributions for Republican candidates (the most attributable to any political speech in history), catapulted him onto the national political stage and made him an instant hero of the Republican right.

Ronald Reagan : Ronald Reagan as governor of California, c. 1967–71.

Reagan announced his candidacy for governor of California in 1966. The incumbent, Democrat Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown (who had defeated Nixon's challenge in 1962), ridiculed Reagan's lack of experience, declaring that while he (Brown) had been serving the public, Reagan was making *Bedtime for Bonzo*, a 1951 movie in which Reagan starred with a chimpanzee. But Reagan turned this apparent liability into an asset by portraying himself as an ordinary citizen who was fed up with a state government that had become inefficient and unaccountable. The public also reacted well to Reagan's personality, in particular to his apparent genuineness, affability, and self-deprecating sense of humor. (When asked by a reporter how he would perform in office, Reagan replied, "I don't know. I've never played a

governor.") Reagan won the election by nearly one million votes. During his two terms as governor (1967–75), Reagan erased a substantial budget deficit inherited from the Brown administration (through the largest tax increase in the history of any state to that time) and instituted reforms in the state's welfare programs. As some observers have noted, Reagan's administrative style as governor was essentially the same as the one he would later adopt as president: he left most of the day-to-day business of government to assistants and department heads, preferring to focus on larger issues of policy and vision. Reagan followed a rigid schedule, which his aides would prepare and type up for him daily.

Reagan made a halfhearted bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968 as a favorite-son candidate, finishing third behind Nixon and former New York governor Nelson Rockefeller. During his remaining years as governor, he made plans for a more serious run for the presidency, expecting that his chance would come in 1976, at the anticipated end of Nixon's second term. But Nixon's resignation in 1974 put Vice President Gerald Ford in the Oval Office. Unwilling to wait another eight years, Reagan challenged Ford with a blistering critique of his policies and appointments but lost the nomination by 60 votes.

Election of 1980

Ronald Reagan presidential campaign button : Button from Ronald Reagan's 1980 U.S. presidential campaign,.

Reagan dominated the Republican primary elections in 1980. Although his strongest opponent, George Bush, won an upset victory in the Iowa caucuses, Reagan bounced back after a notable performance in a debate with other Republican candidates in Nashua, New Hampshire. The debate, initially sponsored by a newspaper, was first extended to only Reagan and Bush, but Reagan decided to pay for the debate and invite the rest of the candidates. When all the candidates took the stage that evening, the Bush team appeared surprised, and, as Reagan began to explain the situation, the moderator from the newspaper instructed that Reagan's microphone be turned off. Reagan responded memorably with an angry line he remembered from a Spencer Tracy movie: "I am paying for this microphone!" Reagan went on to win New Hampshire and most of the other major primaries and entered the convention with a

commanding lead; he won the nomination on the first ballot with 1,939 votes to 37 for John Anderson and 13 for Bush, who had withdrawn from the contest before the vote. After some tense and ultimately fruitless negotiations with representatives of Ford, Reagan chose Bush as his running mate, and the two men campaigned against Democratic incumbents Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale on a platform promising steep tax cuts, increased defense spending, a balanced budget, and a constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

Iran hostage crisis : Blindfolded American hostage surrounded by captors outside the U.S. embassy in Tehran, November 9, 1979.

What Was the Iran Hostage Crisis? : After the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979 by Iranian students aligned with Ruhollah Khomeini, more than 50 Americans were held hostage for 444 days.

Carter began the campaign in a vulnerable position. Inflation had increased from 6 percent to more than 12 percent since his first year in office, and unemployment and interest rates were also high. An even more important factor than the economy, however, was Carter's apparent inability to resolve the Iran hostage crisis, which had continued for almost a year at the time of the election. On November 4, 1979, a mob of Iranian students had stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehrān and taken the diplomatic staff there hostage. In April 1980, after months of

fruitless negotiations with students and officials of Iran's revolutionary government (which had sanctioned the takeover), Carter ordered a military rescue operation, which failed dramatically. The hostage crisis contributed to a general public perception of the Carter administration as weak and indecisive, and the failed rescue mission reinforced Reagan's charge that the Democrats had allowed the country's military to deteriorate badly. In their only debate of the campaign, Reagan memorably reminded his national television audience of the country's economic problems by asking, "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" Carter, for his part, tried to make the most of Reagan's image among some of the electorate as an extremist and a warmonger, charging that as president Reagan would eliminate cherished social programs and threaten world peace. Reagan's smiling response to such charges—"There you go again" (a line he had practiced in preparation for the debate)—did not directly address the point, but it did convey a disarming image of sincerity, self-confidence, and friendliness, which most voters found appealing. On election day Reagan defeated Carter and John Anderson (who ran as an independent) with slightly more than half the popular vote, against Carter's 41 percent and Anderson's 7 percent. The vote in the electoral college was 489 to Carter's 49.

Presidency of Ronald Reagan

First Days

Domestic policies

Following the so-called "supply-side" economic program he propounded in his campaign, Reagan proposed massive tax cuts—30 percent reductions in both individual and corporate income taxes over a three-year period—which he believed would stimulate the economy and eventually increase revenues from taxes as income levels grew. At the same time, he proposed large increases in military expenditures ($1.5 trillion over a five-year period) and significant cuts in "discretionary" spending on social-welfare programs such as education, food stamps, low-income housing, school lunches for poor children, Medicaid (the major program of health insurance for the poor), and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In 1981 Congress passed most of the president's budget proposals, though the tax cut was scaled back slightly, to 25 percent.

Ronald Reagan : U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan, 1983.

The results of his economic program, which became known as Reaganomics, were mixed. A severe recession in 1982 pushed the nation's unemployment rate to nearly 11 percent, the highest it had been since the Great Depression. Bankruptcies and farm foreclosures reached record levels. The country's trade deficit increased from $25 billion in 1980 to $111 billion in 1984. In addition, the huge increases in military spending, combined with insufficient cuts in other programs, produced massive budget deficits, the largest in the country's history; by the end of Reagan's second term, the deficits would contribute to a tripling of the national debt, to more than $2.5 trillion. In order to address the deficit problem, Reagan backed away from strict supply-side theories to support a $98.3 billion

tax increase in 1982. By early 1983 the economy had begun to recover, and by the end of that year unemployment and inflation were significantly reduced; they remained relatively low in later years. Economic growth continued through the remainder of Reagan's presidency, a period that his supporters would hail as "the longest peacetime expansion in American history." Critics charged that the tax cuts and the fruits of economic growth benefited mainly the wealthy and that the gap between rich and poor had grown wider.

In keeping with his aim of reducing the role of government in the country's economic life, Reagan cut the budgets of many government departments and relaxed or ignored the enforcement of laws and regulations administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Department of the Interior, the Department of Transportation, and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, among other agencies. After the administration and Congress reduced regulations governing the savings and loan industry in the early 1980s, many savings institutions expanded recklessly through the decade and eventually collapsed, requiring bailouts by the federal government that cost taxpayers some $500 billion.

How Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman on the U.S. Supreme Court : O'Connor became the first female U.S. Supreme Court justice on September 25, 1981.

During his tenure in office, Reagan appointed more than half the federal judiciary and three new justices of the Supreme Court: Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court, Anthony Kennedy, and Antonin Scalia. He also elevated William Rehnquist to chief justice in 1986 upon the retirement of Warren Burger.

Foreign affairs

When he entered office in 1980, Reagan believed that the United States had grown weak militarily and had lost the respect it once commanded in world affairs. Aiming to restore the country to a position of moral as well as military preeminence in the world,

he called for massive increases in the defense budget to expand and modernize the military and urged a more aggressive approach to combating communism and related forms of leftist totalitarianism.

Relations with the Soviet Union of Ronald Reagan

Watch U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to dismantle the Berlin Wall, June 12, 1987 : U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan speaking at the Berlin Wall, June 12, 1987.

Reagan's militant anticommunism, combined with his penchant for harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric, was one of many factors that contributed to a worsening of relations with the Soviet Union in the first years of his presidency. At his first press conference as president, Reagan audaciously questioned the legitimacy of the Soviet government; two years later, in a memorable speech in Florida, he denounced the Soviet Union as "an evil empire" and "the focus of evil in the modern world." (The Soviets responded by saying that Reagan's remarks showed that his administration "can think only in terms of confrontation and bellicose, lunatic anticommunism.") The behavior of the

Soviet Union itself also strained relations—especially in December 1981, when the communist government of Poland, under intense pressure from Moscow, imposed martial law on the country to suppress the independent labor movement Solidarity; and in September 1983, when the Soviets shot down a Korean airliner en route from Alaska to Seoul as it strayed over strategically sensitive territory on Sakhalin Island. All 269 people aboard were killed, including 61 Americans. Reagan's massive military spending program, the largest in American peacetime history, was undoubtedly another factor, though some observers argued that the buildup—through the strain it imposed on the Soviet economy—was actually responsible for a host of positive developments in Reagan's second term, including a more accommodating Soviet position in arms negotiations, a weakening of the influence of hard-liners in the Soviet leadership, making possible the *glasnost* ("openness") and *perestroika* ("restructuring") policies of moderate Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev after 1985, and even the dissolution of the Soviet Union itself in 1990–91.

A significant component of Reagan's military buildup was his 1983 proposal for a space-based missile defense system that would use lasers and other as-yet-undeveloped killing technologies to destroy incoming Soviet nuclear missiles well before they could reach their targets in the United States.

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), dubbed "Star Wars" after the popular science-fiction movie of the late 1970s, was denounced by the Soviets, including Gorbachev, as a dangerous escalation of the arms race, a position also taken by many critics at home. Meanwhile, others argued that the project was technologically impossible and potentially a "black hole" in the country's defense budget. In later years, however, former Soviet officials cited SDI as a factor in the eventual collapse of their country, for it showed that the Soviet Union was politically unprepared for and economically incapable of competing in a new arms race with the United States, especially one led by someone as unrelenting as Reagan. Although Reagan never abandoned his support for SDI, it was eventually reconceived as a much smaller and more conventional defensive system than the one he originally proposed.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan : U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan (left) and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev shaking hands during a summit in Reykjavík, Iceland, October 1986.

U.S.-Soviet relations improved considerably during Reagan's second term, not least because Reagan softened his anticommunist rhetoric and adopted a more encouraging tone toward the changes then taking place in the Soviet Union. Reagan and Gorbachev met for the first time in November 1985, in Geneva, to discuss reductions in nuclear weapons. At a dramatic summit meeting in Reykjavík, Iceland, in October 1986, Gorbachev proposed a 50 percent reduction in the nuclear arsenals of each side, and for a time it seemed as though a historic agreement would be reached. Although the summit ended in failure owing to differences over SDI, it was followed up in December 1987 by a treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) on European soil. The INF Treaty was the first arms-control pact to require an actual reduction in nuclear arsenals rather than merely restricting their proliferation.

The Middle East and Central America

What caused the Black Monday stock market crash? : On October 19, 1987, the Dow Jones Industrial Average fell 508 points, about 22.6 percent of its value.

Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, Reagan dispatched 800 Marines to join an international force to oversee the evacuation of Palestinian guerrillas from West Beirut, then surrounded by Israeli troops. After Israel withdrew its troops from the Beirut area in September 1983, the Marine contingent remained—along with forces from Italy, France, and Britain—to protect the fragile Lebanese government, thereby identifying itself with one of the factions in the country's long and bloody civil war, which had begun in 1975. On the morning of October 23, 1983, a suicide bomber drove a truck laden with explosives into the Marine compound at the Beirut airport, killing 241 Marines and wounding 100 others. Although later investigations blamed the Marine chain of command for poor security at the base and "serious errors in judgment," Reagan decided to accept full blame for the tragedy himself, saying that the Marine commanders had "suffered enough." Reagan withdrew the Marines from Lebanon in February 1984.

Meanwhile, in the Caribbean island nation of Grenada, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was deposed and executed in a bloody coup by radical elements of his leftist New Jewel Movement. Less

than a week later, and only one day after the bombing of the Marine compound in Lebanon, Reagan ordered an invasion, which he justified as necessary to prevent the country from becoming a dangerous Soviet outpost and to protect American students at the medical school there. Joined by a contingent of troops from neighbouring Caribbean countries, U.S. forces quickly subdued elements of the Grenadan army and a small number of Cuban soldiers and construction workers. Critics immediately charged that the administration had staged the invasion to divert public attention from the bombing in Lebanon.

In January 1986 Reagan announced the imposition of economic sanctions on Libya and froze the country's assets in the United States, charging the Libyan government of General Muammar al-Qaddafi with sponsoring acts of international terrorism, including the December 1985 attacks on offices of the Israeli airline El Al in Rome and Vienna. In March a U.S. Navy task force conducted "freedom of navigation" exercises in the Gulf of Sidra, beyond the self-proclaimed territorial boundary Libya called the "Line of Death." Libya fired antiaircraft missiles at American warplanes, and the United States responded with attacks on Libyan ships and missile installations. Then, on April 5, two people, including an American serviceman, were killed by a bomb explosion in a discotheque in West Berlin. Blaming Libya, the United States

carried out retaliatory bombing raids on "terrorist-related targets" in Libya on April 14–15, including an attack on Qaddafi's residential compound in Tripoli.

In keeping with Reagan's belief that the United States should do more to prevent the spread of communism, his administration expanded military and economic assistance to friendly Third World governments battling leftist insurgencies, and he actively supported guerrilla movements and other opposition forces in countries with leftist governments. This policy, which became known as the Reagan Doctrine, was applied with particular zeal in Latin America. During the 1980s the United States supported military-dominated governments in El Salvador in a bloody civil war with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional; FMLN), providing the country with some $4 billion in military and economic aid and helping to organize and train elite units of the Salvadoran army. In Nicaragua, following the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional; FSLN) in 1979, the Sandinista government strengthened its ties to Cuba and other countries of the socialist bloc, a move that the Reagan administration regarded as a threat to the national security of the United States. In 1981 Reagan authorized $20 million to

recruit and train a band of anti-Sandinista guerrillas, many of whom were former supporters of Somoza, to overthrow the Sandinista government. Numbering about 15,000 by the mid-1980s, the "Contras," as they came to be called, were never a serious military threat to the Sandinistas, though they did cause millions of dollars in damage to the Nicaraguan economy through their attacks on farms and cooperatives, infrastructure, and other civilian targets. Using its influence in international lending agencies such as the World Bank, the United States was able to block most Nicaraguan loan requests from 1982, and in 1985 the administration declared a trade embargo. These measures, combined with Contra attacks and the Sandinista's own mismanagement, effectively undermined the Nicaraguan economy by the end of the 1980s.

The Iran-Contra Affair of Ronald Reagan

At the time of the presidential election of 1984, Reagan was at the height of his popularity. Using slogans such as "It's morning in America" and "America is back," his reelection campaign emphasized the country's economic prosperity and its renewed leadership role in world affairs. On election day Reagan and Bush easily defeated their Democratic opponents, Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, by 59 percent to 41 percent of the popular vote; in the electoral college Reagan received 525

votes to Mondale's 13, the largest number of electoral votes of any candidate in history. With most of the country behind him, Reagan's prospects in his second term appeared bright. Only two years later, however, he would become embroiled in the worst scandal of his political career, one that would cost him much popular and party support and significantly impair his ability to lead the country.

In early November 1985, at the suggestion of the head of the National Security Council (NSC), Robert ("Bud") McFarlane, Reagan authorized a secret initiative to sell antitank and antiaircraft missiles to Iran in exchange for that country's help in securing the release of Americans held hostage by terrorist groups in Lebanon. The initiative directly contradicted the administration's publicly stated policy of refusing to negotiate with terrorists or to aid countries—such as Iran—that supported international terrorism. News of the arms-for-hostages deal, first made public in November 1986 (only one month after Reagan ordered raids on Libya in retaliation for its alleged involvement in the Berlin bombing), proved intensely embarrassing to the president. Even more damaging, however, was the announcement later that month by Attorney General Edwin Meese that a portion of the $48 million earned from the sales had been diverted to a secret fund to purchase

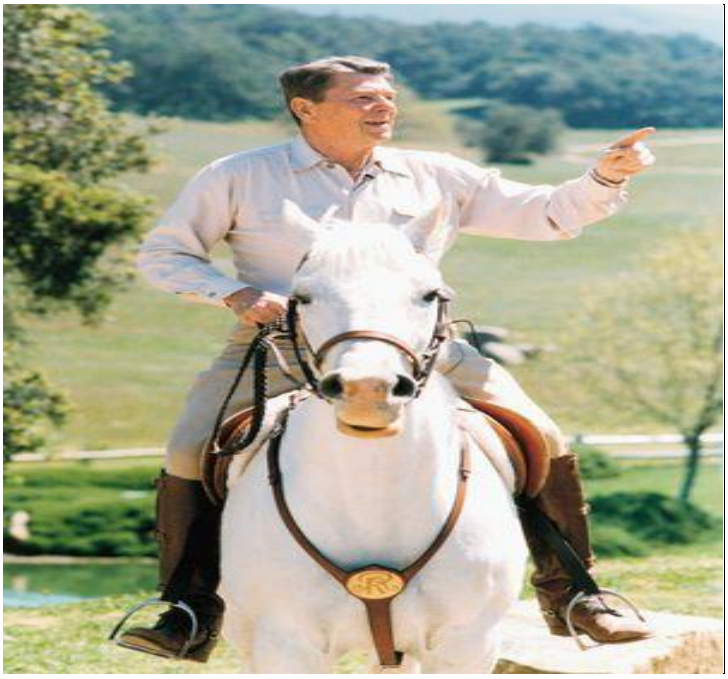
weapons and supplies for the Contras in Nicaragua. The diversion was undertaken by an obscure NSC aide, U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, with the approval of McFarlane's successor at the NSC, Rear Admiral John Poindexter. (North, as it was later revealed, had also engaged in private fund-raising for the Contras.) These activities constituted a violation of a law passed by Congress in 1984 (the second Boland Amendment) that forbade direct or indirect American military aid to the Contra insurgency.

Iran-Contra Affair: Oliver North : Lieut. Col. Oliver North testifying at the Iran-Contra hearings in Washington, D.C., 1987.

In response to the crisis, by this time known as the Iran-Contra Affair, Reagan fired both North and Poindexter and appointed a special commission, headed by former senator John Tower of Texas (the Tower Commission), to investigate the matter. An independent counsel, Judge Lawrence Walsh, was also appointed, and the House and Senate began joint hearings to examine both the arms sales and the military assistance to the Contras. As a result of Walsh's investigations, North and

Poindexter were convicted on charges of obstructing justice and related offenses, but their convictions were overturned on appeal, on the ground that testimony given at their trials had been influenced by information they had supplied to Congress under a limited grant of immunity. Reagan accepted responsibility for the arms-for-hostages deal but denied any knowledge of the diversion. Although no evidence came to light to indicate that he was more deeply involved, many in Congress and the public remained skeptical. Nevertheless, most of the public eventually appeared willing to forgive him for whatever they thought he had done, and his popularity, which had dropped dramatically during the first months of the crisis, gradually recovered.

Retirement and declining health



Ronald Reagan : U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan riding El Alamein at Rancho del Cielo, Santa Barbara, California, April 8, 1985.

In the presidential election of 1988, Reagan campaigned actively for the Republican nominee, Vice President Bush. In large part because of Reagan's continued popularity, Bush defeated Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis by 53 percent to 46 percent in the popular vote; the vote in the electoral college was 426 to 111. Reagan retired to his home in Los Angeles, where he wrote his autobiography, *An American Life* (1990). In 1994, in a letter to the American people, Reagan disclosed that he had been diagnosed with Alzheimer disease, a degenerative brain disorder.

To some observers Reagan's declining health had been evident for many years. Mindful of her husband's diminished capacity, Nancy Reagan occasionally would screen him from the press by intercepting reporters' questions and then whispering an appropriate response in his ear. Reagan's health problems made public appearances difficult for the former president, but his popularity hardly waned. National Airport in Washington, D.C., was renamed Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport by Congress and President Bill Clinton in February 1998. Reagan's conservative policies and heated rhetoric had always infuriated liberals, and his administration had experienced its

share of scandals and disappointments. But to his millions of fans and political admirers, this tribute was the least the government could do for the man who had helped to end the Cold War and restored, however fleetingly, the country's confidence in itself and its faith in a better tomorrow.

Cabinet of President
Ronald Reagan

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of President Ronald Reagan.

Cabinet of President Ronald Reagan

January 20, 1981–January 20, 1985 (Term 1)	
State	Alexander Meigs Haig, Jr.
	George Pratt Shultz (from July 16, 1982)
Treasury	Donald Thomas Regan
Defense	Caspar Willard Weinberger
Attorney General	William French Smith
Interior	James Gaius Watt
	William Patrick Clark (from November 21, 1983)

Cabinet of President Ronald Reagan

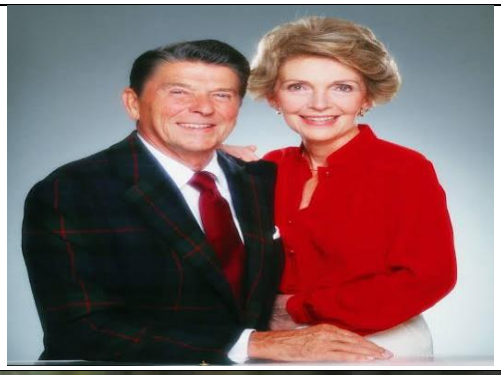
January 20, 1981–January 20, 1985 (Term 1)	
Agriculture	John Rusling Block
Commerce	Malcolm Baldrige
Labor	Raymond Joseph Donovan
Health and Human Services	Richard Schultz Schweiker
	Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy Heckler (from March 9, 1983)
Housing and Urban Development	Samuel Riley Pierce, Jr.
Transportation	Drew (Andrew) Lindsay Lewis, Jr.
	Elizabeth Hanford Dole (from February 7, 1983)
Energy	James Burrows Edwards
	Donald Paul Hodel (from December 8, 1982)
Education	Terrel Howard Bell
January 20, 1985–January 20, 1989 (Term 2)	
State	George Pratt Shultz
Treasury	Donald Thomas Regan

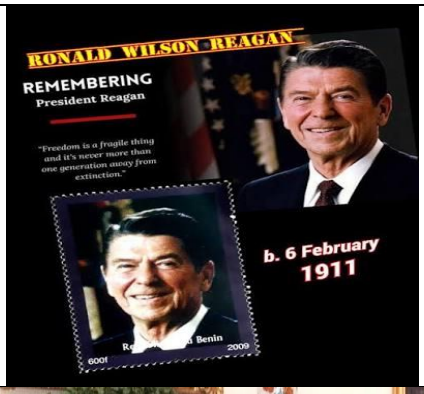
Cabinet of President Ronald Reagan

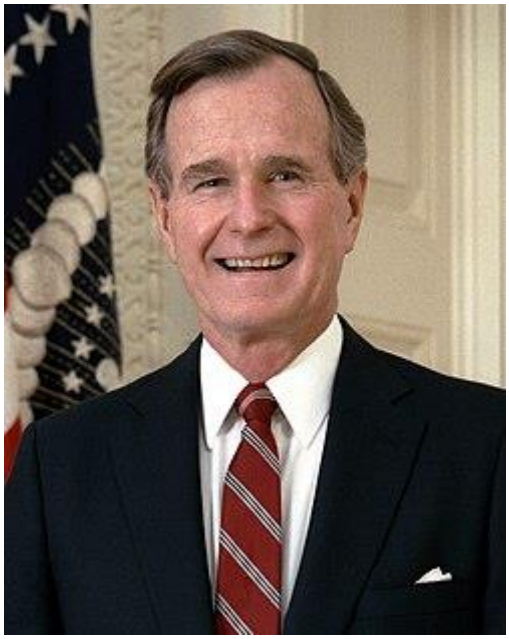
January 20, 1981–January 20, 1985 (Term 1)	
	James Addison Baker III (from February 25, 1985)
	Nicholas Frederick Brady (from August 18, 1988)
Defense	Caspar Willard Weinberger
	Frank Charles Carlucci III (from November 21, 1987)
Attorney General	William French Smith
	Edwin Meese III (from February 25, 1985)
	Richard Lewis (Dick) Thornburgh (from August 11, 1988)
Interior	Donald Paul Hodel
Agriculture	John Rusling Block
	Richard Edmund Lyng (from March 7, 1986)
Commerce	Malcolm Baldrige
	Calvin William Verity, Jr. (from October 19, 1987)
Labor	Raymond James Donovan

Cabinet of President Ronald Reagan

January 20, 1981–January 20, 1985 (Term 1)	
	William Emerson (Bill) Brock III (from April 29, 1985)
	Ann Dore McLaughlin (from December 17, 1987)
Health and Human Services	Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy Heckler
	Otis Ray Bowen (from December 13, 1985)
Housing and Urban Development	Samuel Riley Pierce, Jr.
Transportation	Elizabeth Hanford Dole
	James Horace Burnley IV (from December 3, 1987)
Energy	John Stewart Herrington
Education	Terrel Howard Bell
	William John Bennett (from February 7, 1985)
	Lauro Fred Cavazos, Jr. (from September 20, 1988)




RONALD WILSON REAGAN
REMEMBERING
President Reagan
"Freedom is a fragile thing and it's never more than one generation away from extinction."
b. 6 February
1911



George H.W. Bush

41st President of the United States

[20 January 1989 <::> 20 January 1993]

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03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-H-W-Bush

04] George H.W. Bush Interview: Reflections on His Life & Presidency
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yoow7FjLMww [56:25]

President George H.W. Bush recalls the example his father set that gave him his sense of service, advice he received from his mother while in the White House, and the

enormous role and impact of his wife Babara. He discusses the lessons he learned from Ronald Reagan while serving as his vice president, the importance he places on loyalty, and reflects on his time as president.

05] The George and Barbara Bush Foundation
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2x7dP3H-XsQ [1:26:26]

An enlightening look at one of America's most beloved leaders — President George H.W. Bush, the 41st President of the United States — 41ON41 takes a look at President Bush's policy decisions and bipartisanship as well as his good humor and character. 41ON41 takes the viewer on an emotional journey as it reveals a remarkable husband, father, grandfather and friend who also happened to be the leader of the free world. Led by former First Lady Barbara Bush, the 41 storytellers include an interesting array of people from former presidents and world leaders… to comedians, Hall of Famers and skydivers … to Secret Service agents, White House butlers, family members, fishing buddies and more — several of whom have never spoken on camera until now. The narrative is a seamless weave of behind-the-scenes stories told by 41 extraordinary people — some funny, some poignant, all fascinating. President Bush's handling of the momentous events of 1989 through 1992 — among them the Fall of the Berlin Wall, the unprecedented international coalition after Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, and the 1990 budget deal — are described by eyewitnesses to history who were inside the Oval Office. The documentary also includes never-before-seen footage from the Bush Library and the Bush family's private collection. A film for all ages, 41ON41 generates a true understanding of the enormous impact and incredible decency of our 41st President.

06] Remembering President George H.W. Bush
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hM0poNXnjb0 [1:30:35]

07] Transforming Our World: President George H. W. Bush and American Foreign Policy
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xTN44HIV8-k [1:32:05]

Please join us for a conversation on the essay anthology, Transforming Our World: President George H. W. Bush and American Foreign Policy. The book presents detailed first-hand accounts from high level officials under the H.W. Bush Administration, examining the 41st president's foreign policy approach. The discussion will center around President George H. W. Bush's foreign policy challenges and achievements during his time in office, from the end of the Cold War through the Tiananmen Square Massacre, the fall out of the Iran-Contra scandal and the Gulf War.

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George H.W. Bush (born June 12, 1924, Milton, Massachusetts, U.S.—died November 30, 2018, Houston, Texas) was a politician and businessman who was vice president of the United States (1981–89) and the 41st president of the United States (1989–93). As president, Bush assembled a multinational force to compel the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait in the Persian Gulf War.

Early life and career

Prescott S. Bush and family : Prescott S. Bush (sitting, center) and three generations of his family, including son George H.W. Bush (top left), grandson George W. Bush (far left), and grandson Jeb Bush (fifth from left, standing, in shorts).

Navy pilot George Bush : George Bush serving as a navy pilot during World War II.

Bush was the son of Prescott Sheldon Bush, an investment banker and U.S. senator from Connecticut, and Dorothy Walker Bush, scion of a prominent St. Louis, Missouri, family. (Her father established the annual golf competition known as the Walker Cup.) The young Bush grew up in Greenwich, Connecticut, and attended private schools there and in Andover, Massachusetts. Upon graduation from Phillips Academy, Andover, he joined the U.S. Naval Reserve. He served from 1942

to 1944 as a torpedo bomber pilot on aircraft carriers in the Pacific during World War II, flying some 58 combat missions. He was shot down by the Japanese in 1944. For his service he won the Distinguished Flying Cross. In January 1945 he married Barbara Pierce (Barbara Bush).

Following the family tradition, Bush attended Yale University, graduating in 1948. His membership in the Skull and Bones secret society later became an issue that his critics used as evidence of elitism. Rejecting opportunities in his father's firm, he moved with his young family to Texas and became a salesman of oil field supplies. He founded the Bush-Overbey Oil Development Company (1951), the Zapata Petroleum Corporation (1953), and the Zapata Off-Shore Company (1954).

George H.W. Bush and his family, 1964 : The Bush family in 1964 in Houston, Texas. Parents George and Barbara Bush are shown sitting on the loveseat, their sons George W. Bush perching on the arm and Jeb Bush standing center.

George and Barbara Bush : George and Barbara Bush in Houston, Texas, on the night that he was elected to Congress in November 1966.

In 1959 he became active in the Republican Party in Houston.

After losing a campaign for the U.S. Senate to Democrat Ralph Yarborough in 1964, Bush was elected in 1966 to a safely

Republican seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. He gave up the seat in 1970 to run again for the Senate. He was defeated again, this time by Democrat Lloyd Bentsen, Jr. Shortly after his defeat, Bush was appointed by Pres. Richard M. Nixon to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN; 1971–72). In 1973, as the Watergate Scandal was erupting, Bush became chairman of the Republican National Committee. In this post, he stood by Nixon until August 1974, when he joined a growing chorus of voices calling on the president to resign.

George Bush : U.S. Central Intelligence Agency director-designate George Bush meeting with Pres. Gerald Ford in the Oval Office, 1975.

Later in 1974, Pres. Gerald R. Ford, who had nominated Nelson Rockefeller as his vice president, named a disappointed Bush

chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing—which was then the senior U.S. representative in China, because relations between the two countries did not permit the exchange of ambassadors. He served in this capacity until he was asked to head the Central Intelligence Agency in 1976. As CIA director, Bush took steps to ensure that the agency's activities did not exceed congressional authorization. When Jimmy Carter took office in 1977, Bush resigned and returned to Texas, where in 1979 he announced his candidacy for president.

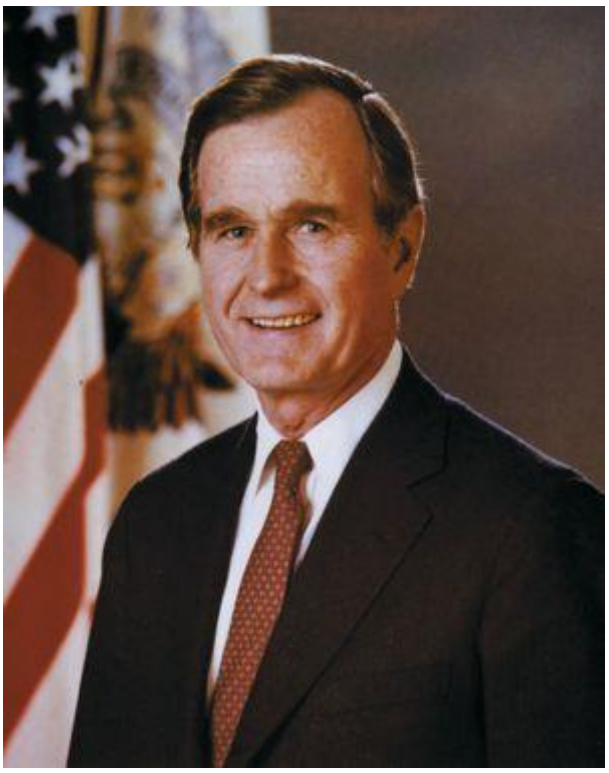
At a glance: the Bush presidency

Vice presidency

Ronald Reagan (left) and George Bush : U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan (left) and Vice Pres. George Bush in the White House.

After declaring that his opponent, the more popular and conservative Ronald W. Reagan, would have to practice "voodoo economics" in order to increase federal revenue by lowering taxes, Bush abandoned his campaign for the Republican Party's presidential nomination in May 1980 and threw his support behind Reagan, who then chose Bush as his running mate. The Reagan–Bush ticket defeated the Democratic ticket of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale by a wide margin in the 1980 presidential election. Bush won Reagan's loyalty, and the two were reelected in 1984 for a second term in an even greater landslide.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush : U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan (left) and Vice Pres. George Bush waving at the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas.



George H.W. Bush : U.S. Pres. George H.W. Bush, 1989.

As vice president, Bush traveled more than one million miles as the administration's representative. When asked about his involvement in the Iran-Contra Affair—in which the Reagan administration, in violation of a law passed by Congress in 1984, used funds from the illegal sale of arms to Iran to fund Contra rebels fighting the Marxist government of Nicaragua—Bush claimed that he was "out of the loop," though he did admit knowing about the arms sale to Iran. In 1987 he published an autobiography, *Looking Forward* (written with Victor Gold).

George Bush: Campaign button : Button from George Bush's 1988 presidential campaign

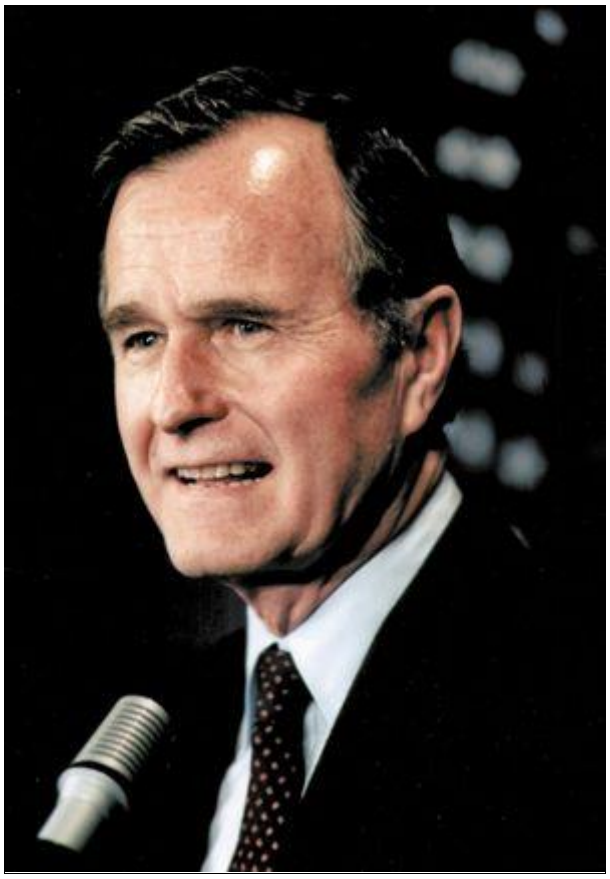
Witness the inaugural address of President George Bush at Washington, D.C., January 20, 1989 : U.S. Pres. George Bush delivering his inaugural address, Washington, D.C., Jan. 20, 1989.

An early and leading candidate for the Republican Party's nomination for the presidency in 1988, he secured the

nomination and, together with his running mate, Dan Quayle, defeated the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis, in the general election, winning 53 percent of the popular vote to Dukakis's 46 percent. Although Bush had called for a "kinder, and gentler, nation" in his speech accepting the nomination, his campaign was negative, at one point criticizing Dukakis with a phrase—"card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union"—reminiscent of that used by Sen. Joseph McCarthy during the Red Scare of the early 1950s. Bush also won support with his pledge to continue the Reagan economic program, repeatedly stating "Read my lips, no new taxes!"

Presidency of George H.W. Bush

Taking the oath of office : George Bush takes the oath of office as U.S. president, January 20, 1989



George Bush : U.S. Pres. George Bush, undated photograph.

Upon assuming office, Bush made a number of notable senior staff appointments, among them that of Gen. Colin Powell to chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. His other important policy makers included James Baker as secretary of state and William Bennett as director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. In the course of his presidency, he also nominated two Supreme Court justices, David H. Souter (to

replace the retiring William J. Brennan) and the more controversial Clarence Thomas (to replace Thurgood Marshall).

U.S. invasion of Panama : Buildings engulfed in flames following the U.S. invasion of Panama, December 1989.

Manuel Noriega : U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency agents escorting Manuel Noriega (center) to an aircraft bound for the United States, January 3, 1990.

From the outset of his presidency, however, Bush demonstrated far more interest in foreign than domestic policy. On December 20, 1989, he ordered a military invasion of Panama, part of a plan

called Operation Just Cause, in order to topple that country's leader, Gen. Manuel Noriega, who—though at one time of service to the U.S. government—had become notorious for his brutality and his involvement in the drug trade. The invasion, which lasted four days, resulted in hundreds of deaths, mostly of Panamanians, and the operation was denounced by both the Organization of American States and the UN General Assembly.

George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev : U.S. President George Bush shaking hands with Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union.

Bush's presidency coincided with world events of large proportion, including the collapse of communism in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany.

In November 1990 Bush met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Paris and signed a mutual nonaggression pact, a symbolic conclusion to the Cold War. They also signed treaties sharply reducing the number of weapons that the two superpowers had stockpiled over the decades of Cold War hostility.

In August 1990, Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait. Bush led a worldwide UN-approved embargo against Iraq to force its withdrawal and sent U.S. military contingent to Saudi Arabia to counteract Iraqi pressure and intimidation. Perhaps his most significant diplomatic achievement was the skillful construction of a coalition of western European and Arab states against Iraq. Over the objections of those who favored restraint, Bush increased the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf region to about 500,000 troops within a few months. When Iraq failed to withdraw from Kuwait, he authorized U.S.-led air offensive that began on January 16–17, 1991. The ensuing Persian Gulf War culminated in an Allied ground offensive in late

February that decimated Iraq's armies and restored Kuwait's independence.

Did You Know?

George H.W. Bush first parachuted from an aircraft in 1944 after his plane was shot down over the Pacific during World War II. He did not skydive again until 1997, at age 72. He made another jump in 1999 to celebrate his 75th birthday, beginning a tradition of skydiving every five years to mark the occasion. His final jump came in 2014, when he turned 90.

George H.W. Bush : U.S. Pres. George H.W. Bush smiling after successfully completing a parachute jump to celebrate his 80th birthday, College Station, Texas, June 13, 2004.

On the strength of his victory over Iraq and his competent leadership in foreign affairs, Bush's approval rating soared to about 90 percent. This popularity soon waned, however, as an economic recession that began in late 1990 persisted into 1992.

Throughout this period, Bush showed much less initiative in domestic affairs, though he initially worked with Congress in efforts to reduce the federal government's continuing large budget deficits. A moderate conservative, he made no drastic departures from Reagan's policies—except in taxes. In 1990, in a move that earned him the enmity of his conservative supporters and the distrust of many voters who had backed him in 1988, he reneged on his "read my lips" pledge and raised taxes in an attempt to cope with the soaring budget deficit.

Bush's policy reversal on taxation and his inability to turn around the economy—his failure to put across what he called "the vision thing" to the American public—ultimately proved his downfall. Bush ran a lackluster campaign for reelection in 1992. He faced a fierce early challenge from Patrick Buchanan in the Republican primary, and then lost votes in the general election to third-party candidate Ross Perot. Meanwhile, Bush's Democratic opponent, Bill Clinton of Arkansas, hammered away at the issue of the deteriorating economy in the oft-

repeated words of Clinton strategist James Carville, the key issue of the day was "the economy, stupid." Bush, the first vice president since Martin Van Buren in 1836 to succeed directly to the presidency via an election rather than the death of the incumbent, lost to Clinton by a popular vote of 37 percent to Clinton's 43 percent. Perot garnered an impressive 19 percent of the vote. In trying to explain how Bush—always an active man and an avid jogger—could have run such a lifeless campaign and performed so poorly in four debates with Clinton, some analysts postulated that Bush was hampered by medication he had been taking to treat his atrial fibrillation, reportedly caused by Graves disease. Bush's campaign managers vehemently denied the theory.

In his last weeks in office, Bush ordered U.S. military-led missions to feed the starving citizens of war-torn Somalia, thereby placing U.S. marines in the crossfire of warring factions and inadvertently causing the deaths of 18 soldiers. Equally as controversial was his pardoning of six Reagan administration

officials charged with illegal actions associated with the Iran-Contra Affair.

Retirement of George H.W. Bush

George and Barbara Bush : U.S. Pres. George Bush and first lady Barbara Bush at the White House.

George W. Bush and George H.W. Bush, 2001 :George W. Bush sitting at his desk in the Oval Office, with his father, George H.W. Bush, looking on, 2001.

Bush and his wife, Barbara, returned to Houston on the day of Clinton's inauguration and had little involvement with the Republican Party thereafter. His son George W. Bush, a popular two-term governor of Texas, successfully ran for president in 2000, becoming the second son of a president to win the White House; the first was John Quincy Adams in 1824. Another son, Jeb, served as governor of Florida from 1999 to 2007 and unsuccessfully ran for president in 2016. In 2005 former presidents Bush and Clinton appeared in a series of televised advertisements to raise funds for victims of the Indian Ocean tsunami (2004) and Hurricane Katrina (2005). Bush was named UN special envoy for the disaster resulting from the Indian Ocean tsunami. In 2011 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Cabinet of Pres. George H.W. Bush

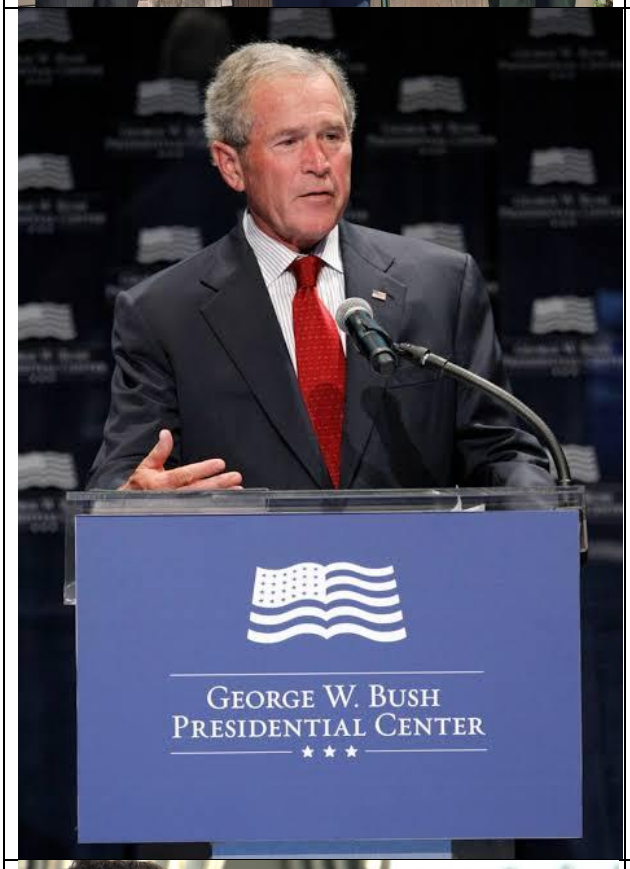
The table provides list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. George H.W. Bush.

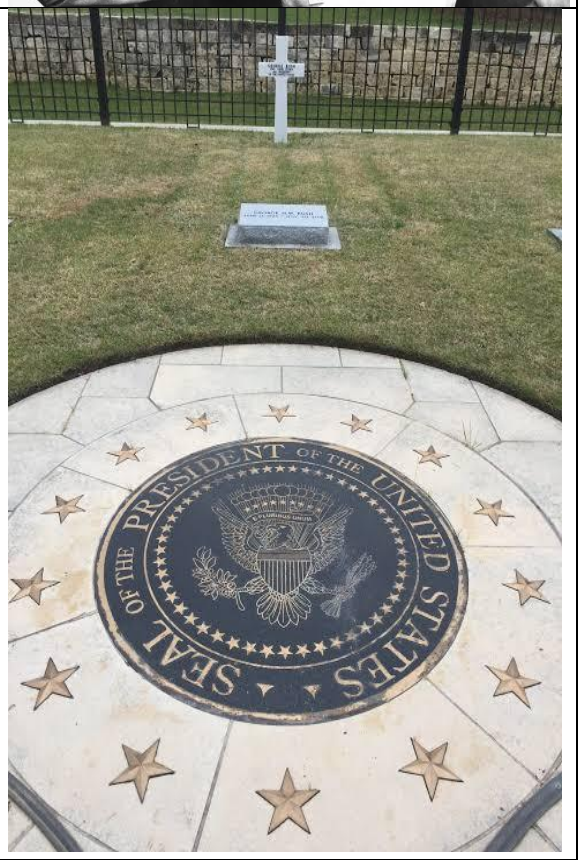
Cabinet of President George H.W. Bush

January 20, 1989–January 20, 1993	
*Newly created department.	
State	James Addison Baker III
Treasury	Nicholas Frederick Brady
Attorney General	Richard Lewis (Dick) Thornburgh
	William P. Barr (from November 20, 1991)
Interior	Manuel Lujan, Jr.
Agriculture	Clayton Keith Yeutter
	Edward Madigan (from March 7, 1991)
Commerce	Robert Adam Mosbacher
Labor	Elizabeth Hanford Dole
Defense	Dick Cheney
Health and Human Services	Louis Wade Sullivan
Housing and Urban Development	Jack Kemp

Cabinet of President George H.W. Bush

January 20, 1989–January 20, 1993	
Transportation	Samuel K. Skinner
	Andrew H. Card (from January 22, 1992)
Energy	James David Watkins
Education	Lauro Fred Cavazos, Jr.
	Lamar Alexander (from March 14, 1991)
Veterans Affairs*	Edward Joseph Derwinski (from March 15, 1989)


GEORGE W. BUSH
PRESIDENTIAL CENTER


SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Bill Clinton

42nd President of the United States
[20 January 1993 <::> 20 January 2001]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/william-clinton

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/williamjclinton

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bill-Clinton

04] The Deposition of President Bill Clinton on the Epstein Probe
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rgJrYKAl6T0 [4:33:18]

05] A Conversation with President Bill Clinton: Martin S. Indyk Memorial Lecture
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gD_jNp4uyrw [1:08:19]

06] Bill Clinton Interview: Reflections on Presidency & Legacy
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t2_ww3WJq1Q [46:03]
07] Citizenship: A Conversation With Bill Clinton on America's Future
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZtuF_etO4o [47:40]

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Bill Clinton (born August 19, 1946, Hope, Arkansas, U.S.) is the 42nd president of the United States (1993–2001), who oversaw the country's longest peacetime economic expansion. In 1998 he became the second U.S. president to be impeached; he was acquitted by the Senate in 1999.

(Read President Clinton's Britannica essay on the Dayton Accords.)

Early life

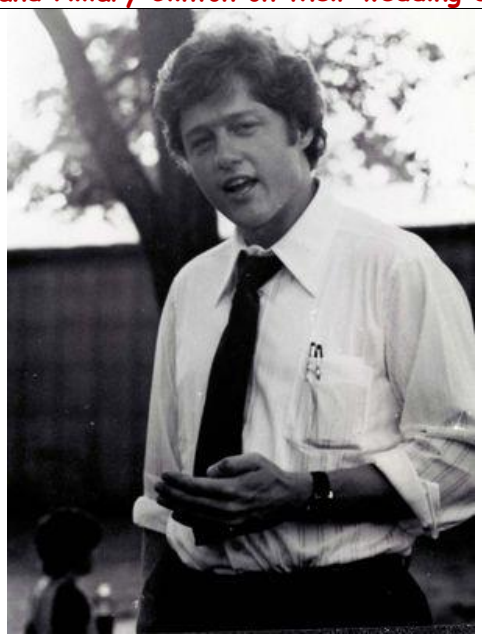
Bill Clinton : Bill Clinton as a young boy.

Bill Clinton's father was a traveling salesman who died in an automobile accident three months before his son was born. His widow, Virginia Dell Blythe, married Roger Clinton, and, despite their unstable union (they divorced and then remarried) and her husband's alcoholism, her son eventually took his stepfather's name. Reared in part by his maternal grandmother, Bill Clinton developed political aspirations at an early age; they were solidified (by his own account) in July 1963, when he met and shook hands with Pres. John F. Kennedy.

Clinton enrolled at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., in 1964 and graduated in 1968 with a degree in international affairs. During his freshman and sophomore years he was elected student president, and during his junior and senior years he worked as an intern for Sen. J. William Fulbright, the Arkansas Democrat who chaired the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Fulbright was a vocal critic of the Vietnam War, and Clinton, like many young men of his generation, opposed the war as well. He received a draft deferment for the first year of his studies as a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford in 1968 and later attempted to extend the deferment by applying to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program at the University of Arkansas School of Law. Although he soon

changed his plans and returned to Oxford, thus making himself eligible for the draft, he was not chosen. While at Oxford, Clinton wrote a letter to the director of the Arkansas ROTC program thanking the director for "saving" him from the draft and explaining his concern that his opposition to the war could ruin his future "political viability." During this period Clinton also experimented with marijuana; his later claim that he "didn't inhale" would become the subject of much ridicule.

Political partners : Bill and Hillary Clinton on their wedding day, October 11, 1975.



Bill Clinton : Bill Clinton campaigning for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1974.

Bill Clinton : Bill Clinton being sworn in as governor of Arkansas, January 9, 1979.

After graduating from Yale University Law School in 1973, Clinton joined the faculty of the University of Arkansas School of Law, where he taught until 1976. In 1974 he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1975 he married a fellow Yale Law graduate, attorney Hillary Rodham (Hillary Clinton), who thereafter took an active role in his political career. In the following year he was elected attorney general of Arkansas, and in 1978 he won the governorship, becoming the youngest governor the country had seen in 40 years.

At a glance: the Clinton presidency
Governor of Arkansas

After an eventful two-year term as governor, Clinton failed in his reelection bid in 1980, the year his daughter and only child, Chelsea, was born. After apologizing to voters for unpopular decisions he had made as governor (such as highway-

improvement projects funded by increases in the state gasoline tax and automobile licensing fees), he regained the governor's office in 1982 and was successively reelected three more times by substantial margins. A pragmatic, centrist Democrat, he imposed mandatory competency testing for teachers and students and encouraged investment in the state by granting tax breaks to industries. He became a prominent member of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group that sought to recast the party's agenda away from its traditional liberalism and move it closer to what it perceived as the center of American political life.

Bill Clinton and Al Gore : Bill Clinton (right) and Al Gore at the Democratic National Convention in New York, July 16, 1992.

Witness President Bill Clinton delivering his first inaugural address, January 20, 1993
:U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton delivering his first inaugural address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1993.

Clinton declared his candidacy for president while still governor of Arkansas. Just before the New Hampshire presidential primary, his campaign was nearly derailed by widespread press coverage of his alleged 12-year affair with an Arkansas woman, Gennifer Flowers. In a subsequent interview watched by millions of viewers on the television news program *60 Minutes*, Clinton and his wife admitted to having marital problems. Clinton's popularity soon rebounded, and he scored a strong second-place showing in New Hampshire—a performance for which he labeled himself the "Comeback Kid." On the strength of his middle-of-

the-road approach, his apparent sympathy for the concerns of ordinary Americans (his statement "I feel your pain" became a well-known phrase), and his personal warmth, he eventually won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1992. Facing incumbent Pres. George Bush, Clinton and his running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, argued that 12 years of Republican leadership had led to political and economic stagnation. In November the Clinton-Gore ticket defeated both Bush and independent candidate Ross Perot with 43 percent of the popular vote to 37 percent for Bush and 19 percent for Perot; Clinton defeated Bush in the electoral college by a vote of 370 to 168. Clinton thus became the first member of the baby boom generation to occupy the White House.

Presidency of Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton: Oval Office meeting :
Pres. Bill Clinton meeting with gay and lesbian leaders, April 16, 1993.

The Clinton administration got off to a shaky start, the victim of what some critics called ineptitude and bad judgment. His attempt to fulfill a campaign promise to end discrimination against gay men and lesbians in the military was met with criticism from conservatives and some military leaders—including Gen. Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In response, Clinton proposed a compromise policy—summed up by the phrase "Don't ask, don't tell"—that failed to satisfy either side of the issue. Clinton's first two nominees for attorney general withdrew after questions were raised about domestic workers they had hired. Clinton's efforts to sign campaign-finance reform legislation were quashed by a Republican filibuster in the Senate, as was his economic-stimulus package.

•*(What U.S. presidents have been impeached? The list is short and, perhaps, surprising.)*

Clinton had promised during the campaign to institute a system of universal health insurance. His appointment of his wife to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, a novel role for the country's first lady, was criticized by conservatives, who objected both to the propriety of the arrangement and to Hillary Rodham Clinton's feminist views. They joined lobbyists for the insurance industry, small-business organizations, and the American Medical Association to

campaign vehemently against the task force's eventual proposal, the Health Security Act. Despite protracted negotiations with Congress, all efforts to pass compromise legislation failed.

Despite these early missteps, Clinton's first term was marked by numerous successes, including the passage by Congress of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which created a free-trade zone for the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Clinton also appointed several women and minorities to significant government posts throughout his administration, including Janet Reno as attorney general, Donna Shalala as secretary of Health and Human Services, Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general, Madeleine Albright as the first woman secretary of state, Ruth Bader Ginsburg as the second woman justice on the United States Supreme Court, and Cheryl Shavers as undersecretary of commerce for technology at the U.S. Department of Commerce. During Clinton's first term, Congress enacted a deficit-reduction package—which passed the Senate with a tie-breaking vote from Gore—and some 30 major bills related to education, crime prevention, the environment, and women's and family issues, including the Violence Against Women Act and the Family and Medical Leave Act.

In January 1994 Attorney General Reno approved an investigation into business dealings by Clinton and his wife with an Arkansas housing development corporation known

as Whitewater. Led from August by independent counsel Kenneth Starr, the Whitewater inquiry consumed several years and more than $50 million but did not turn up conclusive evidence of wrongdoing by the Clintons.

Bill Clinton : Bill Clinton visiting U.S. troops at Tuzla Air Base in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1996.

The renewal of the Whitewater investigation under Starr, the continuing rancorous debate in Congress over Clinton's health care initiative, and the liberal character of some of Clinton's policies—which alienated significant numbers of American voters—all contributed to Republican electoral victories in November 1994, when the party gained a majority in both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years. A chastened Clinton subsequently tempered some of his policies and accommodated some Republican proposals, eventually

embracing a more aggressive deficit-reduction plan and a massive overhaul of the country's welfare system while continuing to oppose Republican efforts to cut government spending on social programs. Ultimately, most American voters found themselves more alienated by the uncompromising and confrontational behavior of the new Republicans in Congress than they had been by Clinton, who won considerable public sympathy for his more moderate approach.

Oslo Accords : U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton looking on as Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (left) shakes hands with PLO Chair Yasser Arafat after signing the Oslo Accords in September 1993.

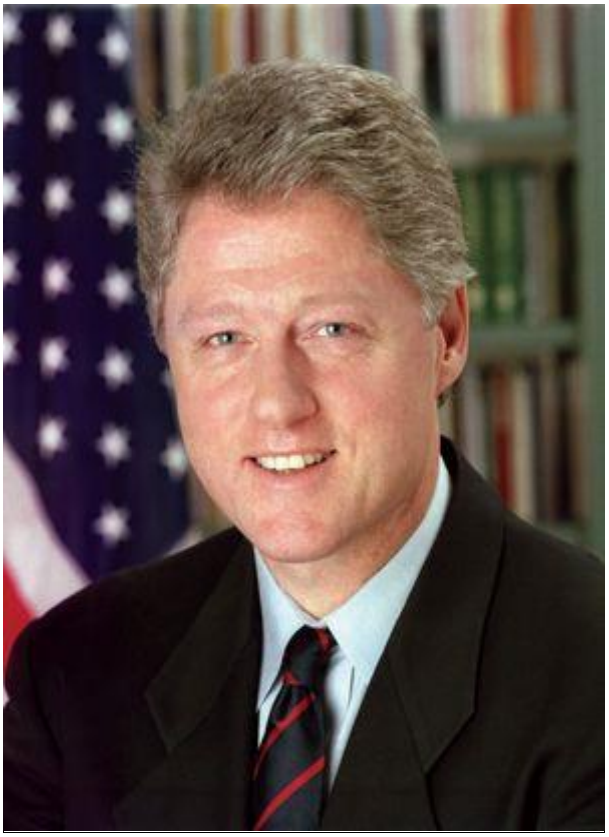
Clinton's initiatives in foreign policy during his first term included a successful effort in September–October 1994 to reinstate Haitian Pres. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who had been ousted by a military coup in 1991; the sponsorship of peace talks and the eventual Dayton Accords (1995) aimed at ending the ethnic

conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and a leading role in the ongoing attempt to bring about a permanent resolution of the dispute between Palestinians and Israelis. In 1993 he invited Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat to Washington to sign a historic agreement that granted limited Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Although scandal was never far from the White House—a fellow Arkansan who had been part of the administration committed suicide; there were rumors of financial irregularities that had occurred in Little Rock; former associates were indicted and convicted of crimes; and rumors of sexual impropriety involving the president persisted—Clinton was handily reelected in 1996, buoyed by a recovering and increasingly strong economy. He captured 49 percent of the popular vote to Republican Bob Dole's 41 percent and Perot's 8 percent; the electoral vote was 379 to 159. Strong economic growth continued during Clinton's second term, eventually setting a record for the country's longest peacetime expansion. By 1998 the Clinton administration was overseeing the first balanced budget since 1969 and the largest budget surpluses in the country's history. The vibrant economy also produced historically high levels of home ownership and the lowest unemployment rate in nearly 30 years.

- *Who survives a political scandal?*

Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky : U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton embracing White House intern Monica Lewinsky at a Democratic fundraiser, October 1996.



Bill Clinton: U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton.

In 1998 Starr was granted permission to expand the scope of his continuing investigation to determine whether Clinton had encouraged a 24-year-old White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, to state falsely under oath that she and Clinton had not had an affair. The details of the relationship were first made public in January 1998 by the Drudge Report. Clinton repeatedly and publicly denied that the affair had taken place. His compelled testimony, which appeared evasive and disingenuous even to Clinton's supporters (he responded to one question by stating, "It depends on what the meaning of the word *is* is"), prompted renewed criticism of Clinton's character from conservatives and liberals alike. After conclusive evidence of the affair came to light, Clinton apologized to his family and to the American public. On the basis of Starr's 445-page report and supporting evidence, the House of Representatives in 1998 approved two articles of impeachment, for perjury and obstruction of justice. Clinton was acquitted of the charges by the Senate in 1999. Despite his impeachment, Clinton's job-approval rating remained high.

(Read Monica Lewinsky's Britannica essay on cyberbullying.)

Wye River Memorandum : Yasser Arafat (far left), leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, signing the Wye River Memorandum alongside (left to right) King Hussein of Jordan, U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, 1998.

In foreign affairs, Clinton ordered a four-day bombing campaign against Iraq in December 1998 in response to Iraq's failure to cooperate fully with United Nations weapons inspectors (the bombing coincided with the start of full congressional debate on Clinton's impeachment). In 1999 U.S.-led forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) conducted a successful three-month bombing campaign against Yugoslavia designed to end Serbian attacks on ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo. In 1998 and 2000 Clinton was hailed as a peacemaker in visits to Ireland and Northern Ireland, and in 2000 he became the first U.S. president to visit Vietnam since the end of the Vietnam War. He spent the last weeks of his presidency in an unsuccessful effort to broker a final peace agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Shortly before he left office, Clinton was roundly criticized by Democrats as well as by Republicans for having issued a number of questionable pardons, including one to the former spouse of a major Democratic Party contributor.

LIFE AFTER THE PRESIDENCY OF

Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton : Bill Clinton speaking at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, Colorado, August 27, 2008.

Hillary Clinton : Hillary Clinton (left) being sworn in as secretary of state by Joe Biden (right) as Bill Clinton, Chelsea Clinton, and Dorothy Rodham look on, February 2, 2009.

As Clinton's presidency was ending, his wife's political career was beginning. In 2000 Hillary Rodham Clinton was elected to the U.S. Senate representing New York; she was the first wife of a U.S. president to win elected office. She went on to lose narrowly

to Barack Obama the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 2008, but Obama appointed her secretary of state in his presidential administration. Bill Clinton remained active in political affairs and was a popular speaker on the lecture circuit. In 2001 he founded the William J. Clinton Foundation, a philanthropic organization that addressed various global issues through such programs as the Clinton HIV/AIDS Initiative (established 2002), the Clinton Economic Opportunity Initiative (2002), the Clinton Global Initiative (2005), and the Clinton Climate Initiative (2006). In 2004 the William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum opened in Little Rock.

The following year, after a tsunami in the Indian Ocean had caused widespread death and devastation, Bill Clinton was appointed by United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan to serve as a special envoy for relief efforts, a position he held until 2007. In 2009 Clinton succeeded former president George H.W. Bush as chairman of the National Constitution Center, a history museum in Philadelphia. Later that year he was named a UN special envoy to Haiti. In the wake of the devastating earthquake that struck that country in January 2010, Clinton's UN portfolio was expanded to include overseeing aid efforts and reconstruction. During the 2012 general election in the United States, Clinton campaigned for Obama, helping him to win a

second term in the White House. In 2013 Clinton was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Bill ClintonFormer : U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton at a campaign rally for his wife, Hillary Clinton, 2016.

In 2015 Hillary Clinton announced that she was entering the U.S. presidential race of 2016, and Bill played an active role in her campaign. She won the Democratic nomination, becoming the first woman to top the presidential ticket of a major party in the United States, but ultimately lost the election to Donald Trump. In 2017 Bill and the four other living former presidents (Jimmy Carter, George H.W. Bush, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama) launched the One America Appeal, which initially sought to help the victims of Hurricane Harvey and later expanded its mission to include those affected by several subsequent hurricanes.

During his post-presidency, Clinton's connection with financier and convicted sex-offender Jeffrey Epstein became known. While Clinton has never been accused of any wrongdoing related to his relationship with Epstein, he did fly on Epstein's private jet multiple times. Clinton has said these trips were related to work for the Clinton Foundation. He was also among a number of prominent individuals named in court documents released in 2024 and reportedly was among some 50 people who contributed to a bawdy birthday album for Epstein in 2003. Clinton knew Epstein at least as early as 1993, when Epstein and his associate Ghislaine Maxwell were photographed speaking with Clinton at a White House event.

Clinton is also featured in a number of photographs in the notorious Epstein files, including one in which he is in a swimming pool with Maxwell and a woman whose identity has been redacted. In 2026, Bill and Hillary Clinton were deposed separately by the House Oversight Committee. In his testimony, which was conducted behind closed doors at the insistence of the Republican-led committee, Clinton said, "I saw nothing, and I did nothing wrong."

Clinton, who became the first former president forced to testify before Congress, went on to reference his difficult childhood as further evidence that he was unaware of Epstein's activities. "As

someone who grew up in a home with domestic abuse, not only would I not have flown on his plane if I had any inkling of what he was doing—I would have turned him in myself and led the call for justice for his crimes, not sweetheart deals," he said.

Bill Clinton's writings include an autobiography, *My Life* (2004); *Giving: How Each of Us Can Change the World* (2007), in which he encouraged readers to become involved in various worthy causes; and *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy* (2011). He also wrote (with James Patterson) the thrillers *The President Is Missing* (2018) and *The President's Daughter* (2021).

Cabinet of President Bill Clinton

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Bill Clinton.

Cabinet of President Bill Clinton

January 20, 1993-January 20, 1997 (Term 1)	
State	Warren M. Christopher
Treasury	Lloyd Bentsen, Jr.

Cabinet of President Bill Clinton

January 20, 1993-January 20, 1997 (Term 1)	
	Robert E. Rubin (from January 10, 1995)
Attorney General	Janet Reno
Interior	Bruce Babbitt
Agriculture	Mike Espy
	Dan Glickman (from March 30, 1995)
Commerce	Ronald H. Brown
	Mickey Kantor (from April 12, 1996)
Labor	Robert B. Reich
Defense	Les Aspin
	William J. Perry (from February 3, 1994)
Health and Human Services	Donna E. Shalala
Housing and Urban Development	Henry G. Cisneros
Transportation	Federico Peña

Cabinet of President Bill Clinton

January 20, 1993-January 20, 1997 (Term 1)	
Energy	Hazel R. O'Leary
Education	Richard W. Riley
Veterans Affairs	Jesse Brown
January 20, 1997-January 20, 2001 (Term 2)	
State	Madeleine Albright
Treasury	Robert E. Rubin
	Lawrence H. Summers (from July 2, 1999)
Attorney General	Janet Reno
Interior	Bruce Babbitt
Agriculture	Dan Glickman
Commerce	William M. Daley
	Norman Mineta (from July 21, 2000)
Labor	Alexis M. Herman
Defense	William Cohen
Health and Human Services	Donna E. Shalala

Cabinet of President Bill Clinton

January 20, 1993-January 20, 1997 (Term 1)	
Housing and Urban Development	Andrew M. Cuomo
Transportation	Rodney Slater
Energy	Federico Peña
	Bill Richardson (from August 18, 1998)
Education	Richard W. Riley
Veterans Affairs	Togo D. West, Jr.
	Hershel W. Gober (from July 25, 2000)

THE GREAT ZATZBY
DEPRESSED KIDS
Bill Clinton: Who Is This Guy?

George W. Bush

43rd President of the United States

[20 January 2001 <::> 20 January 2009]

Please visit:

01] https://georgewbush.com/

02] https://www.bushcenter.org/about-us/the-bush-family/george-w-bush

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-W-Bush/Cabinet-of-Pres-George-W-Bush

04] George W Bush - Episode 1 (2020) | Full Documentary | AMERICAN EXPERIENCE
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XmaLrgLUnTE [1:50:16]

Part one chronicles George W. Bush's unorthodox road to the White House. 36 days after the November 2000 election, Bush emerged the victor of the most contested race in the nation's history. Little in the new president's past prepared him for the events that unfolded on September 11, 2001. Bush's response to the deadly terrorist attacks would come to define a new era in American foreign policy.

05] Revisiting the George W. Bush presidency

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EKs6zjRPDKY [1:14:41]

George W. Bush governed the nation during a period marked by significant trials and transformation. His presidency was shaped by major events such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the global war on terror, the Iraq War, and the economic crisis of 2008. Over the course of his time in office, Bush experienced dramatic shifts in public opinion, at times ranking among the most popular presidents and at others among the most criticized. To reflect on this era, the Miller Center brings together two key officials from his administration, Margaret Spellings, former Bush 43 Domestic Policy Advisor and Secretary of Education, and Stephen Hadley who served as Bush's National Security Advisor.

06] The Presidency of George W. Bush

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EwgaHInc3C0 [55:55]

Drawing in part from a raft of newly available archival records, noted historian John Robert Greene has taken perhaps the most complete account to date of our 43rd president's eight years in office. And he argues that scholars and other historians have too hastily judged it a complete failure.

Greene, a professor at Cazenovia (New York) College and the author of 20 books, lays out his case in a discussion of his new book The Presidency of George W. Bush. Yes, Bush's term in the White House saw military embroilment in Iraq and Afghanistan, a lackluster response to Hurricane Katrina, and the housing market crash and subsequent Great Recession. But it was not without achievement.

Bush implemented the No Child Left Behind education initiative, strengthened and expanded Medicare, and did more to combat the worldwide scourge of AIDS, particularly in Africa, than any other president. His record calls for a more balanced assessment of his administration, Greene says.

Greene is the Paul J. Schupf Professor of History and Humanities at Cazenovia College, where he has taught for 42 years. He is chair of the school's Division of Social and Behavioral Sciences and director of the history program. Among his previous books are I Like Ike: The Presidential Election of 1952, The Presidency of George H.W. Bush, Betty Ford: Candor and Courage in the White House, and The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford.

George W. Bush (born July 6, 1946, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.) is the 43rd president of the United States (2001–09), who led his country's response to the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001 and initiated the Iraq War in 2003. Narrowly winning the electoral college vote in 2000 over Vice Pres. Al Gore in one of the closest and most-controversial elections in American history, George W. Bush became the first person since Benjamin Harrison in 1888 to be elected president despite having lost the nationwide popular vote. Before his election as president, Bush was a businessman and served as governor of Texas (1995–2000).

Early life

George H.W. Bush and his family, 1964 : The Bush family in 1964 in Houston, Texas. Parents George and Barbara Bush are shown sitting on the loveseat, their sons George W. Bush perching on the arm and Jeb Bush standing center.

George W. Bush at Yale University : George W. Bush at Yale University, 1964.

Bush was the eldest of six children of George H.W. Bush, who served as the 41st president of the United States (1989–93), and Barbara Bush. His paternal grandfather, Prescott Bush, was a U.S. senator from Connecticut (1952–63). The younger Bush grew up largely in Midland and Houston, Texas. From 1961 to 1964 he attended Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, the boarding school from which his father had graduated. He received a bachelor's degree in history from Yale University, his father's and grandfather's alma mater, in 1968. Bush was president of his fraternity and, like his father, a member of Yale's secretive Skull and Bones society; unlike his father, he was only an average student and did not excel in athletics.

In May 1968, two weeks before his graduation from Yale and the expiration of his student draft deferment, Bush applied as a pilot trainee in the Texas Air National Guard, whose members were

less likely than regular soldiers to fight in the Vietnam War. Commissioned a second lieutenant in 1968, he became a certified fighter pilot in June 1970. In the fall of 1970, he applied for admission to the University of Texas law school but was rejected. Although Bush apparently missed at least eight months of duty between May 1972 and May 1973, he was granted an early discharge so that he could start Harvard Business School in the fall of 1973. His spotty military record resurfaced as a campaign issue in both the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections.

George W. Bush and his family, 1993George W. Bush with his wife, Laura, and the couple's daughters, Jenna (left) and Barbara, 1993.

After receiving an M.B.A. from Harvard in 1975, Bush returned to Midland, where he began working for a family friend, an oil and gas attorney, and later started his own oil and gas firm. He married Laura Welch, a teacher and librarian, in Midland in 1977. After an unsuccessful run for Congress in 1978, Bush devoted himself to building his business with help from his uncle, who was then raising funds for Bush's father's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. Bush was able to attract numerous prominent investors. The company struggled through the early 1980s until the eventual collapse of oil prices in 1986, when it was purchased by the Harken Energy Corporation. Bush received Harken stock, a job as a consultant to the company, and a seat on the company's board of directors. In the same year, shortly after his 40th birthday, Bush gave up drinking alcohol. "I realized," he later explained, "that alcohol was beginning to crowd out my energies and crowd, eventually, my affections for other people." His decision was partly the result of a self-described spiritual awakening and a strengthening of his Christian faith that had begun the previous year, after a conversation with the Rev. Billy Graham, a Bush family friend.

George W. Bush and George H.W. Bush, 1992 : George W. Bush (left) and his father, George H.W. Bush, walking on the South Lawn at the White House, 1992.

After the sale of his company, Bush spent 18 months in Washington, D.C., working as an adviser and speechwriter in his father's presidential campaign. Following the election in 1988, he moved to Dallas, where he and former business partner organized a group of investors to purchase the Texas Rangers professional baseball team. Although Bush's investment, which he made with a loan he obtained by using his Harken stock as collateral, was relatively small, his role as managing partner of the team brought him much exposure in the media and earned him a reputation as successful

businessman. When Bush's partnership sold the team in 1998, Bush received nearly $15 million.

At a glance: the Bush presidency

Governor of Texas

In 1994, Bush challenged Democratic incumbent Ann Richards for the governorship of Texas. A major issue in the campaign concerned Bush's sale of his Harken stock in June 1990, just days before the company announced a second quarter with heavy losses. An investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1991 into the possibility of illegal insider trading (trading that takes advantage of information not available to the public) did not uncover any wrongdoing. Bush won the election with 53 percent of the vote (compared with 46 percent for Richards), thus becoming the first child of a U.S. president to be elected a state governor.

George W. Bush: swearing-in as governor : George W. Bush (center) being sworn in as governor of Texas, January 17, 1995.

George W. Bush: reelection as governor : George W. Bush and his wife, Laura, walking under an arch of swords to celebrate his reelection as governor of Texas, 1999.

As governor, Bush increased spending on elementary and secondary education and made the salaries and promotions of teachers and administrators contingent on their students' performance on standardized tests. His administration increased the number of crimes for which juveniles could be sentenced to adult prison and lowered the age at which children could be tried as adults. Throughout his tenure Bush received international attention for the high use of capital punishment in Texas relative to other states. Bush signed into law several measures aimed at tort reform, including one that imposed new limits on punitive damages and another that narrowed the legal definition of "gross negligence." Reelected in 1998 with nearly 70

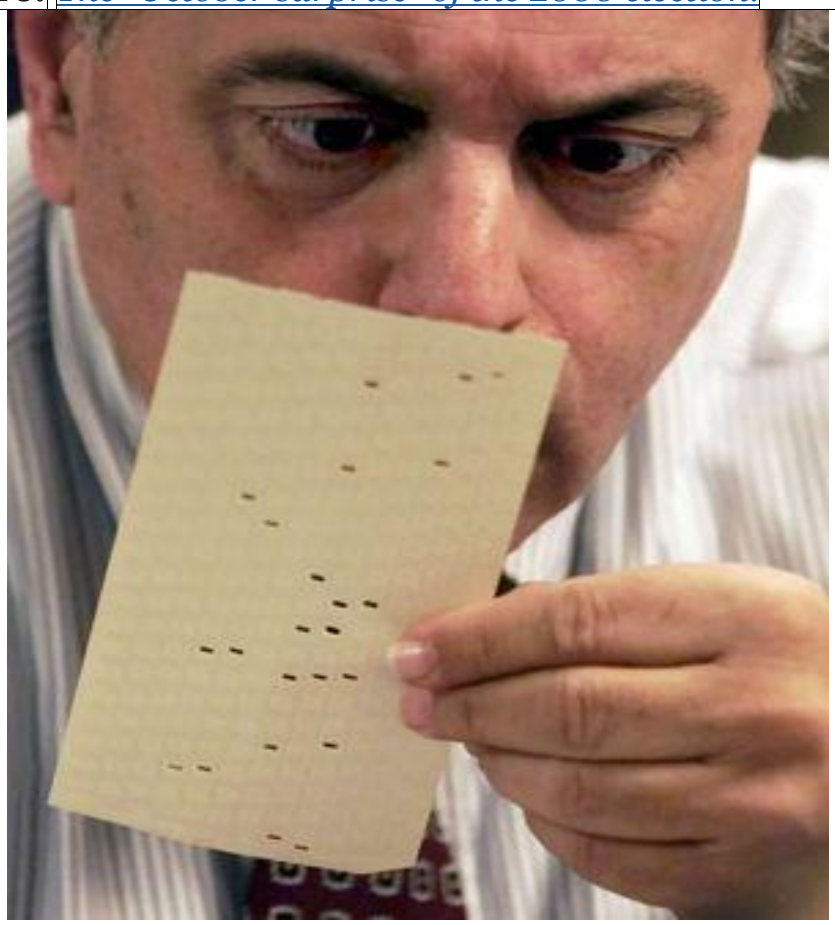
percent of the vote, Bush became the first Texas governor to win consecutive four-year terms (in 1972 voters had approved a referendum that extended the governor's term from two years to four).

What is Super Tuesday? : In the United States, Super Tuesday often solidifies the front-runner for each party's presidential nomination.

George W. Bush : George W. Bush at a campaign rally in Clinton, South Carolina, 2000.

Bush formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination in June 1999. He described his political philosophy as "compassionate conservatism," a view that combined traditional Republican economic policies with concern for the underprivileged. Despite Bush's failure to give direct answers to questions about his drinking and possible use of illegal drugs (he implied that he had not used illegal drugs since 1974), he won the Republican nomination, taking a strong lead in public opinion polls over Vice Pres. Al Gore, the Democratic Party nominee; Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate; and political journalist Patrick Buchanan, the nominee of the Reform Party. His running mate was Dick Cheney, former chief of staff for Pres. Gerald Ford and secretary of defense during the presidency of Bush's father.

•**Read more:** *The "October surprise" of the 2000 election.*



U.S. presidential election of 2000 : A Florida judge examining a challenged vote at an operations center in Plantation, Florida, during a recount of the state's U.S. presidential election ballots, 2000.

As the general election campaign continued, the gap in the polls between Bush and Gore narrowed to the closest in any election in the previous 40 years. On election day the presidency hinged on the 25 electoral votes of Florida, where Bush led Gore by fewer than 1,000 popular votes after an automatic statewide machine recount. After the Gore campaign asked for manual recounts in four heavily Democratic counties, the Bush campaign filed suit in federal court to stop them. Five weeks the election remained unresolved as Florida state courts and

federal courts heard numerous legal challenges by both campaigns. Eventually the Florida Supreme Court decided (4–3) to order a statewide manual recount of the approximately 45,000 "undervotes"—ballots that machines recorded as not clearly expressing a presidential vote. The Bush campaign quickly filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court, asking it to delay the recounts until it could hear the case; a stay was issued by the court on December 9. Three days later, concluding (7–2) that a fair statewide recount could not be performed in time to meet the December 18 deadline for certifying the state's electors, the court issued a controversial 5–4 decision to reverse the Florida Supreme Court's recount order, effectively awarding the presidency to Bush. By winning Florida, Bush narrowly won the electoral vote over Gore by 271 to 266—only 1 more than the required 270 (one Gore elector abstained).

With his inauguration, Bush became only the second son of a president to assume the nation's highest office; the other was John Quincy Adams (1825–29), the son of John Adams (1797–1801).

Presidency of George W. Bush

Early initiatives

George W. Bush and George H.W. Bush, 2001 : George W. Bush sitting at his desk in the Oval Office, with his father, George H.W. Bush, looking on, 2001.

Bush was the first Republican president to enjoy a majority in both houses of Congress since Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1950s. Taking advantage of his party's strength, Bush proposed a $1.6 trillion tax-cut bill in February 2001. A compromise measure worth $1.35 billion was passed by Congress in June, despite Democratic objections that it unfairly benefited the wealthy. In the same month, however, control of the Senate formally passed to the Democrats after Republican Sen. James Jeffords left his party to become an independent. Subsequently, many of Bush's domestic initiatives encountered significant resistance in the Senate.

In a report issued in May 2001, the National Energy Policy Development Group, a task force headed by Vice Pres. Dick Cheney, called for increasing the production of fossil fuels and nuclear power in the country by opening more federal lands to mining and oil and gas exploration, extending tax credits and other subsidies to energy companies, and easing

environmental regulations. In July a coalition of nonprofit organizations filed suit to make public the secret deliberations of the task force and the identities of the group's members. (The case was decided in the administration's favor by the Supreme Court in June 2004.)

In foreign affairs, the Bush administration announced that the United States would not abide by the Kyoto Protocol on reducing the emission of gases responsible for global warming, which the United States had signed in the last days of the Bill Clinton administration, because the agreement did not impose emission limits on developing countries and because it said it could harm the U.S. economy. The administration also withdrew from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and attempted to secure commitments from various governments not to extradite U.S. citizens to the new International Criminal Court, whose jurisdiction it rejected.

The September 11 attacks

25 Years Later, How Do We Remember 9/11? : It's a day to "never forget." But what does remembrance look like 25 years later?

September 11 attacks : Smoke and flames erupting from the twin towers of New York City's World Trade Center after the attacks on September 11, 2001; both towers subsequently collapsed.

George W. Bush learning of the September 11 attacks : George W. Bush (seated) talking on the phone as advisers watch a television report about the World Trade Center, at Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Sarasota, Florida, September 11, 2001; Bush was visiting the school at the time of the attacks.

George W. Bush on Air Force One after the September 11 attacks : U.S. Pres. George W. Bush conferring with his chief of staff aboard Air Force One, September 11, 2001.

On September 11, 2001, Bush faced a crisis that would transform his presidency. That morning, four American commercial airplanes were hijacked by Islamist terrorists. Two of the planes were deliberately crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, destroying both towers and collapsing or damaging many surrounding buildings, and a third was used to destroy part of the Pentagon building outside Washington, D.C.; the fourth plane crashed outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, after passengers apparently attempted to retake it (see September 11 attacks). The crashes—the worst terrorist incident on U.S. soil—killed some 3,000 people.

George W. Bush at a National Security Council meeting after the September 11 attacks : (From left to right) Donald Rumsfeld, Colin Powell, George W. Bush, and Dick Cheney at a National Security Council meeting one day after the September 11, 2001, attacks.

George W. Bush speaking on the September 11 attacks : George W. Bush addressing reporters in the Oval Office of the White House, September 13, 2001.

The Bush administration accused radical Islamist Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network, al-Qaeda (Arabic: "the Base"), of responsibility for the attacks and charged the Taliban government of Afghanistan with harboring bin Laden and his followers. In a videotape in 2004, bin Laden acknowledged that he was responsible. After assembling an international military coalition, Bush ordered a massive bombing campaign against Afghanistan, which began on October 7, 2001. U.S.-led forces quickly toppled the Taliban government and routed al-Qaeda fighters, though bin Laden himself remained elusive (he was eventually killed in a raid by U.S. forces in Pakistan in 2011). In the wake of the September 11 attacks and during the war in Afghanistan, Bush's public-

approval ratings were the highest of his presidency, reaching 90 percent in some polls.

Domestic measures

George W. Bush on Air Force One discussing the September 11 attacks : U.S. president George W. Bush on Air Force One, September 11, 2001.

George W. Bush: speech after the September 11, 2001, attacks : U.S. Pres. George W. Bush addressing the country from the Oval Office on September 11, 2001.

George W. Bush at the World Trade Center : U.S. Pres. George W. Bush addressing a crowd as he stands on rubble at the World Trade Center site in New York City three days after the September 11 attacks of 2001.

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, domestic security and the threat of terrorism became the chief focus of the Bush administration and the top priority of government at every level. Declaring a global "war on terrorism," Bush announced that the country would not rest until every terrorist group of global reach had been found, stopped, and defeated. To coordinate the government's domestic response, the administration formed a cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, which began operating on January 24, 2003.

George W. Bush: signing of USA PATRIOT Act : Pres. George W. Bush signing the USA PATRIOT Act in the East Room of the White House, Washington, D.C., October 26, 2001.

In October 2001 the Bush administration introduced, and Congress quickly passed, the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (the USA PATRIOT Act), which significantly but temporarily expanded the search and surveillance powers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law-enforcement agencies. (Most of the law's provisions were made permanent in 2006 by the USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act.)

George W. Bush: 2002 State of the Union address : George W. Bush delivering the State of the Union address to Congress, January 29, 2002.

In January 2002 Bush secretly authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to monitor international telephone calls and e-mail messages of American citizens and others in the United States without first obtaining a warrant from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, as required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978. When the program was revealed in news reports in December 2005, the administration insisted that it was justified by a September 2001 joint Congressional resolution that authorized the president to use "all necessary and appropriate force" against those responsible for the September 11 attacks. Subsequent efforts in Congress to provide a legal basis for the spying became mired in debate over whether telecommunications companies that cooperated with the NSA should be granted retroactive immunity against numerous civil lawsuits. Legislation granting immunity and expanding the NSA's surveillance powers was finally passed by Congress and signed by Bush in July 2008.

Treatment of Detainees

In January 2002, as the pacification of Afghanistan continued, the United States began transferring captured Taliban fighters and suspected al-Qaeda members from Afghanistan to what became a special prison complex at the country's permanent

naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Eventually hundreds of prisoners were held at the facility without charge and without the legal means to challenge their detentions (see habeas corpus). The administration argued that it was not obliged to grant basic constitutional protections to the prisoners, because the base was outside U.S. territory, nor was it required to observe the Geneva Conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war and civilians during wartime, because the conventions did not apply to "unlawful enemy combatants." It further maintained that the president had the authority to place any individual, including an American citizen, in indefinite military custody without charge by declaring him an enemy combatant.

internment facility, Camp Delta, Guantánamo Bay, Cuba : The entrance to an internment facility at Camp Delta, Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

The prison complex at Guantánamo became the focus of international controversy in June 2004, after a confidential report by the International Committee of the Red Cross found that significant numbers of prisoners had been interrogated by means of techniques that were "tantamount to torture." (The Bush administration frequently and vigorously denied that the United States practiced torture.)

Abu Ghraib prison : Scene from Errol Morris's documentary *Standard Operating Procedure* (2008), about the U.S. military scandal at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison.

The leak of the report came just two months after the publication of photographs of abusive treatment of prisoners by American soldiers at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq (*see below* Iraq War). In response to the Abu Ghraib revelations, Congress eventually passed the Detainee Treatment Act, which banned the "cruel, inhuman, and degrading" treatment of prisoners in U.S. military custody. Although the measure became law with Bush's signature in December 2005, he added a "signing statement" in which he reserved the right to set aside

the law's restrictions if he deemed them inconsistent with his constitutional powers as commander in chief.

In June 2006 the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, declared that the system of military commissions that the administration had intended to use to try selected prisoners at Guantánamo on charges of war crimes was in violation of the Geneva Conventions and the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which governs American courts-martial. Later that year, Congress passed the Military Commissions Act, which gave the commissions the express statutory basis that the court had found lacking, the law also prevented enemy combatants who were not American citizens from challenging their detention in the federal courts.

In separate programs by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), dozens of individuals suspected of involvement in terrorism were abducted outside the United States and held in secret prisons in eastern Europe and elsewhere or transferred for interrogation to countries that routinely practiced torture. Although such extrajudicial transfers, or "extraordinary renditions," had taken place during the Clinton administration, the Bush administration greatly expanded the practice after the September 11 attacks. Press reports of the detentions in 2005

sparked controversy in Europe and led to official investigations into whether some European governments knowingly permitted rendition flights through their countries' territories, an apparent violation of the human rights law of the European Union (*see also* European law).

In February 2005 the CIA confirmed that some individuals in its custody had been subjected to "enhanced interrogation techniques," including waterboarding (interrupted or controlled drowning, often called simulated drowning), which was generally regarded as a form of torture under international law. The CIA's position that waterboarding did not constitute torture had been based on legal opinions of the Justice Department and specifically on a secret memo issued in 2002 that adopted an unconventionally narrow and legally questionable definition of torture. After the memo was leaked to the press in June 2004, the Justice Department rescinded its opinion. In 2005, however, the department issued new secret memos declaring the legality of enhanced interrogation techniques, including waterboarding. The new memos were revealed in news reports in 2007, prompting outrage from critics of the administration. In July 2007 Bush issued an executive order that prohibited the CIA from using torture or acts of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, though the

specific interrogation techniques it was allowed to use remained classified. In March 2008 Bush vetoed a bill that specifically at the CIA that would have prevented the agency from using any interrogation technique, such as waterboarding, that was not included in the U.S. Army field manual on interrogation.

The Iraq War

Road to War

In September 2002 the administration announced a new National Security Strategy of the United States of America. It was notable for its declaration that the United States would act "preemptively," using military force if necessary, to forestall or prevent threats to its security by terrorists or "rogue states" possessing biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons—so-called weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time, Bush and other high administration officials began to draw worldwide attention to Iraqi Pres. Ṣaddām Ḥussein and to suspicions that Iraq possessed or was attempting to develop weapons of mass destruction in violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions. In November 2002 the Bush administration successfully lobbied for a new

Security Council resolution providing for the return of weapons inspectors to Iraq. Soon afterward, Bush declared that Iraq had failed to comply fully with the new resolution and that the country continued to possess weapons of mass destruction. For several weeks, the United States and Britain tried to secure support from other Security Council members for a second resolution explicitly authorizing the use of force against Iraq (though administration officials insisted that earlier resolutions provided sufficient legal justification for military action). In response, France and Russia, while agreeing that Iraq had failed to cooperate fully with weapons inspectors, argued that the inspections regime should be continued and strengthened.

As part of the administration's diplomatic campaign, Bush and other officials frequently warned that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, that it was attempting to acquire nuclear weapons, and that it had long-standing ties to al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations. In his State of the Union address in January 2003, Bush announced that Iraq had attempted to purchase enriched uranium from Niger for use in nuclear weapons. The subsequent determination that some intelligence reports of the purchase had relied on forged documents complicated the administration's diplomatic efforts in the United

Nations. Meanwhile, massive peace demonstrations took place in several major cities around the world.

Operation Iraqi Freedom

Finally, Bush announced the end of U.S. diplomacy. On March 17 he issued an ultimatum to Ṣaddām, giving him and his immediate family 48 hours to leave or face removal by force. Bush also indicated that, even if Ṣaddām relinquished power, U.S. military forces would enter the country to search for weapons of mass destruction and to stabilize the new government.

Iraq War : Explosions illuminating the skies of Baghdad during the U.S.-led air bombardment of the city, March 2003.

After Ṣaddām's public refusal to leave and the 48-hour deadline approached, Bush ordered the invasion of Iraq, called

Operation Iraqi Freedom, to begin on March 20 (local time). In the ground phase of the Iraq War, U.S. and British forces quickly overwhelmed the Iraqi army and irregular fighters, and by mid-April they had entered Baghdad and all the major Iraqi cities and forced Ṣaddām's regime from power.

In the wake of the invasion, hundreds of sites suspected of producing or housing weapons of mass destruction within Iraq were investigated. As the search continued without success into the following year, critics accused the administration of having misled the country into war by exaggerating the threat posed by Iraq. In 2004 the Iraq Survey Group, a fact-finding mission comprising American and British experts, concluded that Iraq did not possess weapons of mass destruction or the capacity to produce them at the time of the invasion, though it found evidence that Ṣaddām had planned to reconstitute programs for producing such weapons once UN sanctions were lifted. In the same year the bipartisan 9–11 Commission (the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States) reported that there was no evidence of a "collaborative operational relationship" between Iraq and al-Qaeda. Ṣaddām, who went into hiding during the invasion, was captured by U.S. forces in December 2003 and was executed by the new Iraqi government three years later.

Occupation and Insurgency

Iraq War: George W. Bush with sailors : Pres. George W. Bush with sailors aboard the USS *Abraham Lincoln*, May 1, 2003.

Although the Bush administration had planned for a short war, stabilizing the country after the invasion proved difficult. From May 1, when Bush declared an end to major combat in Iraq, to the end of December 2003, more than 200 U.S. soldiers were killed as a result of attacks by Iraqis. During the next four years the number of U.S. casualties increased dramatically, reaching more than 900 in 2007 alone. (The number of Iraqis who died during the invasion and insurgency is unclear.) Widespread sectarian violence, accompanied by regular and increasingly deadly attacks on military, police, and civilian targets by militias and terrorist organizations, made large parts of the country virtually ungovernable. The increasing numbers of U.S. dead and wounded, the failure to uncover weapons of mass

destruction, and the enormous costs to U.S. taxpayers (approximately $100 billion per month through 2007) gradually eroded public support for the war. By 2005 a majority of Americans believed that it had been a mistake. By the fifth anniversary of Operation Iraqi Freedom in March 2008, some 4,000 U.S. soldiers had been killed. As the death toll mounted, Bush's public approval ratings dropped, falling below 30 percent in many polls.

Iraq War: car bomb : U.S. Army soldiers surveying the scene where a car bomb exploded in front of a hotel in Baghdad, January 2004.

While acknowledging that it had underestimated the tenacity of the Iraqi resistance, the Bush administration maintained that part of the blame for the continuing violence lay with Iran, which it accused of supplying weapons and money to Iraqi-based terrorist groups. In his State of the Union address in 2002, Bush had warned that Iran (along with Iraq and North Korea) was part of an "axis of evil" that threatened the world with its support of

terrorism and its ambition to acquire nuclear weapons. In 2006–07 the United States joined other members of the Security Council in condemning Iran's nuclear research program. The administration's repeated warnings concerning a possible Iranian nuclear weapon led to speculation that Bush was contemplating military action against the country. In December 2007, however, the administration's suspicions were contradicted by the National Intelligence Estimate, a consensus report of U.S. intelligence agencies, which declared with "high confidence" that in 2003 Iran had abandoned attempts to develop a nuclear weapon.

- **U.S.-Iran Relations:** A timeline in betrayal, rhetoric, and bloodshed.

Foreign Aid

In his State of the Union address in January 2003, Bush proposed an ambitious program to address the humanitarian crisis created by the HIV/AIDS pandemic in 15 countries in Africa and the Caribbean. With a budget of $15 billion over a five-year period, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) aimed to supply life-extending medications to 2 million victims of HIV/AIDS, to prevent 7 million new cases of the disease, and to provide care for 10 million AIDS sufferers and the orphaned children of AIDS victims. The program was widely praised in the United States, even by Bush's critics, and generated enormous goodwill toward the Bush administration in Africa. Medical professionals

and public health officials welcomed the greater availability of retroviral drugs but generally objected to the program's requirement that one-third of prevention funds be spent on teaching sexual abstinence and marital fidelity.

In January 2004 the Bush administration established the Millennium Challenge Corporation to distribute development aid to poor countries that demonstrated a commitment to democracy, free enterprise, and transparent governance. The agency's innovative approach allowed recipient countries to design and manage their own multiyear programs to reduce poverty and promote economic growth. By 2008 the corporation had approved some $5 billion in grant requests, though relatively little of the money had been disbursed.

The Bush administration's foreign aid programs were designed to serve its declared foreign policy goal of promoting democracy abroad, especially in parts of the world plagued by poverty and war. In eastern Europe, Bush supported expanding the membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a means of securing democracy and stability in war-ravaged or formerly communist countries. During his presidency NATO gained seven new members: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

Domestic Affairs

George W. Bush: National Prayer Breakfast : U.S. Pres. George W. Bush (left) and U.S. Rep. Emanuel Cleaver (centre) listening to Francis Collins, director of the National Human Genome Research Institute, address the National Prayer Breakfast, Washington, D.C., 2004.

In December 2001 Bush successfully negotiated with the Democratic-controlled Senate legislation that provided federal funding to religious, or "faith-based," charities and social services. The measure, he argued, would end long-standing discrimination in federal funding against churches and other religious groups that provided needed social services in poor communities. The bill was passed by the Senate despite objections from many Democratic senators that it violated the constitutional separation of church and state. A White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives was created in January 2001.

In 2002 the U.S. economy continued to perform poorly, despite having recovered from a recession the previous November. Widespread corporate accounting scandals, some of the largest corporate bankruptcies in U.S. history, and fears over war and terrorism all contributed to consumer uncertainty and a prolonged downturn in the

financial markets. Despite the economic turmoil, Bush's personal popularity enabled the Republicans to regain a majority in the Senate in midterm elections in November 2002 (though the party also lost three state governorships). With both houses of Congress under Republican control, Bush secured passage of a second tax cut of $350 billion in May 2003.

Education

In January 2002 Bush signed into law the No Child Left Behind Act, which introduced significant changes in the curriculum of the country's public elementary, middle, and high schools and dramatically increased federal regulation of state school systems. Under the law, states were required to administer yearly tests of the reading and mathematics skills of public school students and to demonstrate adequate progress toward raising the scores of all students to a level defined as "proficient" or higher. Teachers were also required to meet higher standards for certification. Schools that failed to meet their goals would be subject to gradually increasing sanctions, eventually including replacement of staff or closure.

In the first years of the program, supporters pointed to its success in increasing the test scores of minority students, who historically had performed at lower levels than white students. Indeed, in the 2000 presidential campaign Bush had touted the proposed law as a remedy for

what he called "the soft bigotry of low expectations" faced by children of minorities. Critics, however, complained that the federal government was not providing enough funding to implement the program's requirements and that the law had suspended the state's traditional control of education as provided for in the Constitution. Others objected that the law was actually eroding the quality of education by forcing schools to "teach to the test" while neglecting other parts of the curriculum, such as history, social science, and art.

Medicare

In December 2003 Bush won congressional approval of the Medicare Modernization Act (MMA), a reform of the federally sponsored health insurance program for elderly Americans. Widely recognized as the most far-reaching overhaul of Medicare to date, the MMA enabled Medicare enrollees to obtain prescription drug coverage from Medicare through private insurance companies, which then received a government subsidy. It also vastly increased the number of private insurance plans through which enrollees could receive medical benefits. Although many members of Congress from both parties criticized the MMA as needlessly complex and expensive (its cost was estimated in January 2004 at $534 billion over 10 years), a bipartisan majority accepted the measure as an imperfect but necessary compromise that would bring much-needed insurance benefits to senior

citizens. Some conservative Republicans, however, rejected the MMA on both fiscal and philosophical grounds, and many Democrats objected to a provision in the plan that prevented Medicare administrators from negotiating with pharmaceutical companies for lower drug prices.

Reelection

In 2004 Bush focused his energies on his campaign for reelection against his Democratic challenger, U.S. Sen. John Kerry. According to opinion polls, the candidates entered the fall elections in a virtual dead heat. Bush's key campaign platform was his conduct of the war on terrorism, which he linked with the war in Iraq. Kerry countered that the Iraq War had been poorly planned and executed and that Bush had neglected domestic priorities. The election was notable for the prominent role played by independent political-action groups in organizing and fund-raising and for the influence of highly partisan blogs as alternative sources of political news. Bush defeated Kerry with a slim majority of the electoral and popular vote, and the Republicans increased their majorities in both the House and the Senate.

Social Security and Immigration

The major domestic initiative of Bush's second term was his proposal to replace Social Security (the country's system of government-managed retirement insurance) with private retirement savings accounts. The measure attracted little support, however, mainly because it would have

required significant cuts in retirement benefits and heavy borrowing during the transition to the private system.

Bush also proposed a reform of immigration laws that would have allowed most of the estimated 12 million people living in the country illegally to remain temporarily as "guest workers" and to apply for U.S. citizenship after returning to their home countries and paying a fine (though citizenship would not be guaranteed). Although the proposal was supported by some prominent Democrats, including Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, most other Democrats and many members of Bush's own party remained wary of the idea. Some conservative critics denounced the program as an amnesty that would encourage a new wave of illegal immigration, while liberal opponents warned that it would create a permanent underclass of poor and disenfranchised workers. More than two years of debate produced no reform legislation, though Bush did sign a measure that authorized the construction of a 700-mile (1,127-km) fence along the U.S.-Mexican border.

Environmental and Science Policy

The Bush administration's environmental policies reflected its conviction that economic development could be accomplished without serious harm to the environment and that limits on development, where necessary, should be achieved through voluntary cooperation by industry rather than regulation by government. In keeping with the recommendations of the energy task force, the administration proposed

Clear Skies Act would have introduced a cap-and-trade system to regulate major sources of air pollution by power plants throughout the country. Although the measure would have reduced emissions of nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, and mercury by 70 percent by 2016, critics charged that the reductions were less than what would be achieved by enforcing the existing Clean Air Act. Largely because of disagreements about whether the Clear Skies Act should regulate emissions of carbon dioxide, a major greenhouse gas, the measure died in the Senate in 2005. Despite this setback, the administration soon implemented the Clean Air Interstate Rule, a regional cap-and-trade system for 28 Eastern states and the District of Columbia.

After the Supreme Court ruled in April 2007 that greenhouse gas emissions by automobiles constitute a form of air pollution under the Clean Air Act, Bush signed energy legislation that imposed increases in automobile fuel economy standards by the year 2020. In December, however, the Environmental Protection Agency blocked a proposal by California and 16 other states to issue regulations that would have required fuel economies greater than those called for in the new federal law.

The Bush administration was frequently accused of politically motivated interference in government scientific research. Critics charged that political appointees at various agencies, many of whom had little or no

relevant expertise, altered or suppressed scientific reports that did not promote administration policies, restricted the ability of government experts to speak publicly on certain scientific issues, and limited access to scientific information by policymakers and the public. Numerous complaints by environmental and scientific groups led to Congressional hearings in 2007 on political interference in the work of the Surgeon General of the United States and in research on climate change conducted by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). In most cases the administration claimed that the interventions were an appropriate attempt to ensure scientific objectivity or simply a benign exercise of the authority of political appointees.

Later developments and assessment

2006 elections

George W. Bush: Hurricane Katrina: U.S. Pres. George W. Bush surveying the damage to New Orleans caused by Hurricane Katrina as he heads to Washington, D.C., aboard Air Force One, August 31, 2005.

The continued lack of progress in the Iraq War, a series of corruption scandals involving prominent Republican politicians, and the administration's poor response to the devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans and surrounding areas in August 2005 helped the Democrats win control of both houses of Congress in the midterm elections of November 2006. The new Congress soon began investigations of the NSA spying program undertaken in 2002 and of allegedly improper political influence in the dismissals of several United States attorneys in December 2006. In the latter investigation the testimony of Alberto R. Gonzales, Bush's attorney general since 2005, was viewed with skepticism by both parties and reinforced the impression that the Justice Department under his leadership was not sufficiently independent of the White House. Gonzales resigned in August 2007 and was replaced in November with Michael Mukasey.

Hurricane Katrina 20 Years Later: Who Gets to Move On? : August 29, 2005: Katrina strikes the Gulf Coast.

The Plame Affair

In March 2007 Cheney's chief of staff, I. Lewis ("Scooter") Libby, was convicted on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice in connection with an investigation into the leak of the identity of a covert CIA agent in 2003. The agent, Valerie Plame, was the wife of Joseph C. Wilson, a retired foreign service officer who had traveled to Africa in early 2002 at the request of the CIA to help determine whether Iraq had attempted to purchase enriched uranium from Niger. Wilson reported that there was no evidence of an attempted purchase, and in July 2003 he publicly speculated that the administration had ignored or distorted intelligence reports such as his to justify a military invasion of Iraq. Plame was identified as a CIA agent to journalists, allegedly to punish Wilson and to discredit him by suggesting that his selection for the CIA mission was the result of nepotism. In testimony before a grand jury and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Libby made false statements about the substance of conversations he had had with journalists concerning Wilson's mission to Niger and about when and how he had learned that Plame worked for the CIA. Libby was not charged with the underlying crime of disclosing the identity of covert intelligence personnel, nor were two other administration officials who had identified Plame to a journalist who subsequently published the information in his column. Bush commuted Libby's 30-month prison sentence in July 2007. Libby was pardoned by President Donald J. Trump in April 2018.

Samuel A. Alito, Jr.: swearing-in : Samuel A. Alito, Jr. (center), being sworn in as an associate justice of the Supreme Court by Chief Justice John Roberts (right foreground) as Pres. George W. Bush (left) looks on, February 1, 2006.

During his second term Bush appointed two Supreme Court justices: John G. Roberts, Jr. (confirmed as chief justice in 2005), and Samuel A. Alito, Jr. (confirmed in 2006). The appointments increased to four the number of solidly conservative justices on the nine-member Supreme Court.

George W. Bush speaking on the economy : U.S. Pres. George W. Bush delivering a statement about the economy with (from left) Ben Bernanke, Henry Paulson, and Chris Cox, September 19, 2008.

As Bush entered the final year of his presidency in 2008, the country faced enormous challenges. Although al-Qaeda had been subdued, it had not been destroyed. The United States and its allies continued to fight skirmishes with terrorists and their Taliban supporters in Afghanistan, and the insurgency in Iraq continued to claim U.S. casualties. The surpluses in the federal budget in 2000 and 2001 were a distant memory, as the combined effects of military spending, tax cuts, and slow economic growth produced a series of enormous budget deficits starting in 2003. Later in 2008 the economy was threatened by a severe credit crisis, leading Congress to enact a controversial Bush administration plan to rescue the financial industry with up to $700 billion in government funds (*see* Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008). Despite Bush's 2000 campaign promise to be "a uniter, not a divider," the country remained politically polarized to an extent not seen since the Vietnam War. While Bush's critics faulted him for these problems and many others, his supporters vigorously defended him as a strong leader who had guided the country through one of the most dangerous periods in its history.

Post-presidential Activities

George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum : (From left to right) Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush, and Jimmy Carter attending the dedication of the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum (part of the George W. Bush Presidential Center) in Dallas, Texas, 2013.

In Dallas, Texas, in 2008, officials of Southern Methodist University (SMU) announced plans for the construction there of the George W. Bush Presidential Center. The center would comprise a presidential library and museum and the George W. Bush Institute, a think tank dedicated to research and "practical solutions" in the areas of education reform, global health, freedom, and economic growth. An executive director and the first fellows of the institute were appointed in 2009.

George W. Bush: Farewell Address : Pres. George W. Bush delivering his Farewell Address from the East Room of the White House, Washington, D.C., January 15, 2009.

George W. Bush departing from the U.S. Capitol : The U.S. Marine Corps helicopter carrying George W. Bush after the presidential inauguration of Barack Obama, January 20, 2009.

After Bush left office in January 2009, he and his wife settled in Dallas. During his first year of retirement, he delivered several speeches to mostly private audiences but avoided criticizing his Democratic successor, Pres. Barack Obama. In response to a request from Obama in January 2010, Bush and former president Bill Clinton assumed leadership of private fund-raising efforts in the United States for disaster relief in Haiti, which had been struck by a devastating earthquake earlier that month.

George W. Bush fishing : George W. Bush (left) fishing at his ranch in Crawford, Texas, 2014.

Later in 2010 Bush published the memoir *Decision Points*, in which he defended the Iraq War, stated that he personally approved the waterboarding of a captured member of al-Qaeda, reasserted his belief that waterboarding does not constitute torture, and acknowledged the federal government's slow response to Hurricane Katrina. In 2014 he issued *41: A Portrait of My Father*, a biography of the elder Bush. An amateur artist, he later published *Portraits of Courage: A Commander in Chief's Tribute to America's Warriors* (2017), which features his paintings of veterans. *Out of Many, One: Portraits of America's Immigrants* appeared in 2021.

Cabinet of President George W. Bush

Cabinet officials in the administration of George W. Bush are provided in the table.

Cabinet of President George W. Bush

January 20, 2001–January 20, 2005 (Term 1)	
*Newly created department.	
State	Colin Powell
Treasury	Paul O'Neill

Cabinet of President George W. Bush

January 20, 2001–January 20, 2005 (Term 1)	
	John Snow (from February 3, 2003)
Attorney General	John Ashcroft
Interior	Gale Norton
Agriculture	Ann M. Veneman
Commerce	Don Evans
Labor	Elaine Chao
Defense	Donald Rumsfeld
Health and Human Services	Tommy Thompson
Housing and Urban Development	Mel Martinez
	Alphonso Jackson (from April 1, 2004)
Transportation	Norman Mineta
Energy	Spencer Abraham
Education	Rod Paige
Veterans Affairs	Anthony Principi

Cabinet of President George W. Bush

January 20, 2001–January 20, 2005 (Term 1)	
Homeland Security*	Tom Ridge (from October 8, 2001)
January 20, 2005–January 20, 2009 (Term 2)	
State	Colin Powell
	Condoleezza Rice (from January 26, 2005)
Treasury	John Snow
	Henry M. Paulson, Jr. (from July 10, 2006)
Attorney General	John Ashcroft
	Alberto Gonzales (from February 3, 2005)
	Michael B. Mukasey (from November 9, 2007)
Interior	Gale Norton
	Dirk Kempthorne (from May 26, 2006)
Agriculture	Ann M. Veneman

Cabinet of President George W. Bush

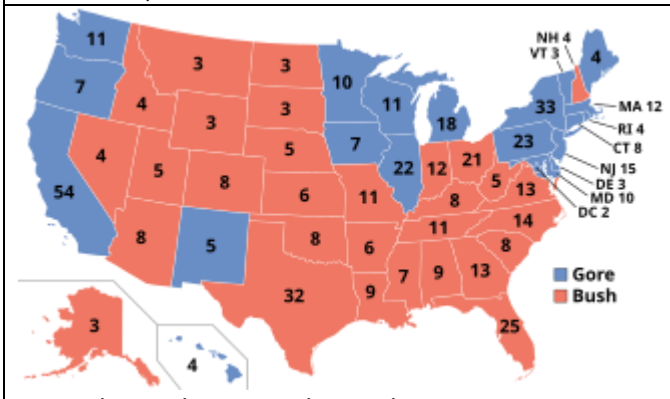
January 20, 2001–January 20, 2005 (Term 1)	
	Mike Johanns (from January 21, 2005)
Commerce	Don Evans
	Carlos Gutierrez (from February 7, 2005)
Labor	Elaine Chao
Defense	Donald Rumsfeld
	Robert Gates (from December 18, 2006)
Health and Human Services	Tommy Thompson
	Michael O. Leavitt (from January 26, 2005)
Housing and Urban Development	Alphonso Jackson
Transportation	Norman Mineta
Energy	Spencer Abraham
	Samuel W. Bodman (from February 1, 2005)
Education	Margaret Spellings

Cabinet of President George W. Bush

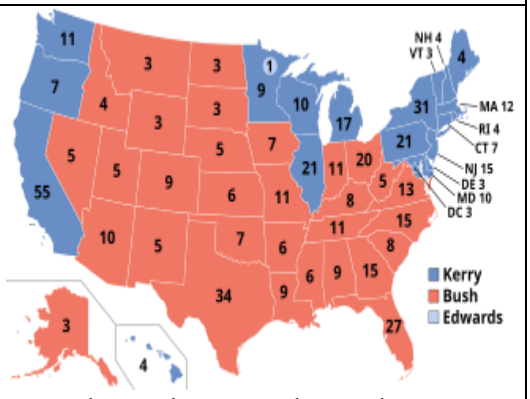
January 20, 2001–January 20, 2005 (Term 1)	
Veterans Affairs	Anthony Principi
	Jim Nicholson (from February 1, 2005)
Homeland Security	Tom Ridge
	Michael Chertoff (from February 15, 2005)

George W. Bush with his parents, Barbara and George H. W. Bush, c. 1947

Bush and former president Gerald Ford in August 1984



2000 electoral vote results. Bush won 271–266.



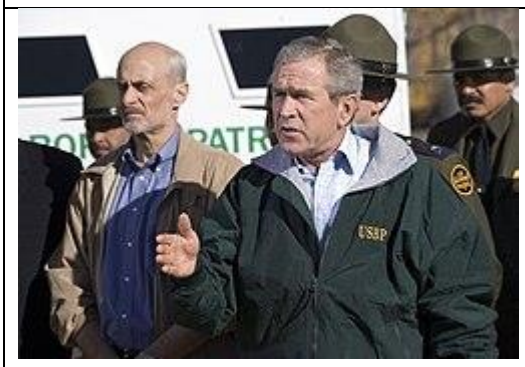
2004 electoral vote results. Bush won 286–251.

George W. Bush re-election campaign stop in Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 2004

Bush takes the oath of office administered by Chief Justice William Rehnquist at the Capitol on January 20, 2001

President Bush signing the No Child Left Behind Act into law, January 8, 2002

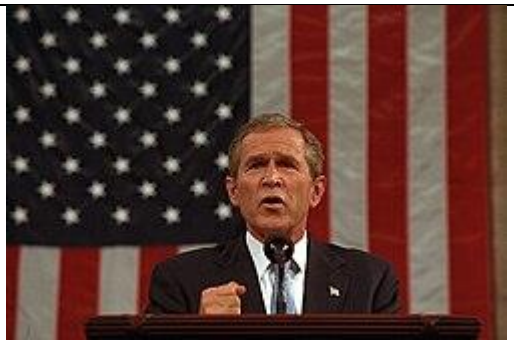
Bush delivering a statement urging Congress to end a ban on offshore oil drilling, June 18, 2008



President Bush discussing border security with Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff near El Paso, November 2005

President Bush with hurricane victims in Biloxi, September 2, 2005

President Bush with Russian president Vladimir Putin in Shanghai, October 21, 2001. Russia had cooperated with the U.S. in the war on terror.



September 20, 2001, President Bush speaks to a joint session of Congress

George W. Bush

Official portrait, 2003

43rd President of the United States

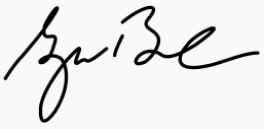
In office
January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2009

Vice President	Dick Cheney
Preceded by	Bill Clinton
Succeeded by	Barack Obama

46th Governor of Texas

In office
January 17, 1995 – December 21, 2000

Lieutenant	• Bob Bullock Rick Perry

Preceded by	Ann Richards
Succeeded by	Rick Perry
Personal details	
Born	George Walker Bush July 6, 1946 (age 80) New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.
Party	Republican
Spouse	Laura Welch (m. 1977)
Children	• Barbara • Jenna
Parents	• George H. W. Bush • Barbara Pierce
Relatives	Bush family
Education	• Yale University (BA) • Harvard University (MBA)
Civilian awards	Full list
Signature	
Website	• Official website • Presidential Library • Presidential Center

	• White House Archives
Military service	

Branch/service	• United States Air Force
	  • Texas Air National Guard
	  • Alabama Air National Guard

Years of service	1968–1974
Rank	First Lieutenant
Unit	• 147th Reconnaissance Wing • 187th Fighter Wing
Military awards	• Air Force Pilot's Badge • Outstanding Unit Award • National Defense Service Medal

Barack Obama

44th President of the United States
[20 January 2009 <::> 20 January 2017]

Please visit:

01] https://www.obamalibrary.gov/obamas/president-barack-obama

02] https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/administration/president-obama

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barack-Obama/Life-after-the-presidency

04] Barack Obama & Malcolm Gladwell: How Reconstruction Still Defines America | Reconstruction
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kke-VEOBeEw [1:02:20]
President Barack Obama joins Malcolm Gladwell for a thoughtful conversation about the period after the Civil War, exploring why Reconstruction remains one of the most misunderstood chapters in American history. From Frederick Douglass and the

Compromise of 1877 to voting rights, public education, and today's debates over democracy, they examine how the past continues to echo in the present.

05] Grand Opening Ceremony at the Obama Presidential Center
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3NlMbE9X48 [3:38:29]

06] EXCLUSIVE: Barack Obama in his own words | MS NOW FULL INTERVIEW
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yvYCzh0BcmM [44:10]

In an exclusive conversation with MS NOW Senior Contributing Editor Michele Norris, hear from former President Barack Obama about the inspiration behind the Obama Presidential Center and its significance for future generations. This conversation is adapted from the MS NOW special, "Hope Comes Home: Inside the Obama Presidential Center."

07] ENGLISH SPEECH | BARACK OBAMA: Power of Citizenship (English Subtitles)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ij2-yWgzcX8 [1:07:08]

Learn English with Barack Obama. In 2025 at The Connecticut Forum, President Obama speaks with historian Heather Cox Richardson about democracy, shared facts, institutions, social media, and realistic hope. He maps the tension between activism and governing, the risks of authoritarian drift, and why movements must add, not subtract, to win lasting change.

08] FULL SPEECH: Barack Obama at opening of Obama Presidential Center
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i1xUxoMtYMg [34:30]

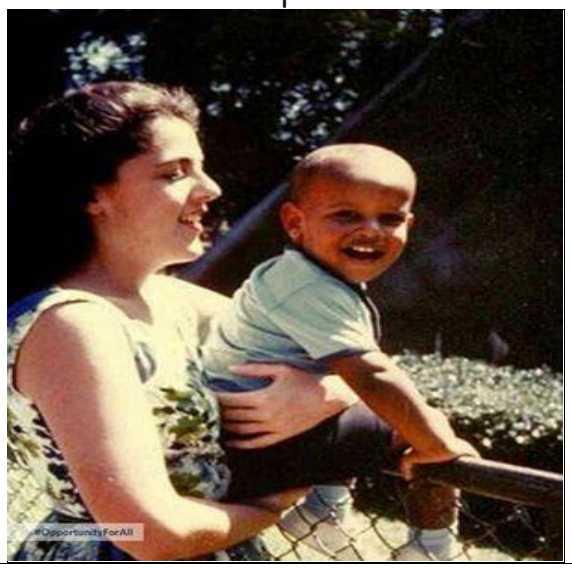
Barack Obama (born August 4, 1961, Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.) is the 44th president of the United States (2009–17) and the first African American to hold the office. Before winning the presidency, Obama represented Illinois in the U.S. Senate (2005–08). He was the third African American to be elected to that body since the end of Reconstruction (1877). In 2009 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize "for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples.

Early life

Barack Obama : An overview of Barack Obama.

Obama's father, Barack Obama, Sr., was a teenage goatherd in rural Kenya, won a scholarship to study in the United States, and eventually became a senior economist in the Kenyan government. Obama's mother, S. Ann Dunham, grew up in Kansas, Texas, and Washington state before her family settled in Honolulu. In 1960 she and Barack Sr. met in a Russian language class at the University of Hawaii and married less than a year later.

When Obama was age two, Barack Sr. left to study at Harvard University; shortly thereafter, in 1964, Dunham and Barack Sr. divorced. (Obama saw his father only one more time, during a brief visit when Obama was 10.) Later Dunham remarried, this time to another foreign student, Lolo Soetoro from Indonesia, with whom she had a second child, Maya. Obama lived for several years in Jakarta with his half sister, mother, and stepfather. While there, Obama attended both a government-run school where he received some instruction in Islam and a Catholic private school where he took part in Christian schooling.



Mother and son : Ann Dunham holding a squirmy, smiling Barack Obama, Jr., in this photo from the 1960s.

He returned to Hawaii in 1971 and lived in a modest apartment, sometimes with his grandparents and sometimes with his mother (she remained for a time in Indonesia, returned to Hawaii, and then went abroad again—partly to pursue work on a Ph.D.—before divorcing Soetoro in 1980). For a brief period his mother was aided by government food stamps, but the family mostly lived a middle-class existence. In 1979 Obama graduated from Punahou School, an elite college preparatory academy in Honolulu.

Obama attended Occidental College in suburban Los Angeles for two years and then transferred to Columbia University in New York City, where in 1983 he received a bachelor's degree in political science. Influenced by professors who pushed him to take his studies more seriously, Obama experienced great intellectual growth during college and for a couple of years thereafter. He led a rather ascetic life and read works of literature and philosophy by William Shakespeare, Friedrich Nietzsche, Toni Morrison, and others. After serving for a couple of years as a writer and editor for Business International Corp., a research, publishing, and consulting firm in Manhattan, he took a position in 1985 as a community organizer on Chicago's largely impoverished Far South Side. He returned to school three years later and graduated magna cum laude in 1991 from Harvard University's law school, where he was the first African American to serve as president of the *Harvard Law Review*. While a summer associate in 1989 at the Chicago law firm of Sidley Austin, Obama had met Chicago native Michelle Robinson, a young lawyer at the firm. The two married in 1992.

The Untold Story of Ann Dunham, Barack Obama's Mother : Janny Scott discussing her book *A Singular Woman: The Untold Story of Barack Obama's Mother* (2011), touching on topics such as how the former president's parents met, the spurious "birther" claims about his country of origin, and his childhood experiences in Indonesia, among others.

After receiving his law degree, Obama moved to Chicago and became active in the Democratic Party. He organized Project Vote, a drive that registered tens of thousands of African Americans on voting rolls and that is credited with helping Democrat Bill Clinton win Illinois and capture the presidency in 1992. The effort also helped make Carol Moseley Braun, an Illinois state legislator, the first African American woman elected to the U.S. Senate. During this period, Obama wrote his first book and saw it published. The memoir, *Dreams from My Father* (1995), is the story of Obama's search for his biracial identity by tracing the lives of his now-deceased father and his extended family in Kenya. Obama lectured on constitutional law at the University of Chicago and worked as an attorney on civil rights issues.

At a glance: the Obama presidency

Politics and ascent to the presidency of Barack Obama

2004 Democratic National Convention: Barack Obama : Barack Obama delivering the keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention in Boston, July 27, 2004.

Barack Obama : Illinois Sen. Barack Obama.

In 1996 he was elected to the Illinois Senate, where, most notably, he helped pass legislation that tightened campaign finance regulations, expanded health care to poor families, and reformed criminal justice and welfare laws. In 2004 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, defeating Republican Alan Keyes in the first U.S. Senate race in which the two leading candidates were African Americans. While campaigning for the U.S. Senate, Obama gained national recognition by delivering the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in July 2004. The speech wove a personal narrative of Obama's biography with the theme that all Americans are connected in ways that transcend political, cultural, and geographical differences. The address lifted Obama's once obscure memoir onto best-seller lists, and, after taking office the following year, Obama quickly became a major figure in his party. A trip to visit his father's home in Kenya in August 2006 gained international media attention, and Obama's star continued ascending. His second book, *The Audacity of Hope* (2006), a mainstream polemic on his vision for the United States, was published weeks later, instantly becoming a major best seller. In February 2007 he announced at the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois, where Abraham Lincoln had served as a state legislator, that he would seek the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 2008. (For coverage of the 2008 election, see United States Presidential Election of 2008.)

WHO'S NEXT in 2007
SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE
Newsweek
The Race is On
OBAMA & HILLARY ARE ALREADY SQUARING OFF OVER 2008. BUT IS AMERICA READY FOR EITHER ONE?

Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton : Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton on the cover of *Newsweek*, December 25, 2006–January 1, 2007.

Barack Obama, 2006.

Barack Obama: campaign memorabilia : Memorabilia from Barack Obama's presidential campaign.

Obama's personal charisma, stirring oratory, and his campaign promise to bring change to the established political system resonated with many Democrats, especially young and minority voters. On January 3, 2008, Obama won a surprise victory in the first major nominating contest, the Iowa caucus, over Sen. Hillary Clinton, who was the overwhelming favorite to win the nomination. Five days later, however, Obama finished second to Clinton in the New Hampshire primary, and a bruising—and sometimes bitter—primary race ensued. Obama won more than a dozen states—including Illinois, his home state, and Missouri, a traditional political bellwether—on Super Tuesday, February 5. No clear front-runner for the nomination emerged, however, as Clinton won many states with large populations, such as California and New York. Obama produced an impressive string of victories later in the month, handily winning the 11 primaries and caucuses that immediately followed Super Tuesday, which gave him a significant lead in pledged delegates. His momentum slowed in early March when Clinton won significant victories in Ohio and Texas. Though still maintaining his edge in delegates, Obama lost the key Pennsylvania primary on April 22. Two weeks later he lost a close contest in Indiana but won the North Carolina primary by a large

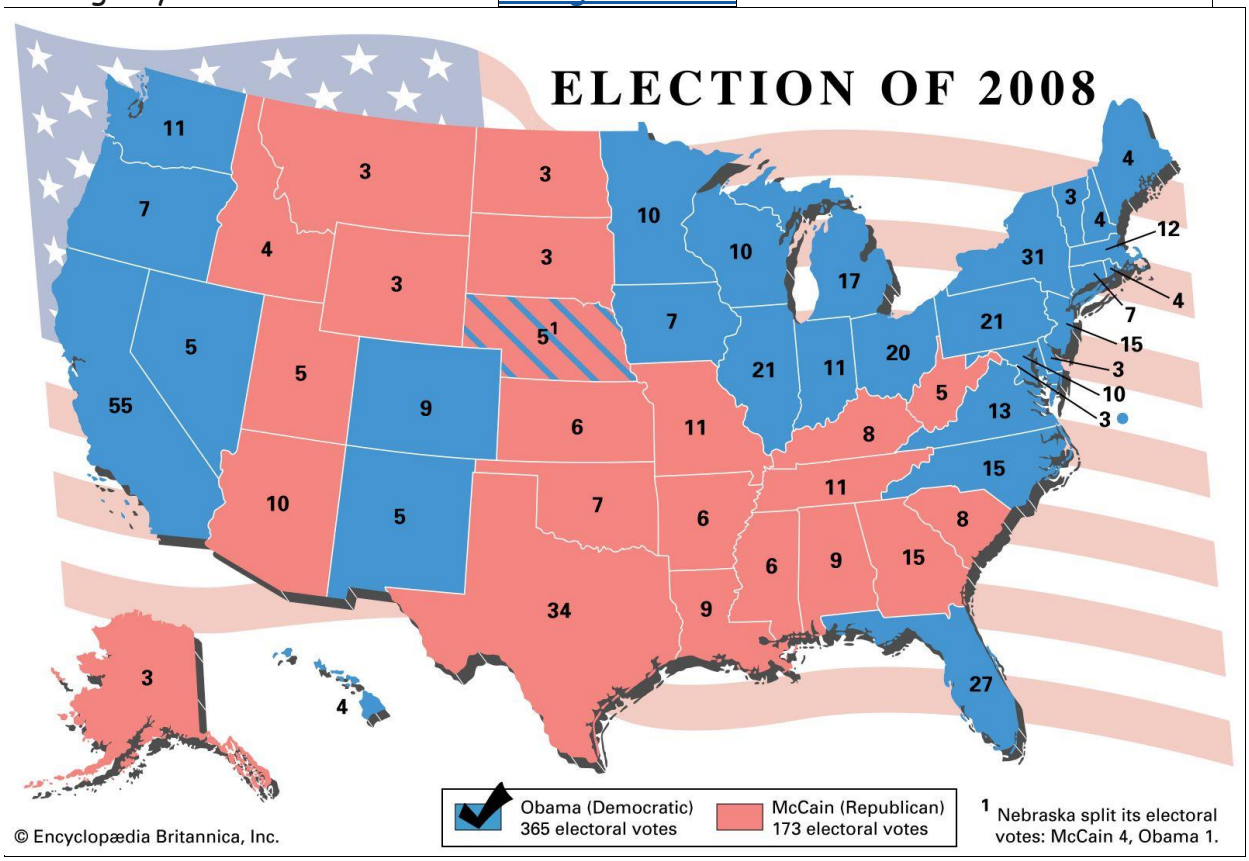
margin, widening his delegate lead over Clinton. She initially had a big lead in so-called superdelegates (Democratic Party officials allocated votes at the convention that were unaffiliated with state primary results), but, with Obama winning more states and actual delegates, many peeled away from her and went to Obama. On June 3, following the final primaries in Montana and South Dakota, the number of delegates pledged to Obama surpassed the total necessary to claim the Democratic nomination.

2008 Democratic National Convention : Michelle and Barack Obama (couple at left) and Jill and Joe Biden at Invesco Field on the final night of the Democratic National Convention in Denver, August 28, 2008.

On August 27 Obama became the first African American to be nominated for the presidency by either major party and went on to challenge Republican Sen. John McCain for the country's highest office. McCain criticized Obama, still a first-term senator, as being too inexperienced for the job. To counter, Obama selected Joe Biden, a veteran senator from Delaware who had a long resume of foreign policy expertise, to be his vice presidential running mate. Obama and McCain waged a fierce and expensive contest. Obama, still bolstered by a fever of popular support, eschewed federal financing of his campaign and raised hundreds of millions of dollars, much of it coming in small donations and over the Internet from a record number of donors. Obama's fund-raising advantage helped him buy massive amounts of television advertising and organize deep grassroots organizations in key battleground states and in states that had voted Republican in previous presidential cycles.

The two candidates offered a stark ideological choice for voters. Obama called for a swift withdrawal of most combat forces from Iraq and a restructuring of tax policy that would bring more relief to lower- and middle-class voters, while McCain said the United States must wait for full victory in Iraq and charged that

Obama's rhetoric was long on eloquence but short on substance. Just weeks before election day, Obama's campaign seized on the economic meltdown that had resulted from the catastrophic failure of U.S. banks and financial institutions in September, calling it a result of the Republican free-market-driven policies of the eight-year administration of George W. Bush.



results of the American presidential election, 2008

Barack Obama: Election night 2008 : President-elect Barack Obama at an election-night rally in Chicago's Grant Park on November 4, 2008. With him are (from left) his daughters, Sasha and Malia, and his wife, Michelle.

Ruto's play for power
SUNDAY NATION
NAIROBI OCTOBER 12, 2008
U.S. ELECTIONS
UNBWOGABLE!
Democrat Barack Obama has weathered sustained attacks to open up a convincing lead over his Republican rival John McCain and is poised to become the first black President in US history
SPECIAL REPORTS: PAGES 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 & 41
ECONOMY
Billions banked in phone wallets — way of the future
IS THIS THE END OF HYPER CAPITALI

See various souvenirs from Africa celebrating Barack Obama 2008 win as U.S. president
A look at miscellaneous souvenirs from Africa that celebrate the 2008 election of Barack Obama as U.S. president.

Witness Barack Obama taking the presidential oath and delivering his inaugural address, January 20, 2009 : Barack Obama taking the presidential oath of office and delivering his inaugural address on January 20, 2009, Washington, D.C.

The Obama family : Barack Obama and Michelle Obama with their daughters, Sasha Obama (left) and Malia Obama, in the Green Room of the White House, Washington, D.C., 2009; photograph by Annie Leibovitz.

Barack Obama: inauguration : Barack Obama being inaugurated as the 44th president of the United States, Washington D.C., January 20, 2009.

Obama won the election, capturing nearly 53 percent of the popular vote and 365 electoral votes. Not only did he hold all the states that John Kerry had won in the 2004 election, but he also captured a number of states (e.g., Colorado, Florida, Nevada, Ohio, and Virginia) that the Republicans had carried in the previous two presidential elections. On election night tens of thousands gathered in Chicago's Grant Park to see Obama claim victory. Shortly after his win, Obama resigned from the Senate. On January 20, 2009, hundreds of thousands turned out in Washington, D.C., to witness Obama taking the oath of office as president.

Presidency

The Nobel Peace Prize and partisanship

In an effort to improve the image of the United States abroad—which many believed had been much damaged during the Bush administration—Obama took a number of steps that indicated a significant shift in tone. He signed an executive order that banned excessive interrogation techniques; ordered the closing of the controversial military detention facility in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, within a year (a deadline that was not met); proposed a "fresh start" to strained relations with Russia; and traveled to Cairo in June 2009 to deliver a historic speech in which he reached out to the Muslim world. Largely as a result of these efforts, **Obama was awarded the 2009 Nobel Peace Prize**. Yet some left-wing critics complained that he actually had adopted and even escalated most of the war and national security policies of his predecessor. Indeed, when Obama accepted the Nobel Prize in December, he said, "Evil does exist in the world" and "there will be times when nations—acting individually or in concert—will find the use of force not only necessary but morally justified." Notwithstanding that tough talk, there were others who criticized Obama for issuing only a mild condemnation of the Iranian government's crackdown on pro-democracy dissidents following a disputed election in June 2009. Moreover, the Obama administration's handling of national security was questioned by some when a Nigerian terrorist trained in Yemen was thwarted in an attempt to bomb an airliner headed for Detroit on Christmas Day, 2009.

A look at the making of the Barack Obama Presidential Center

After enjoying soaring popularity early in his term, Obama became the target of increasing criticism, largely due to the slow pace of economic recovery and continued high unemployment rates but also because of widespread opposition to Democratic efforts to reform health care insurance policy, the signature issue

of the Obama presidential campaign. Obama had entered office promising to bring an end to partisan squabbling and legislative gridlock, yet, in the wake of the failure to obtain any real bipartisan cooperation, congressional Democrats, according to Republicans, had settled into governing without substantive Republican involvement. Republicans, on the other hand, according to Democrats, had become the "Party of No," seeking to obstruct Democratic legislative initiatives without offering real alternative proposals. It was in this highly polarized environment that Obama and the Democrats attempted to enact health care insurance reform.

Passage of Health Care Reform

Health care reform, popular with Americans during the election, became less so as legislators presented the proposed changes to their constituents in town hall meetings in summer 2009 that sometimes erupted into shouting matches between those with opposing viewpoints. It was at this time that the populist Tea Party movement, comprising libertarian-minded conservatives, emerged in opposition to the Democratic health care proposals but more generally in opposition to what they saw as excessive taxes and government involvement in the private sector. Republicans across the board complained that Democratic proposals constituted a "government takeover" of health care that would prove too costly and mortgage the future of generations to come. Their opposition to the Democratic plans was virtually lockstep.

In many respects the president left the initiative for health care reform in the hands of congressional leaders. House Democrats responded in November 2009 by passing a bill that called for sweeping reform, including the creation of a "public option," a lower-cost government-run program that would act as competition for private insurance companies. The Senate was more deliberate in its consideration. Obama seemed to let conservative Democrat Sen. Max Baucus take the lead in that body at the head of the "Group of Six," comprising three Republican and three Democratic senators. The resulting bill that was passed by the Senate—holding the allegiance of all 58 Democrats plus independents Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, it barely survived a filibuster attempt by Republicans—proved to provide far fewer changes than its House counterpart, most notably leaving out the public option. Before a compromise could be reached on the two bills, the triumph of Republican Scott Brown in a special election for the seat formerly held by Sen. Ted Kennedy destroyed the Democrats' filibuster-proof majority. Many Democrats

believed this meant that they would have to start over, as Republicans had been demanding.

Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act : Pres. Barack Obama (center left) and Vice Pres. Joe Biden (center right) reacting after the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, March 21, 2010.

Obama and other Democratic leaders, especially Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, thought otherwise and continued to push for passage. Obama went on the offensive, skillfully moderating a nationally telecast summit of Republicans and Democrats at which the pros and cons of the Democratic proposals were debated. He also took his case outside the Beltway, in speech after speech, emphasizing the message that health care was a right and not a privilege and increasingly sharpening his criticism of the insurance industry. In March 2010, in an attempt to win the support of Democrats in the House who opposed the legislation because they felt it would weaken limitations on abortion funding, Obama promised to sign an executive order guaranteeing that it would not. With that crucial group on board, Pelosi confidently brought the Senate bill to the House floor for a special vote on Sunday night March 21. The bill passed 219–212 (34 Democrats and all the Republicans voted against it) and was followed by passage of a second bill that proposed "fixes" for the Senate bill. Democrats planned to employ the relatively infrequently used procedure known as reconciliation, which requires only a simple majority for passage, to get these fixes through the Senate. Speaking on television shortly after the House vote, Obama told the country, "This is what change looks like."

Listen President Barack Obama speaking before signing the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act after an introduction by Joe Biden : Introduced by Vice Pres. Joe Biden, U.S. Pres. Barack Obama speaking before signing into law the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA), March 23, 2010.

On March 23 Obama signed the bill into law. Senate Republican efforts to force another House vote on the bill of proposed fixes included the introduction of more than 40 amendments that were voted down along party lines. Ultimately, on March 25, the Senate voted 56–43 to pass the bill, which, because of procedural violations in some of its language, had to be returned to the House, where it passed again by a vote of 220–207. No Republicans in either house voted for the bill.

The legislation would, once all its elements had taken effect over the next four years, prohibit denial of coverage on the basis of preexisting conditions and extend health care to some 30 million previously uninsured Americans. The bill made the attainment of health care insurance mandatory for all citizens, but it also called for a tax increase on the wealthiest Americans that would largely bankroll subsidies for premium payments for families earning less than $88,000 per year. Moreover, the bill promised a tax credit to small businesses that provide coverage for their employees. In some corners the bill was considered an unconstitutional "government takeover" of an industry representing one-sixth of

the economy, and in others it was hailed as legislation as monumental as that which had come out of the civil rights movement.

Economic Challenges

Barack Obama and his cabinet : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama meeting with members of his cabinet in the Cabinet Room at the White House, 2009.

Responding to the economic crisis that had emerged in 2008 and prompted a rescue of the financial industry with up to $700 billion in government funds (*see* Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008), Obama—aided by large Democratic majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives—pushed through Congress a $787 billion stimulus package. By the third quarter of 2009 the plan had succeeded in reversing the dramatic decline in GDP, resulting in 2.2 percent positive growth on a per annum basis. Unemployment, however, had also risen, from 7.2 percent when Obama entered office to about 10 percent. And Republicans complained that the stimulus package cost too much, having swelled the federal deficit to $1.42 trillion. Still, it appeared that the U.S. economy was recovering, albeit slowly. The president could proudly point to the dramatic turnaround of General Motors: in June 2009 GM had lapsed into bankruptcy, necessitating a $60 billion government rescue and takeover of about three-fifths of its stock, but by May 2010 the auto manufacturer, employing a new business plan, had shown its first profit in three years. Obama looked forward to "Recovery Summer," anticipating the payoff of the massive federal investment in infrastructure-improvement programs aimed at creating jobs and stimulating the economy. But as the summer of 2010 progressed, the prospects for the economy seemed to dim as unemployment stagnated (partly because of the demise of temporary jobs tied to the decennial census). Some economists feared that a second recessionary trough was approaching, while others argued that the stimulus package had been insufficient.

Obama was able to claim another major legislative victory, however, in July, when Congress passed (60–39 in the Senate and 237–192 in the House) the most sweeping financial regulation since the New Deal. Among other statutes, the bill established a financial consumer-protection bureau within the Federal Reserve, empowered the government to take over and shut down large troubled financial firms, created a council of federal regulators to monitor the financial system, and subjected derivatives—the complex financial instruments that were partly responsible for the financial crisis—to government oversight.

Deepwater Horizon oil spill

Barack Obama: Deepwater Horizon oil spill : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama inspecting a tar ball from the Deepwater Horizon oil spill during a visit to the Gulf Coast, Fourchon Beach, Port Fourchon, Louisiana, May 28, 2010.

The spring and summer of 2010 would be remembered more, though, for a massive oil spill that dragged on for months in the Gulf of Mexico, the largest marine oil spill in history (*see* Deepwater Horizon oil spill of 2010). The disaster began with an explosion and fire that killed 11 workers and led to the collapse and sinking on April 22 of the Deepwater Horizon drilling platform some 40 miles (60 km) off the coast of Louisiana. The resulting oil spill endangered marine life, fouled beaches, and brought a halt to fishing in a huge area. The Obama administration's efforts to address the spill were criticized by some as ineffectual, as most Americans felt helpless in the face of the largely futile ongoing efforts by BP, the well's owner, to staunch the spill. Ironically, in a policy shift just weeks before the spill, the president had proposed ending a long-standing ban on offshore oil exploration from northern Delaware to central Florida as well as in some other locations. In the spill's wake, however, the

Interior Department instituted a six-month moratorium on new deepwater drilling that included halting operations at more than 30 existing exploratory wells. Before the Deepwater Horizon oil spill was finally contained and the well capped in July 2010, it was estimated that some 4.9 million barrels of oil had been released into the water.

In happier news for the president, August 2010 marked the Senate confirmation of his second Supreme Court nominee, Elena Kagan. Associate Justice Sonia Sotomayor had been confirmed in July 2009.

Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

Barack Obama in Baghdad : Barack Obama speaking to military personnel at Camp Victory in Baghdad, April 7, 2009.

For all of Obama's efforts at rapprochement with much of the world, he—like George W. Bush—was a wartime president. With the situation in Iraq continuing to improve and the target date for ending U.S. combat operations there approaching, in February 2009 Obama increased the U.S. military presence in Afghanistan to 68,000 troops. Throughout his presidential campaign he had argued that the focus of U.S. military efforts should be in Afghanistan rather than Iraq, and, with the resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, the military requested that Obama deploy an additional 40,000 troops there. After carefully weighing the situation for three months, Obama choose to send an additional 30,000 troops, a decision that was criticized by many in his party.

Stanley McChrystal and Barack Obama : Stanley McChrystal (right) and U.S. Pres. Barack Obama, 2009.

In June 2010, as the Afghanistan War rivaled the Vietnam War as the longest in U.S. history and as American war deaths there topped the 1,000 mark, the president was faced with another challenge when Gen. Stanley McChrystal, commander of NATO-U.S. forces in Afghanistan, and members of his staff made derisive comments about top Obama administration officials to a reporter from *Rolling Stone* magazine. Obama relieved McChrystal of command, replacing him with Gen. David Petraeus, who had been responsible for the surge strategy in Iraq. In August, on schedule, the U.S. combat mission in Iraq came to a close; though 50,000 American troops remained, the majority of U.S. forces had been withdrawn. In a televised national address marking the end of Operation Iraqi Freedom, Obama stressed the importance of American and NATO efforts in Afghanistan even as corruption continued to undermine the faith of the Afghan people in their government.

Many columnists and political cartoonists were quick to see parallels between the potential pitfalls prolonged involvement in Afghanistan held for Obama's ambitious plans for social legislation and the way in which the Vietnam War had undermined Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson's efforts to build the Great Society. With the prospect of double-dip recession looming in summer 2010, some said Obama had been too preoccupied with the wars to give the economy the needed attention.

In the run-up to the fall's midterm congressional election, Obama found himself snagged in controversy over whether an Islamic center and mosque should be built in New York City near the site of the September 11, 2001, attacks. Initially the president reacted by strongly supporting the constitutional right of Muslim Americans to freedom of religious expression, but then he seemed to waffle

regarding the location of the mosque. All this came at a time when polling showed that nearly one-fifth of Americans incorrectly believed that Obama was Muslim, up from about one-tenth a year earlier.

The midterm congressional election and its aftermath

How Do Midterm Elections Work? : Midterm elections determine who serves in many congressional seats.

As Americans headed into the midterm election of 2010, much of the electorate was characterized as angry and pessimistic. The struggling economy and a persistent high level of unemployment were the central issues in an election that was widely viewed as a referendum on the first two years of Obama's presidency. In the weeks before the election, Obama campaigned hard for Democratic candidates and sought to convince voters of the importance of his administration's accomplishments, including staving off what some economists believed was a potential economic depression. He also emphasized that the change he had promised as a presidential candidate, as well as the Democratic Congress's efforts to stimulate the economy, would take time. In the event, many of the independents who had supported Obama and other Democrats in the 2008 election swung back to the Republicans, and voters returned control of the House to the Republicans, who gained some 60 seats (the biggest swing since 1948). Although the Democrats held on to control of the Senate, their majority was severely reduced. Chastened but unbowed by the election results, Obama

approached the second half of his term and the challenges of divided government with a renewed call for bipartisanship.

Barack Obama: repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama signing the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," December 22, 2010.

Listen Joe Biden introducing Barack Obama before the signing into law the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," December 22, 2010 : Introduced by Vice Pres. Joe Biden, U.S. Pres. Barack Obama speaking before signing into law the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," December 22, 2010.

With only weeks remaining in the congressional term, Obama and the administration aggressively courted Republicans with compromise proposals that

resulted in a flurry of significant legislation that marked the lame-duck Congress as one of the most productive bodies in recent memory and that brought a rebound to the president's popularity. Breaking a campaign pledge, Obama agreed to extend to all Americans (including the wealthiest) for another two years the tax cuts that had been enacted under the Bush administration. In return Republicans voted to extend unemployment benefits. In addition Congress rescinded the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy to allow gays and lesbians to serve openly in the armed forces (fulfilling one of Obama's campaign promises). Congress passed legislation that increased the number of children served by the school lunch program and improved the quality of food to be provided. And Congress extended medical benefits and compensation for the rescue workers who had responded to the September 11 attacks. Moreover, the Senate ratified a new Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) treaty with Russia—one of the administration's top foreign policy goals. On the other hand, a Republican filibuster in the Senate stalled the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which would have granted eventual citizenship to aliens brought to the United States when they were age 16 or younger.

Listen to Barack Obama speaking at a memorial for victims of the Tucson shooting, 2011 : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama speaking at a memorial for the victims of the shooting in which Rep. Gabrielle Giffords was wounded, Tucson, Arizona, January 12, 2011.

But even as gridlock was at least temporarily dislodged and partisanship eased during the season of legislative success, the debate over the vehemence of political polarization was quickly again at the center of the national conversation when, on January 8, 2011, a gunman killed six people and critically wounded Gabrielle Giffords, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, as she met with constituents in Tucson, Arizona. Giffords, a moderate Democrat who had voted to support the health care bill, had already had her office vandalized and had experienced an aggressive challenge to her seat from a Republican candidate who was backed by Tea Party supporters. She survived the gunman's attack. In a well-received speech at a memorial for the victims in Tucson, Obama called for civility in American politics and public discourse and for discussions that heal instead of harm. "Rather than pointing fingers or assigning blame," he said, "let us use this occasion to expand our moral imaginations, to listen to each other more carefully, to sharpen our instincts for empathy, and remind ourselves of all the ways our hopes and dreams are bound together."

Upheaval in the Middle East

The year 2011 brought a series of world-shaking changes to the Middle East, where popular political uprisings resulted in abrupt ends to longtime authoritarian regimes in Tunisia (*see* Jasmine Revolution)and Egypt (*see* Egypt Uprising of 2011) and widespread demonstrations and conflict in other countries in the region. The Obama administration sought to carefully articulate its support for the demonstrators' democratic aspirations, balancing past commitments to some of the threatened regimes with the U.S. advocacy of free representative government. Moreover, Obama attempted to take a role in world leadership without direct intervention in the affairs of other countries.

In Libya, where the political revolt against the four-decade rule of Muammar al-Qaddafi transformed effectively into a civil war (*see* Libya Revolt of 2011), however, Obama felt U.S. intervention was necessary to prevent a humanitarian disaster as Qaddafi employed his overwhelming military advantage in a brutal attempt to expunge opposition. On March 19, U.S. and European forces with warplanes and cruise missiles began attacking targets in Libya in an effort to disable Libya's air force and air defense systems. After initially taking a leading role in these operations, the Obama administration relinquished command to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on March 27.

U.S. government officials during the Osama bin Laden mission : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama (seated second from left) and various other government officials—including Vice Pres. Joe Biden (seated left), Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (seated right), and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (seated second from right)—receiving updates in the Situation Room of the White House during the Osama bin Laden mission, May 2011.

Watch the speech by U.S. Pres. Barack Obama announcing the killing of Osama bin Laden by U.S. forces, May 2011 : Pres. Barack Obama announcing that U.S. forces had killed Osama bin Laden, May 2011.

On April 4, Obama officially announced that he would seek reelection. Less than a month later, on May 1, the president made a dramatic late-night Sunday television address to inform the world that U.S. special forces had killed al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in a firefight in a compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan, not far from the Pakistani capital of Islamabad. (U.S. forces took custody of the body, which they buried at sea, and confirmed bin Laden's identity through DNA testing.) "Justice has been done," Obama said. "Americans understand the costs of war. Yet as a country, we will never tolerate our security being threatened, nor stand idly by when our people have been killed. We will be relentless in defense of our citizens and our friends and allies."

BUDGET BATTLES

Partisan squabbling intensified as members of both parties dug in their heels during the impassioned debate and hard-nosed negotiations over the passage of the federal budget for the remainder of fiscal year 2010. Beginning in October 2010, Congress passed a series of stopgap measures that kept the federal government operating as negotiations continued. As the April 8, 2011, funding deadline for another of these stopgap budgets approached, the new Republican majority in the House threatened to vote against further short-term funding, forcing the shutdown of the federal government if deep budget cuts were not enacted. The administration and the Democratic-controlled Senate, while acknowledging the need for budget reductions, remained adamant in their defense of a range of entitlement programs the Republicans sought to reduce or eliminate. With only hours remaining before the government shutdown, the two sides reached agreement on a budget that included some $38 billion in funding cuts.

The concern over the increasing deficit that was at the heart of the budget battle intensified as spring turned to summer and as government borrowing approached the congressionally mandated national debt ceiling of $14.29 trillion. In mid-May the government reached this limit, but, by shifting funds, the Treasury Department was able to forestall the anticipated deadline for default on the public debt until August 2. When the closed-door negotiations among congressional leaders overseen by Biden stalled in late June, Obama began taking a more active role. The Republican leadership, much influenced by the Tea Party faction, continued to seek a large reduction in the deficit through deep spending cuts (indeed, the Republican-controlled House passed a bill that

prohibited an increase in the debt ceiling unless accompanied by commensurate spending cuts). The president and Democrats also proposed spending cuts but sought to prevent a drastic overhaul of Medicare and Medicaid and called for tax increases for the wealthiest Americans and for the repeal of tax breaks for some corporations, especially those in the oil industry. Against a backdrop of escalating partisan posturing, Obama and Republican Speaker of the House John A. Boehner began meeting privately in early July and nearly hammered out a "grand bargain" that would have included trillions in spending cuts, changes to Medicare and Social Security, and tax reform. Increases in tax revenue were pivotal to the "balanced approach" advocated by the president, who wanted the burden of deficit reduction to be shared by everyone, including the wealthiest Americans who had benefited from the Bush-era tax cuts. The deal foundered toward the end of the month, however, on the level of proposed tax-revenue increases. Media reports indicated that Boehner had agreed to $800 billion in increased tax revenue but pulled out of the deal when the president asked for an additional $400 billion. It was widely believed, though, that Boehner would have had trouble winning sufficient Republican support for the agreement in any case.

As the threat of default and the possibility of a downgrading of the U.S. government's credit rating grew more imminent, there was an increasing consensus across party lines on the need to raise the debt ceiling. Absent a broader agreement, compromise appeared to hinge largely on the issue of whether the ceiling would be increased in two steps or one, the latter of which would push it beyond the 2012 election. On July 31, just two days before the deadline, an agreement was reached by the president and congressional leaders of both parties whereby the ceiling would be raised in two main stages by some $2.4 trillion, with equivalent cuts to the deficit to be achieved over a 10-year period. The deal called for a $900-billion short-term increase in the debt ceiling ($400 billion of which would be immediate) to be offset by an immediate cap on domestic and defense spending that would yield some $917 billion in deficit reduction. The agreement also stipulated the establishment of a congressional "super committee" charged with making recommendations by the end of November 2011 that would reduce the deficit by an additional $1.2 to $1.5 trillion to allow for a commensurate increase in the debt ceiling. The agreement did not include any tax increases, and neither did it provide for major changes to Medicare or Social Security. It did, however, mandate that if the bipartisan committee failed to reach a consensus or if Congress failed to pass the committee's proposals in December 2012, automatic across-the-board cuts of up to $1.2 trillion would be implemented, evenly divided between defense and nondefense spending. The deal also required that both the House and the Senate

vote on an amendment to the Constitution mandating a balanced budget. The final bill was passed by the House by a vote of 269–161 and by the Senate by a vote of 74–26.

Although he effectively had been campaigning for weeks, Obama officially kicked off his reelection bid with speeches in Ohio and Virginia on May 5, 2012. Just a few days later, on May 9, he made headlines again when he revealed a change in his stance on same-sex marriage, saying during a television news interview, "At a certain point I've just concluded that for me personally, it is important for me to go ahead and affirm that I think same-sex couples should be able to get married." Earlier in the week Vice President Biden had expressed strong support for same-sex marriage in another television appearance.

The economy continued to recover—but slowly and unevenly, so that in April 2012 *Time* magazine characterized the rebound as "The 97-lb. Recovery" (alluding to bodybuilder Charles Atlas's 97-pound weakling). Profits were up again for many corporations, big banks had returned to solid footing, and the stock market had bounced back from the dark days of the Great Recession of December 2007 to June 2009, but wages remained largely stagnant, foreclosures were still commonplace as the housing market continued its struggle to regain its balance, and, though unemployment had generally decreased, it remained high at 8.2 percent in May. The presumptive Republican presidential nominee, Mitt Romney, a former governor of Massachusetts, focused much of his campaign on a critique of Obama's stewardship of the economy. On the other hand, some observers noted that the U.S. economy was considerably more robust than that of Europe, which remained deeply mired in the euro-zone debt crisis. More than a few attributed the relative health of the American economy to the government's stimulus efforts and to the successes of the Troubled Asset Relief Program (authorized under the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act), which had come to the rescue of foundering American financial institutions.

In June, responding largely to the Senate's earlier failure to pass the DREAM Act, the Obama administration made an important policy change, generally ending the immediate deportation of illegal immigrants who had come to the United States as children. Although the policy did not embrace the "pathway to citizenship" promised by the DREAM Act, it granted a two-year reprieve from deportation and the opportunity to seek a work permit to those age 30 and under who had immigrated before age 16, had been in the country at least five years, did not have a criminal record or pose a security threat, and were either students or high-school graduates or had served in the military.

Immigration was in the headlines again later in the month when the Supreme Court struck down three provisions of Arizona's controversial 2010 immigration law but upheld its centerpiece "Show me your papers" provision, which required police to check the legal status of anyone they stop for another law-enforcement concern if they reasonably suspect that the person is in the country illegally. Obama applauded the court's rejection of three other provisions of the law, including one that had made it a crime for illegal immigrants to seek work, but he expressed concern that the upheld provision could result in racial profiling.

As important as that ruling was, the Supreme Court announced another decision on the final day of its session (June 28) in a case that many hailed as the most important heard by the court in more than a decade: it upheld the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (*see* Affordable Care Act cases). That decision provided the president with a huge victory by preserving the signature legislative achievement of his administration. Pivotal to the 5–4 ruling was the court's decision not to strike down the act's "individual mandate" provision, which would financially penalize Americans for not obtaining health insurance, a requirement many Republican politicians argued was unconstitutional.

The 2012 election

At the beginning of September 2012, at its national convention in Charlotte, North Carolina, the Democratic Party officially nominated Obama and Biden as its candidates for president and vice president of the United States. On the anniversary of the September 11, 2001, attacks, Obama's attention and that of the world was directed to Benghazi, Libya, where an attack on the U.S. diplomatic post resulted in the deaths of U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans. Initially, it was thought that the attack had been a spontaneous outgrowth of rioting occurring outside the post in response to an anti-Islam film that had been produced in the United States. Angry demonstrations against the film had occurred elsewhere, most notably at the U.S. embassy in Cairo. In the following days and weeks, however, it became increasingly certain that the assault had been a premeditated terrorist attack. Obama promised to get to the bottom of the matter, but both he and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton acknowledged their ultimate responsibility in the situation. The issue persisted as a point of criticism of Obama by Romney and the right in general.

Obama maintained a significant lead over Romney in September in the national opinion polls, partly a result of a "convention bounce" and partly because of negative perceptions some held of his Republican challenger. Those perceptions were deepened by the release of secretly shot footage at a private fund-raiser

at which Romney said, "There are 47 percent of the people who will vote for the president no matter what…who believe that they are victims" and whom he would never be able to convince that "they should take personal responsibility and care for their lives." In the heated aftermath, Romney stood by his remarks, though he said that they had not been "elegantly stated."

Both campaigns were spending fortunes in what was projected to be the most expensive presidential campaign in history, the first since the creation of the public financing system in which neither candidate accepted public funds and the spending limitations that went with them. Romney and the Republican Party, as well as Obama and the Democrats, each raised about $1 billion in donations, totals that did not include the tens of millions spent by "super PACs," the political action committees that—as a result of the Supreme Court's 2010 decision in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*—were allowed to accept unlimited donations from wealthy individuals, corporations, and unions, provided that the PACs operated independently of the candidate's campaign.

2012 Romney-Obama presidential debate : Republican challenger Mitt Romney (center) and U.S. Pres. Barack Obama (right) debating during the 2012 presidential election.

Obama and Romney both presented themselves as champions of the middle class and those who aspired to join it. While the president offered a vision of American prosperity that spread centrifugally from the middle, his Republican challenger believed that economic well-being was initiated at the top by "job creators" and flowed down, an approach that Obama claimed had been tried in the past and failed. In highlighting the importance of tackling the deficit, Obama emphasized the need for spending cuts but proposed returning tax levels on the wealthiest Americans to those that were in place during the Bill Clinton administration. Romney advocated maintaining the Bush-era tax cuts, including those for people at the top of the economic pyramid, as well as providing additional cuts, while promising to reduce the deficit with spending cuts and the

elimination of tax loopholes. He accused Obama of being unsympathetic to business while citing his own success as an entrepreneur as a prime qualification for the job of setting the economy right as president. Much of Romney's campaign was grounded in a criticism of the handling of the economy by Obama, whom Romney blamed for the slowness of the recovery and the consequent hardships endured by the middle class, especially those who were among the long-term unemployed. Obama was quick to acknowledge the suffering of many Americans brought about by the Great Recession and the gradualness of recovery, but he was equally quick (too quick according to many Republicans) to point to the "bad hand" he had been dealt by the Bush administration. Some of the president's supporters believed that he had not been adamant enough in emphasizing how his own policies had helped forestall much-greater economic calamity. Romney also promised to revoke the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, which he referred to derisively as "Obamacare," a term the president proudly owned as he trumpeted the benefits of the act on the campaign trail. Reversing the advantage Republicans traditionally had enjoyed on defense and security issues, Obama repeatedly noted the elimination of Osama bin Laden on his watch. He also highlighted his successful removal of American forces from Iraq and his promise to remove U.S. troops from Afghanistan by 2014.

Despite his earlier political missteps, Romney stole Obama's momentum and reenergized his campaign on October 3 with a commanding performance in the first presidential debate, in which he showed himself to be the president's equal in terms of stature and presence. To some ears, Obama's plea for patience with his policies sounded apologetic, and his performance was generally agreed to have been lackluster. Biden breathed new life into the Democratic effort by taking the offensive in his debate with the Republican vice presidential nominee, Wisconsin Rep. Paul Ryan, a key spokesman for some of the most conservative elements within his party. Obama regained his stride in the second, town hall-style debate by engaging more forcefully with Romney, as he would again in the third and final presidential debate. Despite those strong performances, however, Obama seemingly had, at best, pulled even with Romney nationally. In the final weeks of the campaign, the candidates primarily focused on a handful of "battleground" states, whose electoral votes, it was believed, would determine the outcome of a razor-close election in the electoral college.

Barack Obama touring Superstorm Sandy damage : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama comforting a victim of Superstorm Sandy during a tour of storm damage in Brigantine, New Jersey, October 31, 2012.

In the last week of October, Sandy, a hurricane-turned-superstorm that had ravaged parts of the Caribbean, brought widespread destruction to the East Coast and Mid-Atlantic states. New York City and New Jersey were particularly hard hit, and the image of Obama and New Jersey's Republican Gov. Chris Christie—up to that point one of the president's most vocal critics—touring devastated areas in his state and bringing promises of rapid aid was a remarkable demonstration of bipartisan leadership by both men.

Barack Obama voting : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama voting in the 2012 general election.

Barack and Michelle Obama: inauguration ball : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama dancing with his wife, Michelle Obama, as singer Jennifer Hudson performs at a ball celebrating his second inauguration, January 21, 2013.

On November 6, 2012, Obama won a narrow victory in the national popular vote but triumphed in almost all the battleground states to win a second term, garnering 332 electoral votes to Romney's 206. "Democracy in a nation of 300 million can be noisy and messy and complicated," he said in his election-night victory speech, adding that "we are not as divided as our politics suggest. We're not as cynical as the pundits believe. We are greater than the sum of our individual ambitions."

After the election, Obama and Boehner entered into negotiations to try to avoid the so-called fiscal cliff, which involved either the expiration or enforcement of a series of economic measures set to transpire at the turn of the new year. They included the expiration of the Bush-era tax cuts, temporary payroll tax cuts initiated by the Obama administration, and some tax breaks for businesses, along with the automatic application of across-the-board spending cuts to the military and nonmilitary programs required by the Budget Control Act of 2011, which came to be known as sequestration. Although the president and the speaker of the House were unable to reach a workable compromise, Biden and Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell cobbled together a last-minute agreement that passed the Senate 89–8 and House 257–167 (with 85 Republican votes in the lower chamber) on January 1, 2013. The bill preserved the Bush-era income tax cuts for individuals earning $400,000 or less annually and couples earning $450,000 or less (Obama had campaigned on setting those limits at $200,000 and $250,000, respectively) but raised taxes on those earning more than that from 35 percent to 39.6 percent, the first federal tax increase in two decades. While

it also raised taxes on dividends and inheritance for some, it did not extend the payroll tax cut. Obama signed the bill on January 2.

The gun-control debate and sequestration

vigil for Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting victims : U.S. President Barack Obama attending an interfaith vigil in Newtown, Connecticut, December 16, 2012, following the shootings at Sandy Hook Elementary School.

At the top of the president's agenda in 2013 was the introduction of gun-control legislation, an issue that again had taken center stage in the aftermath of a mass shooting at Sandy Hook School in Newtown, Connecticut, on December 14, 2012, which resulted in the deaths of 20 children and 6 adults. (The shooter also killed himself and his mother that day.) Obama called upon Congress to enact legislation that would institute universal background checks for gun purchases, ban the sales of assault weapons and high-capacity (more than 10-round) magazines, provide for greater protection in schools, and place a renewed focus on treating mental illness. He also took the issue to the public, passionately advocating legislation in a series of campaign-style events at the same time that supporters of gun rights (most notably the National Rifle Association [NRA]) vehemently opposed his proposals. Despite polls that showed overwhelming public support for universal background checks, a bill focusing on a measure that would have greatly expanded background checks failed to receive sufficient support when it was considered by the Senate in April 2013. Conscious of the threat of filibuster, both parties had agreed that a supermajority of 60 votes would be required to move the bill or any amendments to it (including a ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines) to a formal vote on passage.

Although some Republicans (whose party generally opposed the legislation) voted for the measure calling for expanded background checks, some Democrats (whose party generally supported the legislation) voted against it, and it failed (54–46), as did all other proposed amendments, prompting withdrawal of the bill. As the NRA and other supporters of gun rights celebrated, Obama said the bill's withdrawal marked "a pretty shameful day for Washington."

January's budget compromise had delayed automatic cuts on military and social spending for two months, but, when the new March 1, 2013, deadline passed without Democrats and Republicans reaching an agreement on an alternative approach to deficit reduction, sequestration began. It took a while for most Americans to feel the effects of the across-the-board cuts. However, as spring progressed, air-traffic delays ballooned as a result of short-staffing caused by forced furloughs of air-traffic controllers. Congress quickly allowed the Federal Aviation Administration to shift funds earmarked for facility improvement to salaries. At the same time, Air Force officials bemoaned a lack of preparedness that they felt was a consequence of reductions in flight practice and maintenance necessitated by the sequester cuts to military spending, and officials from a wide range of government-funded programs and agencies—from the Meals on Wheels program for seniors to the National Park Service—began to warn of looming problems.

Spring Scandals and Summer Challenges

In May 2013 the Obama administration found itself much embattled, as new controversies arose to take their place alongside ongoing attempts by some Republicans—in particular, Rep. Darrell Issa of California in his role as chairman of the House Oversight Committee—not only to find further fault with the State Department and the administration regarding the 2012 attack on the diplomatic post in Benghazi but also to allege that there had been a cover-up in the aftermath of the attack.

At the center of the renewed efforts to prove that the administration had misled the public were recently revealed e-mails that indicated State Department and other administration officials had asked that references to the al-Qaeda-linked group Anṣār al-Sharīʿah and prior warnings of danger be stricken from the talking points to be used by UN Ambassador Susan Rice when she appeared on television news programs several days after the attack. Republican critics alleged that these changes showed that the administration had "scrubbed" Rice's remarks in order not to tarnish Obama's record on security during the run-up to the presidential election. The Obama administration dismissed the claims of a cover-

up as politically motivated and contended that the process of developing the talking points was concerned not with politics but with differences between individuals in the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency regarding the yet-to-be-understood nature of the attack. (The focus of much Republican criticism regarding the attack was Hillary Clinton, who had resigned as secretary of state in February—to be replaced by John Kerry—but who was a potential candidate for the 2016 presidential election.)

The administration found itself on the defensive when employees of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) were accused of having used excessive scrutiny to delay approval of tax-exempt status for some conservative political groups. Obama condemned this "misconduct" by the IRS as "inexcusable," requested and received the resignation of the acting commissioner of the IRS, and promised that the Treasury Department would establish safeguards to ensure that such behavior would not recur.

Also troubling for the president were revelations that in spring 2012 the Justice Department had subpoenaed access to the records of some 20 phone lines used by reporters and editors who worked in several offices of the Associated Press without notifying that organization. This action had been taken as part of a widespread investigation into a national-security news leak related to a terrorist plot, hatched and foiled in Yemen, to blow up a U.S.-bound plane. Learning in May 2013 that the Justice Department had subpoenaed access to these phone records without having notified them, representatives of the Associated Press, as well as some legislators from both parties, said that they were deeply disturbed by what they saw as an egregious violation of the freedom of the press. Attorney General Eric Holder (who had earlier recused himself from involvement with the investigation because he had been questioned as part of it) characterized the investigation as involving one of the "most serious leaks" he had ever encountered. The Obama administration responded in part by calling for renewed pursuit of legislation that would create a federal "shield" law to provide the same sort of protection that many state laws provided for the confidentiality of journalists' sources and communications. All three scandals became the focus of congressional investigations.

June brought a new set of problems for the administration when it was forced to respond to the revelation that the National Security Agency (NSA) had compelled a telecommunications company to turn over metadata (such as numbers dialed and duration of calls) for millions of its subscribers. This secret information was leaked to *The Guardian* newspaper by American intelligence contractor Edward Snowden, who also disclosed the existence of a program that mined data from Google, Facebook, Microsoft, and other Internet-related companies for the NSA, the FBI, and a British agency. Snowden, who was charged with espionage, ended up in Russia, where he was granted temporary refugee

status, further straining relations between that country and the United States, which were already at loggerheads over developments in the Syrian Civil War. Russia's continued support of its ally Syria (as well as that of China) prevented the UN Security Council from responding forcefully to the war. Obama, seemingly seeking to avoid open-ended involvement in another Middle Eastern conflict, had been cautious in his response to the situation in Syria, prompting some critics to label him the "avoider-in-chief." As the death count in Syria rose and reports surfaced of the use of chemical weapons by the forces of Syrian Pres. Bashar al-Assad, the engagement of the U.S. government increased. Food and financial aid from the U.S. were extended to the Syrian opposition in February 2013, and the beginning of military aid was promised in June. Obama had said in May 2012 that what he called his "calculus" for U.S. involvement in Syria would change if "we start seeing a whole bunch of chemical weapons moving around or being utilized." That "red line" appeared to have been crossed when hundreds of people died allegedly as a result of Syrian government forces' use chemical weapons in suburban Damascus on August 21, 2013.

On August 30 U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry said that the United States had "high certainty" that chemical weapons had been used in the incident and that government forces had carried out the attack. He also reported a death toll (more than 1,400) that was considerably higher than earlier estimates. The Syrian government continued to deny its use of chemical weapons and blamed the opposition. Although the British Parliament had voted against endorsing Prime Minister David Cameron's call for military intervention in principle, Obama indicated that a U.S. military response would be forthcoming, even without British involvement. French Pres. François Hollande, on the other hand, continued to express support for French involvement in a military response. On August 31 Obama shifted gears and asked for congressional authorization for military action while awaiting the findings of UN weapons inspectors who had returned from Damascus after inspecting the site of the attack. Released on September 16, their report indicated that there was "clear and convincing evidence" that surface-to-surface rockets had delivered the nerve agent sarin in the attack. The report did not indicate blame for the attack. In the meantime, on September 14, Russia and the United States brokered a framework agreement under which the Syrian government would accede to the international Chemical Weapons Convention and submit to the controls of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, release a comprehensive listing of its chemical weapons arsenal within a week, destroy all of its chemical mixing and filling equipment by November, and eliminate all of its chemical weapons by mid-2014. While the Obama administration indicated that the framework included an appeal to the UN Security Council to authorize the use of force should Syria not fulfill the terms

of the agreement, the Russian government said it had not agreed to that condition.

The Obama administration's foreign policy in the region was also being tested by events in Egypt, where the military had removed Pres. Mohamed Morsi from power in July. Because the U.S. government was legally prohibited from providing financial aid (which amounted to more that $1 billion annually for Egypt) to countries whose leadership changed as the result of a coup, the administration hesitated to label the change in power a coup. However, Obama was adamant in urging a swift return to civilian rule, and the stakes went up when hundreds of Morsi's supporters were killed by government forces in separate incidents in July and August.

Bill Clinton, Barack Obama, and Jimmy Carter : Democrats Pres. Barack Obama (center) and former presidents Bill Clinton (left) and Jimmy Carter (right) conversing, 2013.

Obamacare remained a thorn in the side of Republicans, particularly those associated with the Tea Party movement, who led an attempt to include a one-year delay of funding of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act in a continuing resolution to fund the federal budget that faced an October 1 deadline. The president, for his part, promised to veto the resolution if it contained defunding of Obamacare. After the House Republican majority refused to give up its requirement of a funding delay for Obamacare and the Senate Democratic majority refused to endorse a continuing resolution that included that requirement, the federal government partially shut down for the first time in 17 years, furloughing hundreds of thousands of employees and closing government offices. Obama was adamant that any discussion on the budget would be contingent upon fully reopening the government, and he maintained that stance as the October 17 deadline for extending the national debt ceiling approached and with it the threat of default. On October 16, moderate Republicans voted with Democrats in both houses of Congress to pass a bill forged by Senate

Minority Leader Mitch McConnell and Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid that ended the partial shutdown by funding government agencies and offices through January 15, 2014, extended the government's borrowing power through February 7, and tasked a negotiating committee with coming up with long-term budgetary solutions. By the end of 2013 the House and the Senate had passed the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013, based on a compromise that replaced the bulk of the automatic spending cuts required by sequestration with targeted cuts and raised discretionary spending (divided evenly between military and nonmilitary funding). The resulting budget was intended to last through the 2014 fiscal year.

Taking heat and taking the lead

With the temporary resolution of the budget battle, public attention shifted to the troubled rollout of Obamacare in early October 2013 and to the initially miserable performance of HealthCare.gov, the website that acted as a marketplace for insurance plans and the place for those in 36 states to apply for health coverage. Republicans lambasted the website, which was often slow and erratic or simply inoperable. Far fewer users were able to access the site and apply for insurance than had been hoped, prompting the administration to order a "tech surge" in late October. Progress in overcoming the glitches was slow, but as HealthCare.gov's performance improved, Obama went on the offensive, encouraging Americans to sign up for coverage. At the beginning of April 2014, after the end of the first open enrollment period, he announced that 7.1 million Americans had signed up for private insurance plans through the marketplace, meeting the administration's target. "The debate over repealing this law is over. The Affordable Care Act is here to stay," Obama declared, yet criticism of Obamacare and calls for its removal remained a rallying cry for Republicans as they prepared for the 2014 midterm congressional election.

Events in the Middle East continued to make that region an important focus of Obama's foreign policy in 2014. However, the president's attention dramatically shifted early in the year to a developing crisis in Ukraine. After widespread protests led to the impeachment and then the end of the presidency of Viktor Yanukovych (who called his dismissal a coup d'état), elements within the predominantly ethnically Russian autonomous republic of Crimea, supported by Russian troops, engineered Crimea's self-declared separation from Ukraine and annexation by Russia (confirmed by the Russian parliament in March). Obama joined a host of Western leaders in condemning Russia's aggressive actions and sought to isolate it by suspending it from the Group of Eight and imposing sanctions on a number of individual Russian leaders. Moreover,

in a show of support for Ukraine, Obama met with its newly elected president, Petro Poroshenko, in early June.

At the end of May, five Taliban leaders who been prisoners at the Guantánamo Bay detention camp were exchanged by the Obama administration for Bowe Bergdahl, a U.S. Army sergeant who had been a captive of the Taliban in Afghanistan since 2009. The exchange was initially hailed as a victory for the administration, but it quickly became controversial. Some Republicans argued that the administration had given up too much for Bergdahl, and politicians from both sides of the aisle criticized the president for failing to consult Congress prior to the exchange (law required the administration to give Congress notice 30 days before releasing Guantánamo Bay detainees; the White House cited evidence of Bergdahl's failing health and other factors that necessitated urgent action). The matter became further clouded by the ambiguous circumstances of Bergdahl's capture, including allegations that he had attempted to desert.

Meanwhile, in early summer 2014, nearly three years after the removal of the final U.S. troops from Iraq, Obama found himself forced to again respond to events there, when the controversial U.S.-supported regime of Prime Minister Nūrī al-Mālikī was threatened by the takeover of several cities (including the country's second largest, Mosul) by a rapidly spreading Sunni insurgency spearheaded by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL; also known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria [ISIS] and as the Islamic State), a group that emerged in April 2013. Some critics sought to blame Obama for this new instability in Iraq, accusing him of having removed U.S. troops too soon. The president remained reluctant to put "boots on the ground," even as he dispatched some 300 U.S. Special Operations troops in mid-June to train, advise, and support Iraqi security forces, and he called on the Iraqi government to resolve the situation. Mālikī's State of Law coalition had won the largest number of seats in parliamentary elections in April 2014, paving the way for Mālikī to claim a third term as prime minister, but in response to pressure from former supporters both inside and outside Iraq, he stepped aside in favour of a less-divisive figure from the State of Law coalition, Haider al-Abadi, who was nominated to form a new cabinet in early August.

On August 8 the United States began to launch air strikes against ISIL in Iraq to prevent it from advancing farther into Kurdish territory. In September Obama responded even more aggressively to ISIL's advances in both Iraq and Syria, as well as to a growing sense of the terrorist threat posed by ISIL elsewhere (brought home to Americans through videos released by ISIL depicting the beheadings of two U.S. journalists held hostage by the group). In a televised address on September 10, Obama announced that he had initiated a significant escalation of the campaign against ISIL, including the authorization of air strikes inside Syria for the first time and an increase of those in Iraq. Although he

continued to pledge that he would not return U.S. combat troops to the region, Obama asked Congress to approve some $500 million for the training and arming of "moderate" Syrians. In the following weeks, as U.S.-led attacks increased, Obama championed an effort to grow the coalition of countries that had committed to confronting ISIL. By the end of September, some 20 countries were contributing air support or military equipment to the coalition effort, including France, Britain, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Qatar, and Bahrain. Dozens of other countries provided humanitarian aid.

An effort to expand that coalition and to define the necessity of combating ISIL's "network of death" was central to Obama's speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 24. Also in that address he echoed his September 10 speech in denouncing Russia's actions in Ukraine, and he called on the world to come together to respond to global warming and to help contain the outbreak of the Ebola virus in Africa. A number of political observers praised the president for putting the United States at the forefront of these efforts after having been, in their eyes, recently indecisive in his foreign policy.

Executive action and the 2014 midterm election

On the domestic front, Obama continued to use the power of executive action to address issues that remained bogged down in Congress. In February 2014 Obama, unable to persuade Congress to raise the federal minimum wage, signed an executive order raising the hourly minimum wage of federal contract workers to $10.10. In June he took on climate change, directing the Environmental Protection Agency to instate new rules calling for power plants to significantly reduce their carbon emissions by 2030. Speaker of the House Boehner responded to Obama's use of executive action by accusing the president of having "repeatedly run an end-around on the American people and their elected legislators" and by threatening to bring a lawsuit against him for misusing his executive powers. "So sue me," a combative Obama said in early July, his remark aimed at House Republicans. "As long as they're doing nothing," he continued, "I'm not going to apologize for trying to do something."

Immigration reform, an issue that Obama had attempted to address in June 2012 with executive action (the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals policy, often called DACA, that deferred for two years deportations of immigrants who had come to the United States illegally as children), was back in the spotlight in 2014 as a crisis arose along the country's border with Mexico. From October 2013 to mid-June 2014 some 50,000 unaccompanied children from Central America were

apprehended attempting to enter the U.S. illegally. In July the administration sought $3.7 billion from Congress to confront the crisis.

In early August 2014 Obama carefully sought not to take sides when the fatal shooting of Michael Brown, an unarmed African American teenager, by a white police officer resulted in days of civil unrest and protests fueled by tensions between the predominantly Black population of Ferguson, Missouri, a St. Louis suburb, and its predominantly white government and police department. The president did, however, cite the incident in his September speech to the UN as an example of "our own racial and ethnic tensions" while pointing to the failure of Americans at times "to live up to our ideals." On September 19 there was a scare at the White House when, only minutes after the first family had left the residence, a man leapt the surrounding fence and made his way into the White House. The security breach spurred a congressional hearing that addressed other recent lapses by the Secret Service, and soon afterward its director, Julia Pierson, resigned.

With Obama's approval rating bobbing at about 40 percent, Republicans framed the midterm congressional elections in November 2014 as a referendum on his presidency. The electorate—seemingly unhappy with the president's response to the Ebola crisis, the advances of ISIL in Iraq and Syria, congressional gridlock, and a range of other issues, as well as being disappointed with the pace and nature of the economic recovery—handed the Democrats a crushing defeat. In gaining 12 seats, Republicans were in a position to match the largest majority that they had enjoyed in the House since 1947, and, moreover, they retook control of the Senate, gaining 9 seats to reach a total of 54, after the results were in for the December runoff election in Louisiana (a Republican victory).

On November 20 Obama once again employed an executive order in an attempt to overcome legislative gridlock when he announced reform of U.S. immigration policy that would grant work permits and temporary legal status to more than four million illegal immigrants. The action would delay deportation and allow parents of children who were legal residents or U.S. citizens to apply for three-year work permits, provided that they had been in the country for five years or more. The order also removed the age limitation from the president's 2012 executive order regarding immigrants who had been brought to the United States as children and changed the year by which they were required to have immigrated from 2007 to 2010. Vowing to counteract the order, Republicans accused Obama of skirting Congress and engaging in an imperial presidency.

Barack Obama and Raúl Castro : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama shaking hands with Cuban Pres. Raúl Castro at a memorial service for former South African president Nelson Mandela on December 17, 2014.

In December 2013, at a memorial for South African leader Nelson Mandela, Obama and Cuban leader Raúl Castro had shared a handshake that seemed to offer symbolic new hope for improved Cuban-U.S. relations. On December 17, 2014, after some 18 months of secret negotiations fostered by Canada and the Vatican, that handshake bore fruit as Obama and Castro simultaneously addressed national television audiences to announce the normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba that had been suspended in January 1961. "We will end an outdated approach that for decades has failed to advance our interests," Obama said. At the beginning of his administration, he had hoped to restart relations, but that initiative had been undermined by the incarceration of Alan Gross, a subcontractor for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) who had been held in Cuba since 2009 after being convicted of importing illegal technology and attempting to establish secret Internet service for Cuban Jews. The announcement of renewed diplomatic relations was accompanied by the release of Gross and a prisoner exchange of three Cuban intelligence agents who had been jailed in the United States since 1998 for a U.S. intelligence agent who had been captive in Cuba for nearly 20 years.

Because the more-than-five-decade embargo on trade with Cuba was codified in U.S. law, rescinding it was beyond the scope of Obama's executive authority and would require congressional action, which was anything but assured, given the widespread opposition among Republicans to normalizing relations. Nevertheless, Obama was able to mandate the establishment of an embassy in Havana, a review of Cuba's status as a state sponsor of terrorism, and the easing of some travel

and financial restrictions (including an increase in the amount of money expatriates were allowed to remit to Cuba).

In December Obama's response to police violence was again questioned after a grand jury failed to indict a New York City policeman for his responsibility in the death of Eric Garner, an unarmed African American man who died after having a choke hold applied to him during his arrest on Staten Island in July. The president and New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio established a task force charged with improving relations between minority communities and police, but many of those around the country who had taken to the streets to proclaim that "Black lives matter" felt that Obama was not doing enough.

Baltimore riot, Charleston shooting, Supreme Court approval of same-sex marriage, and agreement with Iran

The first half of 2015 was a roller-coaster ride of low and high points for the president: on one hand, the country continued to experience a rash of deeply troubling incidents of race-related violence, while, on the other hand, the Supreme Court ruled as the administration had hoped it would in a pair of landmark cases.

In an episode reminiscent of the events in Ferguson and Staten Island, on April 19 a young African American man in Baltimore died a week after incurring a severe spinal-cord injury while in police custody. Rioting erupted in Baltimore on the day of his funeral, April 27. As troubling as the incidents of police violence and the issues of police accountability were, the country was even more stunned and saddened when, on June 17,

nine African Americans were shot and killed, allegedly by a young white man, in a hate crime in a historic Black church in Charleston, South Carolina. In his eulogy for one of the shooting's victims—the Rev. Clementa Pinckney, a South Carolina state senator—Obama addressed gun control, race relations, and the symbolic impact of the Confederate flag, which he said represented more than just "ancestral pride" because for many it was a "reminder of systemic oppression and racial subjugation." (In the wake of the shooting, the flying of the Confederate flag at the state capitol in South Carolina was the object of renewed criticism, and on July 10, in response to legislative action by South Carolina lawmakers, the flag was removed permanently from the capitol grounds.)

Perhaps this tragedy causes…us to examine what we're doing to cause some of our children to hate. Perhaps it softens hearts towards those lost young men…caught up in the criminal justice system and leads us to make sure that that system is not infected with bias; that we embrace changes in how we train and equip our police so that the bonds of trust between law enforcement and the communities they serve make us all safer and more secure.

Maybe we now realize the way racial bias can infect us even when we don't realize it, so that we're guarding against not just racial slurs, but we're also guarding against the subtle impulse to call Johnny back for a job interview but not Jamal.

Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act : Supporters of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act cheering after the Supreme Court ruled on June 25, 2015, that Obamacare tax credits can go to purchasers of health insurance on the federal insurance exchange.

Obama's hopes for the removal of discrimination received a huge boost on June 26 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that state bans on same-sex marriage and on recognizing same-sex marriages performed in other jurisdictions are unconstitutional under the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. The ruling thereby legalized the practice of same-sex marriage throughout the country. One day earlier, in *King v. Burwell*, the Supreme Court further solidified the legality of Obamacare by upholding that part of the legislation that allowed the government to provide subsidies to poor and middle-class citizens in order to help them purchase health care. Lifted by those successes, Obama's approval rating climbed over 50 percent for the first time in more than two years.

July brought yet another policy success for the president when a final agreement was reached between Iran and the P5+1 (the United States and the

other permanent members of the UN Security Council [China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom], along with Germany) that placed limits on Iran's nuclear program in exchange for the reduction of sanctions against the country. The agreement came after more than a decade of negotiations over Iran's nuclear research program, which many observers suspected was aimed at developing nuclear weapons, though Iran maintained that it was intended for peaceful purposes. An interim agreement had been reached in November 2013, and the final agreement largely followed the terms of the framework document that was accepted by all parties in April 2015. Under the terms of the agreement, Iran would greatly reduce its nuclear stockpile over a 10-year period and give inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency access to its nuclear facilities in exchange for the gradual removal of sanctions. In praising the agreement, Obama said that "every pathway to a nuclear weapon" for Iran had been cut off, but many Republicans were quick to denounce the accord, which Congress had 60 days to consider with the options of accepting, rejecting, or taking no action on it. On September 10 the Republican-led effort to reject the treaty was stalled in its tracks when opponents of the agreement in the Senate were unable to secure enough votes to overcome a Democratic filibuster that had blocked the passage of a measure aimed at repealing the treaty. Yet another major policy goal had been achieved by Obama without the aid of a single Republican vote.

More Executive Action

In that vein, on August 3, 2015, the president announced new climate regulations requiring U.S. power plants to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 32 percent below 2005 levels by the year 2030. The new rules also required that 28 percent of electrical generation be fueled by renewable energy by the same deadline. In February 2016, however, a lawsuit brought against the action was granted a stay request by the Supreme Court even before the regulation had been reviewed by a federal appeals court, an unprecedented step that critics described as judicial activism. The stay was to remain in place as the lawsuit made its way through the courts, with a final decision possibly not coming until 2017.

Environmentalists were able to claim a victory in November 2015 when Obama, having completed a seven-year review, announced that he had rejected the proposal to build the Keystone XL oil pipeline from Canada to the U.S. Gulf Coast. Supporters of the pipeline had argued that construction of the pipeline would create jobs and promote economic growth, while opponents countered that extracting the petroleum from tar sands in Alberta would contribute significantly to global warming.

John Kerry arriving in Cuba : U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry arriving at the José Martí International Airport in Havana, Cuba, on August 14, 2015.

The August 14 flag raising presided over by Secretary Kerry at the reopened U.S. embassy in Havana provided a foreign policy milestone for the Obama administration, after the U.S. and Cuba had officially opened their embassies in each other's capital on July 20. At the end of July, Obama had become the first sitting U.S. president to visit Ethiopia as well as the first U.S. chief executive to address the African Union at its headquarters in Addis Ababa. In early October, after some eight years of negotiations, another of the president's principal foreign policy objectives appeared within reach with the signing in Atlanta of the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement, a regional trade deal between 12 Pacific Rim countries (the U.S., Japan, Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Vietnam). Congressional ratification of the treaty, however, was far from a certainty.

In the last half of the year, Obama again focused on the gun violence that continued to occur throughout the country. Following the mass shooting at a community college in Roseburg, Oregon, on October 1, 2015, the president renewed his calls for action. At the end of November there was an uproar in Chicago following the court-ordered release of a video showing a policeman shooting and killing an African American teenager in October 2014. Days later a gunman attacked a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs, Colorado, killing three and wounding nine. On December 2 the country was further shocked when a husband and wife attacked a holiday party at a social services center in San Bernardino, California, killing 14 people and injuring another 22. Initially, Obama reacted to that incident as another example of the mass violence that can result from what he saw as too-lenient gun laws. However, after it became clear that

the assailants had militant Islamist sympathies, the president made a rare national television address on December 6, in which he characterized the San Bernardino shootings as a terrorist attack and attempted to calm the fears of jittery Americans and reassure doubters that his administration took the threat of Islamist terrorism seriously and that it would be "overcome."

Republicans and some members of his own party continued to criticize Obama's response to ISIL as insufficient and flawed. Having admitted in June 2015 that the administration still did not have a "complete strategy" to confront ISIL (and still suffering for his 2014 characterization of ISIL as the "junior varsity" in comparison with al-Qaeda), Obama, at the end of October 2015, authorized the deployment of several dozen special-operations troops in Syria to help coordinate local ground forces in the north of the country and undertake other open-ended missions there—an action that seemed to violate his long-standing promise to not "put boots on the ground" in Syria. The measure came at a time when Russia had become directly involved in the Syrian Civil War, and the deployment was framed as part of an evolving policy that included a significant diplomatic effort to begin talks aimed at effecting a political transition in Syria.

At the beginning of the new year, Obama returned again to the matter of gun violence. Long frustrated by congressional gridlock that prevented the passage of gun-related legislation, on January 5, 2016, he announced executive actions aimed at expanding background checks for gun purchasers and recodifying the definition of a regulated gun dealer. Mindful of the kind of Republican accusations of presidential overreach that had landed earlier executive actions in the courts, Obama was careful to undertake action that he described as "well within" his legal authority. The redefinition of regulated gun dealing targeted online sales of guns and sales of weapons at gun shows that had not been subject to background checks. In his announcement of the executive action, Obama, reflecting on the tragedy of the 2012 Newtown shootings that had deeply affected him, wiped tears from his cheeks as he said, "Every time I think about those kids it gets me mad. And by the way, it [gun violence] happens on the streets of Chicago every day." Several days later, at a special televised town meeting at George Mason University, Obama discussed his executive action with both supporters and opponents of gun-control reform.

When Obama came before a joint session of Congress on January 12 to deliver his final State of the Union message, there was an empty seat in the gallery next to Michelle Obama to symbolize the loss of life brought about by gun violence. The president struck a positive tone in his address, countering fears of Islamist terrorism by calling the United States "the most powerful nation on Earth" and characterizing gloomy Republican assessments of the country's economic decline as "fiction" while saying that the U.S. has "the strongest, most durable economy in the world." Rather than recite a litany of policy initiatives, Obama, echoing

former president Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous "Four Freedoms" address, focused on four pivotal questions that were summarized on the White House's website:

- How do we give everyone a fair shot at opportunity and security in the new economy?
- How do we make technology work for us, and not against us, as we solve our biggest challenges?
- How do we keep America safe and lead the world without becoming its policeman?
- How can we make our politics reflect the best in us, and not the worst?

Having come into office determined to end partisan gridlock, Obama lamented his failure to do so: "It's one of the few regrets of my presidency—that the rancor and suspicion between the parties has gotten worse instead of better."

Historic Trips and More Shootings

The death of Associate Justice Antonin Scalia in early February provided Obama with the opportunity to replace one of the Supreme Court's staunchest judicial conservatives. In March the president nominated the highly regarded moderate Merrick Garland, the chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, as Scalia's replacement, but Senate Republicans had already vowed not to hold confirmation hearings for any new justice until after the 2016 presidential election.

Returning to an issue that he had first tackled early in his presidency, on February 23, 2016, Obama announced that the Department of Defense had submitted to Congress a new plan for closing the U.S. detention facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. He called the camp a stain on the U.S. record of upholding the rule of law and said that its continued operation was "counterproductive to our fight against terrorists, because they use it as propaganda in their efforts to recruit." Ongoing Republican opposition had frustrated attempts by Obama to have some of the detainees transferred to the United States, but throughout his presidency he had overseen the transfer of detainees to countries such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Georgia, Senegal, Bosnia, Slovakia, and Uruguay, with more than 180 detainees having left Guantánamo under Obama's watch while several dozen detainees remained.

Justin Trudeau: state visit : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama, First Lady Michelle Obama, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and his wife, Sophie Grégoire-Trudeau, waving during an arrival ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House, March 10, 2016.

In March Obama welcomed a state visit by Canada's youthful new prime minister, Justin Trudeau, whose presence created the kind of excitement that had always seemed to attend the charismatic Obama at the beginning of his own tenure in office. The amiability between Obama and Trudeau was a far cry from Obama's chilly relationship with Canada's former leader, Conservative Stephen Harper.

Barack and Michelle Obama, 2016 : (Center) U.S. Pres. Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama greeting U.S. embassy staff in Havana, Cuba, March 20, 2016.

Barack Obama and Abe Shinzo : U.S. Pres. Barack Obama (right) and Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima, Japan, May 27, 2016.

Obama made a trio of historic state visits himself in 2016. In mid-March he became the first sitting U.S. president to visit Cuba in more than 80 years and in May the first sitting U.S. chief executive to visit Hiroshima, Japan, the site of the world's first nuclear strike, where the United States had dropped an atomic bomb toward the end of World War II that resulted in the deaths of more than 100,000 people. In his speech at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, Obama pointedly did not apologize for the bombing or call into question U.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman's decision to use nuclear weapons. Instead, he sought to emphasize the importance of a future without nuclear weapons "in which Hiroshima and Nagasaki are known not as the dawn of atomic warfare but as the start of our own moral awakening." Obama's solemn appearance in Hiroshima came at the end of a roughly weeklong trip to Asia that had begun with a visit to another former wartime adversary of the United States, Vietnam. In Hanoi Obama announced an end to the more-than-50-year embargo on sales of U.S.-made weapons to Vietnam.

The Obama administration's advocacy of civil rights took a variety of forms in 2016. In early May Interior Secretary Sally Jewell and National Park Service Director Jonathan Jarvis met with local officials to discuss the creation of a national monument commemorating the gay rights movement at the Stonewall Inn, the historic Greenwich Village bar where police and gay rights activists had clashed in 1969. Later that month U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch announced the Department of Justice's filing of suit in federal district court in support of the transgender community to block the enforcement of a recently adopted North Carolina state law that required public agencies to limit the use of restrooms, locker rooms, and changing rooms to persons whose biological sex (as indicated on their birth certificates) corresponds to the sex for which the facility is intended.

Gun violence continued to shake the country. In June Obama and Vice President Biden traveled to Orlando, Florida, to meet with survivors and families of victims of the mass shooting earlier that month at the Pulse nightclub, the deadliest such event in modern U.S. history. Forty-nine people were killed and 50 others were wounded in the attack by a lone gunman on the vibrant center for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) social life. Less than a month later, on July 7, in downtown Dallas, as a peaceful protest against the shootings earlier in the week of African American men by police in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and suburban St. Paul, Minnesota, was winding to a close, a sniper who was upset by those shootings shot and killed four police officers, along with a rapid transit officer, and wounded several others. Speaking at a memorial for the slain officers, Obama said:

Faced with this violence, we wonder if the divides of race in America can ever be bridged. We wonder if an African-American community that feels unfairly targeted by police, and police departments that feel unfairly maligned for doing their jobs, can ever understand each other's experience....I'm here to say we must reject such despair. I'm here to insist that we are not as divided as we seem....Because with an open heart, we can learn to stand in each other's shoes and look at the world through each other's eyes, so that maybe the police officer sees his own son in that teenager with a hoodie who's kind of goofing off but not dangerous—and the teenager—maybe the teenager will see in the police officer the same words and values and authority of his parents....We can decide to come together and make our country reflect the good inside us, the hopes and simple dreams we share.

At the end of July, as one of the keynote speakers at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, Obama eloquently praised Hillary Clinton, the party's nominee to replace him in the Oval Office, but, arguably, the convention's most-rousing speech had been delivered a few days earlier by the first lady, Michelle Obama. The president campaigned actively in support of Clinton, whose Republican opponent, real-estate developer and reality television star Donald Trump, had vowed to undo many of Obama's policy and legislative achievements. Upending the predictions of polls and pundits, Trump won the election, capturing key battleground states such as Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin to triumph in the Electoral College with 304 electoral votes to 227 for Clinton, though she won the popular vote by more than 2.8 million votes.

In closing his Farewell Address at Chicago's McCormick Place on January 10, 2017, Obama said

...I'm asking you to believe. Not in my ability to bring about change—but in yours.

I am asking you to hold fast to that faith written into our founding documents; that idea whispered by slaves and abolitionists; that spirit sung by immigrants and homesteaders and those who marched for

justice; that creed reaffirmed by those who planted flags from foreign battlefields to the surface of the moon; a creed at the core of every American whose story is not yet written: Yes, we can.

Life after the presidency of Barack Obama

Having chosen to become the first president since Woodrow Wilson to remain in the capital after the end of his term, Obama purchased a nine-bedroom home in the Kalorama neighborhood with the intention of staying for two years so that his younger daughter, Sasha, could complete high school in Washington. Although he indicated at his final press conference that he did not intend to be actively involved in politics, he outlined several developments that could reverse that decision, including "systematic discrimination being ratified in some fashion," the creation of obstacles to voting, and efforts to silence the press or dissent.

The former president and former first lady received a joint $65 million advance from Penguin Random House's Crown Publishing Group for their respective memoirs. Obama also began undertaking high-paid speaking engagements, including addresses to Wall Street financial firms, which earned him as much as $400,000 an outing as well criticism from some corners for his acceptance of extravagant fees. Supporters countered that those high fees contributed to making it possible for Obama to donate some $2 million to job-training programs for low-income residents in the Chicago area.

Jackson Park, on Chicago's South Side, was chosen by the Obama Foundation (founded in January 2014) as the location for the Obama Presidential Center. Intended as an economic engine for the South Side, nestled in parkland, and dedicated to informing and inspiring future leaders, the center was designed to include a library, museum, athletic facility, and forum for public meetings. It also was planned to serve as the headquarters for the Obama Foundation and the My Brother's Keeper Alliance, the organization Obama founded in 2014 to provide opportunities for boys and young men of color. The former president also indicated his support for the National Democratic Redistricting Committee, an organization led by former attorney general Eric Holder that was focused on executing a comprehensive redistricting strategy to counter what it saw as the abuses of Republican gerrymandering.

Even as the Trump administration rolled out a succession of policy initiatives seemingly aimed at eradicating Obama's achievements in the realms of health care, climate change, immigration, and financial regulation, Obama for the most part honored the unwritten tradition of former presidents' refraining from criticism of their successor's actions. On occasion, though, Obama did take issue with some of Trump's policies and the direction in which Trump was taking the country. Notably, Obama was critical of Trump's decisions to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change and from the 2015

agreement with Iran on nuclear development, as well as Trump's order to terminate the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program.

In 2020 Obama began to take a noticeably more active role in American political life. In particular he was critical of Trump's handling of two crises that had shaken the country: the coronavirus pandemic that had taken more than 160,000 lives in the United States by August and put the economy in a tailspin, along with the killing of George Floyd, an African American, by a Minneapolis policeman that sparked prolonged nationwide protests reflecting the festering indignation at the continuing epidemic of police brutality toward African Americans and systemic racism. In early June Obama participated in an online town hall on police violence. In his speech he emphasized both the important role played by protestors and the necessity of voting.

In July Obama appeared in a video with Biden, the Democratic Party's presumptive 2020 presidential nominee. Practicing "social distancing" emblematic of the effort to stem the spread of the coronavirus, the two men discussed a range of issues, including the steps required to tame the pandemic and resuscitate the economy, and Obama expressed confidence in the character and leadership ability of Biden, who had tied his candidacy to his role in the Obama administration and his friendship with the popular former president. At the end of the month, Obama delivered a moving eulogy at the funeral of one of his heroes, congressman and civil rights leader John Lewis. In August 2020 Biden became the Democrats' official nominee, and Obama made numerous campaign appearances on his behalf. Biden ultimately was declared the winner of the November election. Shortly thereafter Obama released the memoir *A Promised Land* (2020). The first of two proposed volumes, it centers on his early life through the events of May 2011. The documentary TV series *Obama: In Pursuit of a More Perfect Union* was released in 2021.

President Obama's Cabinet

The table provides a list of cabinet members in the administration of Pres. Barack Obama.

Cabinet of President Barack Obama

January 20, 2009–January 20, 2013 (Term 1)	
[1]The post was vacant from the resignation of John Bryson in June 2012 until the swearing in of Penny Pritzker in June 2013.	
Secretary of State	Hillary Clinton
Secretary of the Treasury	Tim Geithner
Secretary of Defense	Robert M. Gates
	Leon Panetta (from July 1, 2011)
Attorney General	Eric Holder
Secretary of the Interior	Ken Salazar
Secretary of Agriculture	Tom Vilsack
Secretary of Commerce	Gary Locke
	John Bryson (from October 21, 2011, to June 21, 2012)[1]
Secretary of Labor	Hilda Solis
Secretary of Health and Human Services	Kathleen Sebelius

Cabinet of President Barack Obama

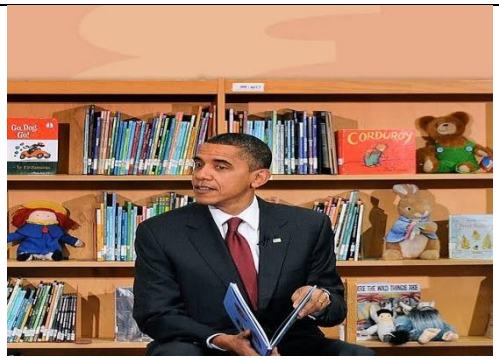
January 20, 2009–January 20, 2013 (Term 1)	
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	Shaun Donovan
Secretary of Transportation	Ray LaHood
Secretary of Energy	Steven Chu
Secretary of Education	Arne Duncan
Secretary of Veterans Affairs	Eric Shinseki
Secretary of Homeland Security	Janet Napolitano
January 20, 2013–January 20, 2017 (Term 2)	
Secretary of State	Hillary Clinton
	John Kerry (from February 1, 2013)
Secretary of the Treasury	Tim Geithner
	Jack Lew (from February 28, 2013)
Secretary of Defense	Leon Panetta

Cabinet of President Barack Obama

January 20, 2009–January 20, 2013 (Term 1)	
	Chuck Hagel (from February 27, 2013)
	Ashton Carter (from February 17, 2015)
Attorney General	Eric Holder
	Loretta Lynch (from April 27, 2015)
Secretary of the Interior	Ken Salazar
	Sally Jewell (from April 12, 2013)
Secretary of Agriculture	Tom Vilsack
Secretary of Commerce	Penny Pritzker (from June 26, 2013)
Secretary of Labor	Hilda Solis
	Thomas E. Perez (from July 23, 2013)
Secretary of Health and Human Services	Kathleen Sebelius
	Sylvia Mathews Burwell (from June 9, 2014)

Cabinet of President Barack Obama

January 20, 2009–January 20, 2013 (Term 1)	
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	Shaun Donovan
	Julián Castro (from July 28, 2014)
Secretary of Transportation	Ray LaHood
	Anthony Foxx (from July 2, 2013)
Secretary of Energy	Steven Chu
	Ernest Moniz (from May 21, 2013)
Secretary of Education	Arne Duncan
	John B. King, Jr. (from March 14, 2016)
Secretary of Veterans Affairs	Eric Shinseki
	Robert A. McDonald (from July 30, 2014)
Secretary of Homeland Security	Janet Napolitano
	Jeh Johnson (from December 23, 2013)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Donald Trump

45th President of the United States
[20 January 2017 <::> 20 January 2021]
47th President of the United States
[20 January 2025 <::> Present]

Please visit:

01] https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/donald-j-trump/

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/donald-j-trump

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump

04] Donald Trump LIVE: Donald Trump Addresses Nation Amid Iran War, America on Edge
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H_bGAeF4p1Q [3:45:24]

05] US President Donald Trump Approves $2 Billion Saudi Arms Deal

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4m0EYsOYXE [1:01:43]

Trump has approved a $2 billion weapons package for Saudi Arabia as the renewed US-Iran conflict pushes the Middle East closer to a wider regional war. The deal includes up to 20,000 Advanced Precision Kill Weapon Systems (APKWS) while Iran continues launching attacks on US-linked targets across the Gulf and tensions in the Strait of Hormuz remain high. Is Washington preparing its allies for a prolonged conflict after the Iran war?

06] Trump speaks at defence summit at Army War College in Pennsylvania

https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/watch-live-trump-touts-battlefield-technology-investments-at-army-war-college-in-pennsylvania [1:25:01]

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Donald Trump (born June 14, 1946, New York, New York, U.S.) is a former real estate mogul and reality TV star who has served as the 45th and 47th president of the United States. The scion of renowned New York real estate developer Fred Trump, Donald rose to eclipse his father in fame and fortune, moving through New York's elite social circles in the 1980s to American TV fame in the 2000s and finally leveraging his name and wealth to become one of the most consequential leaders of the early 21st century.

Throughout Trump's long career in business and politics, one constant has been his brazen, pugnacious, and unrepentant style, which has led to unparalleled achievements while often sowing conflict and chaos. As a businessman, Trump flashed his name worldwide across buildings, casinos, airlines, universities, and even steaks, often while mired in lawsuits and weathering multiple bankruptcies. As a politician, Trump started the fiercely tribal Make America Great Again (MAGA) movement that came to dominate American politics in the second half of the 2010s and 2020s. His uncanny resilience to scandals led him to become one of two U.S. presidents to serve two nonconsecutive terms, even after leading a rally that resulted in a mob storming Congress (the January 6 attack), two impeachments, and being the only former U.S. president convicted in a criminal case. His willingness to push boundaries, test legal precedent, and discard conventional norms has reshaped much of American life and been embraced by many disenfranchised voters, but it has also eroded protections for millions, stoked xenophobia, and amplified political divisions to new heights.

After being elected in 2024 for his second term, Trump swiftly moved to consolidate power under the executive branch, upended international trade, and shook up America's global footprint by discarding centuries-old alliances and igniting bombast with Canada, Venezuela, Greenland, and Iran.

Early life and business career

Donald TrumpDonald Trump speaking in front of Trump Tower, New York City, August 2008.

Trump was the fourth of five children of Frederick (Fred) Christ Trump, a successful real estate developer, and Mary MacLeod. Donald's eldest sister, Maryanne Trump Barry, eventually served as a U.S. district court judge (1983–99) and later as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit until her retirement in 2011. His elder brother, Frederick, Jr. (Freddy), worked briefly for their father's business before becoming an airline pilot in the 1960s. Freddy's alcoholism led to his early death in 1981, at the age of 43.

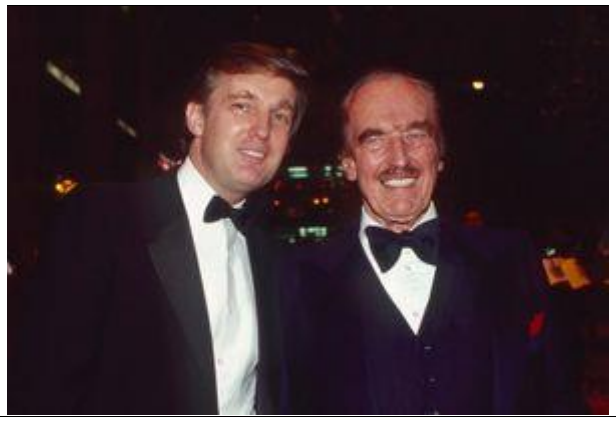
Beginning in the late 1920s, Fred Trump built hundreds of single-family houses and row houses in the Queens and Brooklyn boroughs of New York City, and from the late 1940s he built thousands of apartment units, mostly in Brooklyn, using federal loan guarantees designed to stimulate the construction of affordable housing. During World War II he also built federally backed housing for naval personnel and shipyard workers in Virginia and Pennsylvania. In 1954 Fred was investigated by the Senate Banking Committee for allegedly abusing the loan-guarantee program by deliberately overestimating the costs of his construction projects to secure larger loans from commercial banks, enabling him to keep the difference between the loan amounts and his actual construction costs.

In testimony before the Senate committee in 1954, Fred admitted that he had built the Beach Haven apartment complex in Brooklyn for $3.7 million less than the amount of his government-insured loan. Although he was not charged with any crime, he was thereafter unable to obtain federal loan guarantees. A decade later a New York state investigation found that Fred had used his profit on a state-insured construction loan to build a shopping center that was entirely his own property. He eventually returned $1.2 million to the state but was thereafter unable to obtain state loan guarantees for residential projects in the Coney Island area of Brooklyn.

Donald Trump attended New York Military Academy (1959–64), a private boarding school; Fordham University in the Bronx (1964–66); and the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce (1966–68), where he

graduated with a bachelor's degree in economics. In 1968, during the Vietnam War, he secured a diagnosis of bone spurs, which qualified him for a medical exemption from the military draft (he had earlier received four draft deferments for education). Upon his graduation Trump began working full-time for his father's business, helping to manage its holdings of rental housing, then estimated at between 10,000 and 22,000 units. In 1974 he became president of a conglomeration of Trump-owned corporations and partnerships, which he later named the Trump Organization.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, Trump-owned housing developments in New York City, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Norfolk, Virginia, were the target of several complaints of racial discrimination against African Americans and other minority groups. In 1973 Fred and Donald Trump, along with their company, were sued by the U.S. Justice Department for allegedly violating the Fair Housing Act (1968) in the operation of 39 apartment buildings in New York City. The Trumps initially countersued the Justice Department for $100 million, alleging harm to their reputations. The suit was settled two years later under an agreement that did not require the Trumps to admit guilt.



Father and sonDonald Trump posing with his father, Fred Trump, at Trump Tower in 1987.

In the late 1970s and the 1980s, Donald Trump greatly expanded his father's business by investing in luxury hotels and residential properties and by shifting its geographic focus to Manhattan and later to Atlantic City, New Jersey. In doing so, he relied heavily on loans, gifts, and other financial assistance from his father, as well as on his father's political connections in New York City. In 1976 he purchased the decrepit Commodore Hotel near Grand Central Station under a complex profit-sharing agreement with the city that included a 40-year property tax abatement, the first such tax break granted to a commercial property in New York City. Relying on a construction loan guaranteed by his father and the Hyatt Corporation, which became a partner in the project, Trump refurbished the building and reopened it in 1980 as the 1,400-room Grand Hyatt Hotel. In 1983 he opened Trump Tower, an office, retail, and residential complex constructed in partnership with the Equitable Life Assurance Company. The 58-story building on 56th Street and Fifth Avenue eventually contained Trump's Manhattan residence and the headquarters of the Trump Organization. Other Manhattan properties developed by Trump during the 1980s include the Trump Plaza residential cooperative (1984), the Trump Parc luxury condominium complex (1986), and the 19-story Plaza Hotel (1988), a historic landmark for which Trump paid more than $400 million.

In the 1980s Trump invested heavily in the casino business in Atlantic City, where his properties eventually included Harrah's at Trump Plaza (1984, later renamed Trump Plaza), Trump's Castle Casino Resort (1985), and the Trump Taj Mahal (1990), then the largest casino in the world. During that period Trump also purchased the New Jersey Generals, a team in the short-lived U.S. Football League; Mar-a-Lago, a 118-room mansion in Palm Beach, Florida, built in the 1920s by the cereal heiress Marjorie Merriweather Post; a 282-foot yacht, then the world's second largest, which he named the *Trump Princess*; and an East Coast air-shuttle service, which he called Trump Shuttle.

In 1977 Trump married Ivana Zelníčková Winklmayr, a Czech model, with whom he had three children—Donald, Jr., Ivanka, and Eric—before the couple divorced in 1992. Their married life, as well as Trump's business affairs, were a staple of the tabloid press in New York City during the 1980s. Trump married the American actress Marla Maples after she gave birth to Trump's fourth child, Tiffany, in 1993. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1999. In 2005 Trump married the Slovene model Melania Knauss, and their son, Barron, was born the following year. Melania Trump became the second foreign-born first lady of the United States upon Trump's inauguration as president in 2017.

When the U.S. economy fell into recession in 1990, many of Trump's businesses suffered, and he soon had trouble making payments on his approximately $5 billion debt, some $900 million of which he had personally guaranteed. Under a restructuring agreement with several banks, Trump was forced to surrender his airline, which was taken over by US Airways in 1992; to sell the *Trump Princess*; to take out second or third mortgages on nearly all of his properties and to reduce his ownership stakes in them; and to commit himself to living on a personal budget of $450,000 a year. Despite those measures, the Trump Taj Mahal declared bankruptcy in 1991, and two other casinos owned by Trump, as well as his Plaza Hotel in New York City, went bankrupt in 1992. Following those setbacks, most major banks refused to do any further business with him. Estimates of Trump's net worth during this period ranged from $1.7 billion to minus $900 million.

Trump's fortunes rebounded with the stronger economy of the later 1990s and with the decision of the Frankfurt-based Deutsche Bank AG to establish a presence in the U.S. commercial real estate market. Deutsche Bank extended hundreds of millions of dollars in credit to Trump in the late 1990s and the 2000s for projects including Trump World Tower (2001) in New York and Trump International Hotel and Tower (2009) in Chicago. In the early 1990s Trump had floated a plan to his creditors to convert his Mar-a-Lago estate into a luxury housing development consisting of several smaller mansions, but local opposition led him instead to turn it into a private club, which was opened in 1995. In 1996 Trump partnered with the NBC television network to purchase the Miss Universe Organization, which produced the Miss Universe, Miss USA, and Miss Teen USA beauty pageants. Trump's casino businesses continued to struggle, however: in 2004 his company Trump Hotels & Casino Resorts filed for bankruptcy after several of its properties accumulated unmanageable debt, and the same company, renamed Trump Entertainment Resorts, went bankrupt again in 2009. Beginning in the mid-2000s, Trump enjoyed an enormous financial windfall from the success of *The Apprentice*, a reality television series in which he starred that directly

earned him nearly $200 million over a 16-year period. The Emmy-nominated show, in each episode of which Trump "fired" one or more contestants competing for a lucrative one-year contract as a Trump employee, further enhanced his reputation as a shrewd businessman and self-made billionaire. In 2008 the show was revamped as *The Celebrity Apprentice*, which featured news makers and entertainers as contestants. Trump marketed his name as a brand in numerous other business ventures, including Trump Financial, a mortgage company, and the Trump Entrepreneur Initiative (formerly Trump University), an online education company focusing on real estate investment and entrepreneurialism. The latter firm, which ceased operating in 2011, was the target of class-action lawsuits by former students and a separate action by the attorney general of New York state, alleging fraud. After initially denying the allegations, Trump settled the lawsuits for $25 million in November 2016. In 2019, more than two years into his presidency, Trump agreed to pay $2 million in damages and to admit guilt to settle another lawsuit by the attorney general of New York that had accused him of illegally using assets from his charity, the Trump Foundation, to fund his 2016 presidential campaign. As part of the settlement, the Trump Foundation was dissolved.

In 2018 *The New York Times* published a lengthy investigative report that documented how Fred Trump had regularly transferred vast sums of money, ultimately amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, to his children by means of strategies that involved tax, securities, and real estate fraud, as well as by legal means. According to the report, Donald Trump was the main beneficiary of the transfers, having received the equivalent (in 2018 dollars) of $413 million by the early 2000s. According to a later report by the *Times*, based on data from tax returns filed by Trump during an 18-year period starting in 2000, Trump paid no federal taxes in 11 years and only $750 in each of two years, 2016 and 2017. Trump was able to reduce his tax obligations to levels significantly below the average for the wealthiest Americans by claiming massive losses on many of his businesses; by deducting as business expenses costs associated with his residences and his personal aircraft; and by receiving, on the basis of business losses, a tentative refund from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) of nearly $73 million, which more than covered the federal taxes Trump had paid on income he received from *The Apprentice* in 2005–08. The refund became the subject of an IRS audit and a legally mandated review by the congressional Joint Committee on Taxation.

Political Affiliation:

Trump was credited as coauthor of a number of books on entrepreneurship and his business career, including *Trump: The Art of the Deal* (1987), *Trump: The Art of the Comeback* (1997), *Why We Want You to Be Rich* (2006), *Trump 101: The Way to Success* (2006), and *Trump Never Give Up: How I Turned My Biggest Challenges into Success* (2008).

At a glance: the Trump presidency

Presidential election of 2016

From the 1980s Trump periodically mused in public about running for president, but those moments were widely dismissed in the press as publicity stunts. In 1999 he

switched his voter registration from Republican to the Reform Party and established a presidential exploratory committee. Although he ultimately declined to run in 2000, he published a book that year, *The America We Deserve*, in which he set forth his socially liberal and economically conservative political views. Trump later rejoined the Republican Party, and he maintained a high public profile during the 2012 presidential election. He did not run for office at that time, but he gained much attention for popularizing "birtherism," a conservative conspiracy theory based on the false claim that Democratic Pres. Barack Obama is not a natural-born U.S. citizen.

In June 2015 Trump announced that he would be a candidate in the U.S. presidential election of 2016. Pledging to "make America great again"—a slogan signified by the acronym "MAGA"—he promised to create millions of new jobs; to punish American companies that exported jobs overseas; to repeal Obama's signature legislative achievement, the Affordable Care Act (ACA); to revive the U.S. coal industry; to drastically reduce the influence of lobbyists in Washington, D.C. ("drain the swamp"); to withdraw the United States from the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change; to impose tariffs on countries that allegedly engaged in trade practices that were unfair to the United States; to construct a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border to prevent illegal immigration from Latin America; and to ban immigration by Muslims. Trump mused about those and other issues in *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again* (2015).

Donald TrumpWearing a MAGA (Make America Great Again) red hat, Donald Trump speaks to supporters at a campaign rally in Fountain Hills, Arizona, March 2016.

On the campaign trail, Trump quickly established himself as a political outsider, a common strategy among nonincumbent candidates at all levels. In Trump's case the stance proved popular with conservative voters—especially those in the Tea Party movement—and he frequently topped opinion polls, besting established Republican politicians. However, his campaign was often mired in controversy, much of it of his own making. In speeches and especially via Twitter (later called X), a social media platform he had used frequently since 2009, Trump regularly made inflammatory remarks, including racist and sexist slurs and insults. Other public comments by Trump, especially those directed at his rivals or detractors in the Republican establishment, were widely criticized for their belligerence and their indulgence in childish name-calling. Trump's initial refusal to condemn the Ku Klux Klan after a former Klansman endorsed him also drew sharp criticism, as did his failure to repudiate racist elements among his supporters, including white

supremacists and neo-Nazis. While Trump's comments worried the Republican establishment, his supporters were pleased by his combativeness and his apparent willingness to say whatever came into his mind, a sign of honesty and courage in their estimation.

After a loss in the Iowa caucuses to open up the primary season in February 2016, Trump rebounded by winning the next three contests, and he extended his lead with a strong showing on Super Tuesday—when primaries and caucuses were held in 11 states—in early March. After a landslide victory in the Indiana primary in May, Trump became the presumptive Republican nominee as his last two opponents, Ted Cruz and John Kasich, dropped out of the race.

Donald Trump campaigning in 2016 Donald Trump at a rally in Akron, Ohio, August 2016.

In July 2016 Trump announced that Indiana Gov. Mike Pence would be his vice presidential running mate. At the Republican National Convention the following week, Trump was officially named the party's nominee. There he and other speakers harshly criticized the presumptive Democratic nominee, former secretary of state Hillary Clinton, blaming her for the 2012 attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya, and for allegedly having mishandled classified State Department emails by using a private email server. Earlier in July the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) announced that an investigation of Clinton's use of email as secretary of state had determined that her actions had been "extremely careless" but not criminal. (A 2019 report by the U.S. State Department, concluding a yearslong investigation, found "no persuasive evidence of systemic, deliberate mishandling of classified information" by Clinton.) Trump continued his criticisms of Clinton in the ensuing weeks, routinely referring to her as "Crooked Hillary" and repeatedly vowing to put her in jail if he were elected. Trump's threat to jail his political opponent was unprecedented in modern U.S. political history and was not founded in any constitutional power that a U.S. president would have.

Despite having pledged in 2015 that he would release his tax returns, as every presidential nominee of a major party had done since the 1970s, Trump later refused to do so, explaining that he was under routine audit by the IRS—though there was no legal bar to releasing his returns under audit, as Pres. Richard Nixon had done in 1973. In January 2017, soon after Trump's inauguration as president, a senior White House official announced that Trump had no intention of releasing his returns. Trump's tax returns and other financial information later became a focus of investigations by the House of Representatives, the district attorney for Manhattan, and the attorney

general of New York into alleged criminal activity by Trump and his associates (*see below* Russia investigation).

In late July, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention, thousands of internal emails of the Democratic National Committee were publicly released by the website WikiLeaks in an apparent effort to damage the Clinton campaign. Reacting to widespread suspicion that the emails had been stolen by Russian hackers, Trump publicly encouraged the Russians to hack Clinton's private email server to find thousands of emails that he claimed had been illegally deleted. A later investigation by the office of Robert Mueller, the special counsel appointed in 2017 to investigate Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election (*see below* Russia investigation), determined that Russian hackers attempted to break into the personal email servers of Clinton campaign officials only hours after Trump issued his invitation.

•*Who survives a political scandal?*

Following the Democratic convention, Trump continued to make controversial and apparently impromptu comments via Twitter and in other forums that embarrassed the Republican establishment and seriously disrupted his campaign. In a hot-mic video from 2005, which surfaced in October 2016, Trump told an entertainment reporter in vulgar language that he had tried to seduce a married woman and that "when you're a star…you can do anything," including grabbing women by the genitals. Although Trump dismissed the conversation as "locker room talk," eventually more than two dozen women claimed that they had been sexually harassed or assaulted by Trump in the past. (Some of the allegations were made during or after Trump's presidency—*see below* Postpresidential activities.) During the campaign, Trump and his legal representatives generally denied the allegations and asserted that all the women were lying; they also noted that Bill Clinton had previously been accused of sexual harassment and assault. In part because of the video, Trump's support among women voters—already low—continued to wane, and some Republicans began to withdraw their endorsements.

Approximately one hour after the release of the Trump video, WikiLeaks published a trove of emails that later investigations determined had been stolen by Russian hackers from the account of John Podesta, Clinton's campaign manager. On the same day, the U.S. intelligence community publicly announced its assessment that the Russian government had directed efforts by hackers to steal and release sensitive Democratic Party emails and other information in order to bolster the Trump campaign and to weaken public confidence in U.S. democratic institutions, including the news media. In response, Trump attacked the competence and motives of U.S. intelligence agencies and insisted that no one really knew who might have been behind the hacking. A secret CIA report to Congress in December and a separate report ordered by Obama and released in January 2017 also concluded that the Russians had interfered in the election, including through the theft and publication of Democratic Party emails and through a vast public influence campaign that had used fake social media accounts to spread disinformation and create discord among Americans.

Despite his ongoing efforts to portray Clinton as “crooked” and an “insider,” Trump trailed her in almost all polls. As election day neared, he repeatedly claimed that the election was “rigged” and that the press was treating him unfairly by reporting “fake news,” a term he used frequently to disparage news reports containing negative information about him. He received no endorsements from major newspapers. During the third and final presidential debate, in October, he made headlines when he refused to say that he would accept the election results.

Eight days after that debate, the Trump campaign received a boost when FBI director James Comey notified Congress that the bureau was reviewing a trove of emails from an unrelated case that appeared to be relevant to its earlier investigation of Clinton. Trump seized on the announcement as vindication of his charge that Clinton was crooked. Six days later Comey announced that the new emails contained no evidence of criminal activity. Notwithstanding the damage that Comey’s revelation had done to her campaign, Clinton retained a slim lead over Trump in polls of swing states (those considered to be winnable by either candidate) on the eve of election day, and most pundits and political analysts remained confident that she would win. When voting proceeded on November 8, 2016, however, Trump defeated Clinton in a chain of critical Rust Belt states. Although Trump won the Electoral College vote by 304 to 227, and thereby the presidency, he lost the nationwide popular vote by more than 2.8 million. After the election, Trump repeatedly claimed, without evidence, that 3–5 million people had voted for Clinton illegally. Trump was inaugurated on January 20, 2017.

Trump’s unexpected victory prompted much discussion in the press regarding the reliability of polls and the strategic mistakes of the Clinton campaign. Most analysts agreed that Clinton had taken for granted some of her core constituencies (including women and minorities) and that Trump had effectively capitalized upon the economic anxieties and racial prejudices of some working-class whites, particularly men.

Trump’s first presidential term

Donald Trump and Barack ObamaPres. Barack Obama (right) and President-elect Donald Trump in the Oval Office of the White House, Washington, D.C., November 10, 2016.

Donald Trump : The official presidential portrait of Donald Trump.

Almost immediately upon taking office, Trump began issuing a series of executive orders designed to fulfill some of his campaign promises and to project an image of swift, decisive action. His first order, signed on his first day as president, directed that all “unwarranted economic and regulatory burdens” imposed by the Affordable Care Act should be minimized pending the “prompt repeal” of that law. Five days later he directed the secretary of the Department of Homeland Security to begin planning for the construction of a wall along the country’s southern border. An executive order on ethics imposed a five-year ban on “lobbying activities” by former executive branch employees but weakened or removed some lobbying restrictions imposed by the Obama administration.

Immigration

One of Trump’s most controversial early executive orders, issued on January 27, implemented his promised “Muslim ban,” which temporarily suspended immigration to the United States from seven Muslim-majority countries in the interest of national security. The travel ban, as it came to be known, was immediately challenged in court on statutory and constitutional grounds (i.e., for allegedly violating anti-discrimination and other provisions of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act and for being inconsistent with the due process and establishment-of-religion clauses of the Constitution). The ban also provoked spontaneous demonstrations at major airports in the United States in support of persons with valid visas who were prevented from boarding flights to the U.S. or who were detained upon arrival and forced to return to their originating countries. In February a district court in Washington state issued a nationwide temporary restraining order enjoining

enforcement of the travel ban, which the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit declined to stay.

Foreseeing eventual defeat in the courts, Trump in March issued a second executive order designed to avoid the constitutional pitfalls of the first, which it superseded. The second order also dropped Iraq from the list of targeted countries and narrowed the categories of persons whose travel would be affected. Nevertheless, district courts in Hawaii and Maryland issued preliminary injunctions blocking enforcement of the revised travel ban; the injunctions were largely upheld in May and June by the Fourth and Ninth Circuit Courts of Appeal, respectively. After agreeing in June to hear the consolidated cases during its October 2017 term, the U.S. Supreme Court significantly narrowed the injunctions, allowing the travel ban to be enforced against all "foreign nationals who lack any bona fide relationship with a person or entity in the United States."

In September Trump issued a third version of the ban, which continued to apply to immigrants from six Muslim-majority countries but now included immigrants from North Korea and certain government officials of Venezuela. The Supreme Court then vacated as moot the cases it had been scheduled to hear regarding the second travel ban. The third ban, like the previous two, was immediately challenged and enjoined, but the Supreme Court stayed the injunctions in December pending review by the Fourth and Ninth Circuits (which upheld them). The Ninth Circuit's decision in *Trump* v. *Hawaii* was eventually reversed by the Supreme Court in June 2018. In its ruling, the Court held, among other things, that the ban was not obviously motivated by unconstitutional religious bias, notwithstanding Trump's many public statements indicating otherwise to lower courts.

From at least the early 2010s most illegal immigration across the U.S. southern border with Mexico had been undertaken by people seeking asylum from violence and persecution in their home countries, especially in Central America and Africa. Under U.S. immigration law, foreign persons who are physically present in the United States, including those who entered the country illegally, are entitled to asylum as refugees provided that they can establish a credible fear of persecution in their home countries based on their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in certain social groups.

In April 2018 the Trump administration announced what it called a "zero-tolerance" immigration policy under which all foreign adults who entered the United States illegally (a misdemeanor for first-time offenders) would be criminally prosecuted. The policy entailed that children in families who had illegally crossed the U.S. border together would be taken from their parents (or legal guardians) and placed within a system of hundreds of shelters across the country, which were operated or contracted by the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), a division of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Eventually, according to HHS policy, separated children would be released to sponsors (their parents, close relatives, or other suitable persons) or to foster families in the United States. After surrendering their children, parents would be held in detention centers or jails to await prosecution for illegal entry. Under the previous immigration policy, known as "catch and release," migrant families were usually quickly released and allowed to remain together in the United States while their cases were being resolved by immigration authorities. In practice, family

separations conducted under the zero-tolerance policy were traumatic for both children and parents.

The Trump administration had conceived of and initially defended the separations as a necessary deterrent to illegal economic immigration by people falsely claiming fear of persecution in their home countries. Trump himself falsely asserted that the separations were required by existing immigration law and blamed Democrats for not changing it—though his own party controlled both houses of Congress at the time. Soon, however, widely circulated photographs of crying and visibly terrified children and children confined within fenced enclosures resembling cages prompted international condemnation of the separation policy, as did eventual news reports of the physical and sexual abuse of some children in shelters and the deaths of others from lack of adequate medical care. Facing pressure to act from congressional Republicans, in late June Trump signed an executive order ending the separations. One week later, pursuant to a class action lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a federal judge in California issued an injunction against further separations and ordered the Trump administration to return to their parents all of the more than 2,700 children who had been seized under the zero-tolerance policy. The judge's 30-day deadline was not met, however, largely because the administration had not established any procedures for tracking the whereabouts of separated children or for reuniting children with their parents or guardians after separation—a situation noted critically in the judge's order and confirmed by an October 2018 report on the family separation policy by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO). Even after the zero-tolerance policy was rescinded, border authorities continued to seize hundreds of children on the basis of clauses in the injunction and the executive order that permitted taking children from parents who were "unfit" or who posed a "danger" to their children. Broadly interpreting those exceptions, border officials reportedly applied them to parents who had committed minor offenses or who appeared not to be taking proper care of their children. Other family separations were undertaken on the basis of the federal government's narrow definition of "family," which allowed children who arrived with other relatives (e.g., aunts, grandparents, or older siblings) to be treated as "unaccompanied."

As another facet of its campaign to reduce illegal immigration, the Trump administration also greatly increased arrests of undocumented immigrants by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), an agency of the Department of Homeland Security established in 2003. During the Obama administration, ICE had concentrated on undocumented immigrants with serious criminal records, but in January 2017 Trump directed the department to find, arrest, and deport all persons without documentation, regardless of how long they had lived in the country or whether they had committed any crimes. ICE officers thereafter regularly conducted raids—at private homes, churches, schools, courthouses, and job sites—in select locations throughout the country. Both criminal and noncriminal arrests increased nationwide as compared with 2016, but noncriminal arrests constituted a much greater percentage of the total. The raids were condemned by prominent Democrats and civil rights organizations as draconian and wasteful, while some progressive groups proclaimed an "abolish ICE" movement. At the same time, dozens of cities and towns declared themselves "sanctuaries," vowing not to cooperate with ICE and other federal authorities seeking to remove undocumented immigrants from their jurisdictions.

Emoluments clause

During the 2016 presidential election campaign, some of Trump's critics had warned that his presidency would create a unique and immediate constitutional crisis because of his possible violation of the emoluments clause of the U.S. Constitution, which generally prohibits federal officeholders from accepting gifts, payments, or other items of value from foreign states or rulers without congressional permission. A related constitutional provision, known as the domestic emoluments clause, specifically prohibits the president from receiving any emolument from the federal government or the states beyond his official compensation. Trump's vast, complex, and largely secret international business interests, it was argued, could create exactly the kind of conflict of interest that the emoluments clause was intended to prevent—unless Trump were to sell his assets or place them in a blind trust. Although federal conflict-of-interest laws do not apply to the president and vice president, several of Trump's immediate predecessors in office had used blind trusts or other means to avoid even the appearance of conflict of interest.

To address such concerns, in January 2017 Trump announced that he would surrender control—but not ownership—of the Trump Organization to his sons Donald, Jr., and Eric; that no new business deals with foreign countries or the U.S. government would be undertaken; and that any profits derived from patronage of Trump's properties by foreign governments would be donated to the U.S. Treasury—an arrangement that failed to satisfy some specialists in government ethics. In late January a public interest group, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), later joined by other plaintiffs, filed suit against Trump (in his capacity as president) in federal district court in Manhattan, alleging that he was in violation of the emoluments clause. In June the attorneys general of Maryland and the District of Columbia sued Trump for allegedly having violated both the foreign and domestic provisions of the emoluments clause, and soon afterward nearly 200 Democratic members of Congress filed a separate suit alleging that, by continuing to accept emoluments from foreign countries without consulting Congress, Trump had denied Congress the opportunity to give or withhold its required "Consent."

After the CREW suit was dismissed for lack of standing (the possession of a sufficient interest in the outcome of a judicial proceeding, usually on the basis of an existing or anticipated legal injury) in district court in December, the plaintiffs appealed the case to a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which vacated the lower court's judgment in September 2019, allowing the suit to proceed to trial. Trump unsuccessfully petitioned the Second Circuit for an en banc hearing (before all judges of the court) and then filed a writ of certiorari (petition for review) with the Supreme Court in September 2020.

In March and July 2018 a federal district court denied motions by Trump to dismiss the suit by Maryland and the District of Columbia, allowing that case to move forward with regard to the operation of the Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C. After issuing a stay of the district court's proceedings, a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit reversed the district court's rulings and ordered a dismissal of the suit for lack of standing. That judgment in turn was set aside in October 2019, when the Fourth Circuit agreed to an en banc hearing in December. In May 2020

the Fourth Circuit upheld the district court's original rulings, leading Trump to file a writ of certiorari with the Supreme Court in September. Meanwhile, in the suit brought by Democratic members of Congress, a district court rejected (in September 2018 and April 2019) the Trump administration's motion to dismiss but agreed in August 2019 to stay discovery and to allow an immediate appeal of the court's orders after a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit remanded the case in July. That panel later agreed to hear oral arguments in December on the question of whether the district court had erred in allowing the suit to proceed. In February 2020 it dismissed the suit for lack of standing, and in October 2020 the Supreme Court declined to review the circuit court's judgment. Following Biden's inauguration as president in January 2021, the Supreme Court dismissed both of the remaining emoluments suits as moot.

Although those cases were not resolved, there was no doubt that Trump had profited from patronage of his hotels, golf resorts, and other properties by officials of foreign governments, foreign and domestic lobbyists, Republican politicians, representatives of conservative interest groups, and members of his own administration. It was also apparent that much, if not most, of the business he received from foreign governments and from foreign and domestic lobbyists was undertaken on the assumption (justified or not) that Trump would look more favorably upon those who spent money at his properties than upon those who did not. During his first presidential term, it became a matter of routine that persons or groups who wished to influence the Trump administration at high levels, whether in the United States or abroad, would patronize a Trump-owned property whenever feasible. Trump's properties also received much business from the U.S. government itself, which was forced to pay Trump for services and accommodations (e.g., for U.S. Secret Service protection) at his golf courses and at his Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida during his frequent visits to those venues.

Concern and criticism regarding Trump's apparent disregard of the emoluments clause were renewed in response to his financial activities from the start of his second term of office. (*See below* Trump's second presidential term.)

Supreme Court of Donald Trump

In January 2017 Trump made good on his promise to place conservative justices on the Supreme Court by nominating Neil Gorsuch, a judge of the Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, to fill the seat that had become vacant with the death in February 2016 of Antonin Scalia. Although Obama had put forward Merrick Garland, a judicial moderate, as Scalia's replacement in March 2016, the majority leader of the Senate, Republican Mitch McConnell, refused to schedule a vote or even to hold hearings on Garland's nomination, declaring that the Senate should not consider any Supreme Court nominee during an election year. McConnell's gamble that a Republican would win the presidency and nominate a more conservative justice proved successful. Gorsuch was confirmed by the Senate in April after Senate Republicans overcame a Democratic filibuster by removing the traditional 60-vote minimum needed for cloture (ending debate and proceeding to a vote).

In July 2018 Trump nominated another conservative appellate court judge, Brett Kavanaugh of the District of Columbia Circuit, to replace retiring Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy. In hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee in September, Christine Blasey Ford, an academic psychologist, testified that Kavanaugh had sexually molested her when the two were underage teens in Maryland and that he was “stumbling drunk” during the assault. Kavanaugh was also accused of a separate act of sexual assault by a former classmate at Yale University, Deborah Ramirez. A third accuser, Julie Swetnick, declared in a sworn statement that Kavanaugh had attended parties at which gang rapes took place. In his own testimony, Kavanaugh angrily denied the allegations, insisting that they were the product of a conspiracy by Democrats to exact revenge on behalf of “the Clintons” for Kavanaugh’s role as a member of the legal team of independent counsel Kenneth Starr during the latter’s investigation in the 1990s of U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton’s affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. A subsequent supplemental investigation by the FBI, ordered by Trump, was severely limited in duration and scope: Kavanaugh, Ford, and Swetnick were not interviewed; dozens of witnesses recommended to the FBI by Ford and Ramirez were not contacted; and repeated offers of corroborating evidence by numerous other persons were not acted upon. After the Republican chair of the Judiciary Committee declared that the FBI’s confidential report had found “no corroboration” of the allegations, Kavanaugh was narrowly confirmed by the Senate in October.

Ford’s emotionally compelling testimony—and the belief among many women of both political parties that she had been treated unfairly—galvanized the Me Too movement of survivors of sexual assault and reinforced perceptions of the Republican Party and the Trump administration as being insensitive to women’s concerns. Meanwhile, Trump defended Kavanaugh as a victim of persecution and contended that the Me Too movement had created a dangerous climate for men.

In September 2020, eight days after the death of Associate Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Trump announced his nomination of judge Amy Coney Barrett, whom he had appointed to the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit only two years earlier, as Ginsburg’s replacement. Notwithstanding the fact that 2020 was an election year, Senate Republicans declared their intention to confirm Barrett quickly. After Judiciary Committee hearings and Senate debate that Democrats criticized as improperly rushed, Barrett was confirmed by the full Senate on October 26, exactly one month after her nomination and only eight days before the presidential election. An extremely conservative judge, Barrett was expected to move the ideological center of the Supreme Court even farther to the right than it had been under the Court’s previous 5–4 conservative majorities and to make conservative rulings from the Court more likely for many years to come.

Trump also successfully appointed a record number of district and appellate court judges, having inherited more than 100 federal bench vacancies resulting from the refusal of Senate Republicans to confirm most of Obama’s judicial nominees during the last two years of his presidency. Trump’s judicial appointments, almost all of whom were drawn from recommendations by the conservative Federalist Society, were mostly white and male; they were also generally young (less than 50 years old), ensuring that they would serve for several years or even decades. Their usually quick confirmations on party-line votes helped to further the Republican Party’s long-

standing project of transforming the federal judiciary, particularly at the appellate level, into a conservative bulwark against liberal legal initiatives and policy making. By the end of Trump's single presidential term in January 2021, nearly 30 percent of all federal judges were Trump appointees.

Cabinet appointments

Donald Trump : U.S. Pres. Donald Trump posing for his official portrait at the White House on October 6, 2017, in Washington, D.C.

Trump took an unusually long time to assemble his cabinet, in part because many of his early nominations to positions requiring Senate confirmation were filibustered by Democrats. His cabinet was also unusual in that its members were the least diverse in decades and the richest by far in U.S. history. Several of Trump's cabinet-level appointments were closely associated with the firms or industries that their agencies were charged with overseeing or were well known for having opposed their agencies' basic missions in the past. Trump's cabinet and high-level executive staff were also distinguished by their relatively high rate of turnover and eventually by the fact that several cabinet-level officials served at various times only in acting capacities, not having been confirmed by the Senate.

Particularly controversial among the original members of Trump's cabinet were Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) administrator Scott Pruitt, who as Oklahoma attorney general had spent much of his career suing the agency on behalf of the oil and gas industry; and Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, who had frequently expressed contempt for public education while promoting and financially supporting school voucher legislation and charter and private schools. Steve Bannon,

the former head of Breitbart News, a far-right publishing platform, was appointed chief strategist but left the administration after seven months in August 2017. Trump also gave his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and his daughter Ivanka Trump prominent (though unpaid) roles as senior adviser to the president and assistant to the president, respectively.

During his administration, several of Trump's cabinet members were accused of ethics violations and other malfeasance, including breaches of travel regulations and anti-lobbying laws, inappropriate use of their agencies' resources, perjury, and contempt of Congress for failure to respond to lawful subpoenas by congressional committees (*see below* Russia investigation and Ukraine scandal). In September 2017 Tom Price resigned as secretary of health and human services after news reports revealed that he had spent some $400,000 on luxury chartered aircraft for trips to Europe and within the United States. Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, and Veterans Affairs Secretary David Shulkin were also criticized for inappropriate use of chartered or military aircraft, leading to Shulkin's firing in March 2018. Zinke, who faced several federal investigations of his conduct as interior secretary, including one that was referred to the Justice Department, resigned under pressure in December 2018. Earlier that year Ben Carson, the secretary of housing and urban development, was investigated by a House oversight committee for having spent an inordinate sum on furniture for his government office. In July Pruitt was forced to resign after a long series of scandals concerning questionable spending, the use of EPA employees as personal assistants, inappropriate gifts from lobbyists, and the use of undisclosed email addresses for official EPA business. Although he did not resign as a result, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross was heavily criticized (but faced no criminal charges) for apparently lying to Congress when he told the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee in March 2018 that his decision to add a citizenship question to the 2020 decennial census was made at the request of the Justice Department to help it better enforce the 1965 Voting Rights Act—a rationale that the Supreme Court later found to be "contrived." (*See* *Department of Commerce* v. *New York*.) In April–May 2019 Mnuchin declined to act on a request by the House Ways and Means Committee for six years of Trump's business and personal tax returns (*see below* Other investigations); in so doing, he appeared to flout a 1924 federal law (26 U.S. Code §6103) that requires the secretary of the Treasury to provide individual tax returns and related tax information upon request to select committees of Congress.

Russia investigation

Donald TrumpDonald Trump speaking at a rally in Hershey, Pennsylvania, a month after winning the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

In February 2017 Trump's new national security adviser, Michael Flynn, was forced to resign after press reports disclosed that Flynn had continued to serve in the White House despite a warning from the Justice Department that he was vulnerable to Russian blackmail for having lied to Vice Pres. Mike Pence about the substance of a telephone conversation between Flynn and the Russian ambassador to the United States in December 2016. Flynn's contacts with the ambassador, both before and after the election, had been monitored by the FBI as part of its routine surveillance of the ambassador's communications and in connection with a then secret investigation since July 2016 of possible collusion between Russian officials and prominent members of the Trump campaign. That investigation had been triggered by information obtained by Australian authorities, who reported to the FBI in May that George Papadopoulos, a foreign-policy adviser in the Trump campaign, had told an Australian diplomat in London that Russia had "dirt" on Clinton, an apparent reference to the stolen emails that were eventually released by WikiLeaks in July. Speculation in the press regarding the existence of the investigation had been repeatedly dismissed by Trump as "fake news" but was confirmed by Comey in testimony before the House Intelligence Committee in March 2017, during which he also contradicted Trump's claim that Obama had spied on the Trump campaign by tapping Trump's telephones. Democratic members of Congress, meanwhile, expressed dismay that Comey had chosen to report the discovery of additional Clinton emails in October 2016 but had waited until after the election to reveal the Russia investigation.

After Comey testified again in May about Russian interference in the election, Trump abruptly fired him, ostensibly on the recommendation of the Justice Department, which in memos solicited by Trump criticized Comey for his public disclosures regarding Clinton's emails. Trump soon acknowledged that he had intended to fire Comey regardless of the Justice Department's recommendation and that "this Russia thing" was a factor in his decision. Later that month the press obtained a copy of a memo written by Comey that summarized a conversation between Comey and Trump at a dinner at the White House in January. The memo stated that Trump had asked Comey to pledge "loyalty" to him and that Trump had indirectly requested that Comey drop the FBI's investigation of Flynn. The memo immediately raised concerns, even among some Republicans, that Trump's actions might have constituted obstruction of justice. The deputy attorney general, Rod Rosenstein, then announced the appointment of former FBI director Robert Mueller as special counsel to oversee the FBI's investigation of Russian interference in the election and possible collusion between Russian officials and the Trump campaign, which Rosenstein's appointment order characterized as "any links and/or coordination between the Russian government and individuals associated with the campaign of President Donald Trump." Mueller was also authorized to investigate and prosecute any federal crimes arising directly from or committed in the course of the investigation, including obstruction of justice, perjury, destruction of evidence, and witness intimidation.

Comey's testimony in June before the Senate Intelligence Committee—which, like the House Intelligence Committee, was conducting its own investigation—was broadcast live on television, radio, and the Internet. Many Americans watched from bars and restaurants, which opened early in some parts of the country to provide venues for viewing the much-anticipated event. Comey accused Trump and other administration

officials of lying about Comey's effectiveness as director of the FBI, and he attributed his being fired to Trump's alleged desire to shut down the Russia investigation. Comey also revealed that, after being fired, he indirectly leaked the memo that recounted his dinner conversation with Trump in the hope of triggering the appointment of a special counsel to continue the Russia investigation.

Early in July 2017 the press reported that in June 2016 senior members of the Trump campaign, including its chair, Paul Manafort, as well as Jared Kushner and Trump's son Donald, Jr., had met secretly in Trump Tower with a lawyer associated with the Russian government. In response, Donald, Jr., issued a statement in which he claimed that the meeting had primarily concerned adoptions of Russian children by Americans and that he had not known in advance who on the Russian side would be attending. Three days later the press reported the existence of emails predating the meeting in which the British publicist Rob Goldstone (who had helped Trump stage the 2013 Miss Universe contest in Moscow) notified Donald, Jr., that the Russian government possessed incriminating "documents and information" on Clinton and offered to set up a meeting to convey them through a "Russian government attorney." Attendance at such a meeting was potentially a crime under U.S. campaign finance law, which generally prohibits accepting or soliciting foreign assistance in connection with a U.S. election.

In January 2018 President Trump's legal team acknowledged in a memo to the Mueller investigation that Trump himself had dictated the false account of the meeting (claiming that it had concerned adoptions), thus contradicting earlier statements by his attorneys and by White House press secretaries. In August 2018 Trump admitted via Twitter that the purpose of the meeting was "to get information on an opponent" but insisted that the encounter was perfectly legal, that no information was forthcoming, and that he did not know about the meeting in advance. For the first time, he also publicly (on Twitter) called upon Attorney General Jeff Sessions to put an end to the Russia investigation by firing Mueller—a power, however, that Sessions did not possess, having recused himself in March 2017 after revelations of his previously undisclosed contacts with the Russian ambassador as a member of the Trump campaign in September 2016.
In October 2017 the Mueller investigation announced a plea agreement with Papadopoulos in which he admitted to lying to the FBI about his contacts with Russian nationals regarding the theft of emails from the Clinton campaign and pledged to cooperate with the investigation in exchange for its promise not to prosecute him on more serious charges. Later that month the Mueller team also unveiled a 12-count indictment against Manafort and his associate Rick Gates (who himself had been an adviser to the Trump campaign), charging them with money laundering, tax evasion, and bank fraud in connection with Manafort's consulting and lobbying efforts on behalf of Ukrainian political parties and leaders between 2006 and 2015. As part of a plea agreement with prosecutors, Flynn twice pleaded guilty in federal district court to lying to the FBI—once in December 2017 and again in December 2018. (Flynn's sentencing was postponed by the district court on several occasions, initially to permit Flynn to cooperate with government investigators, which he did until mid-2019.) In February 2018 additional charges were filed against Manafort and Gates in a superseding indictment, leading Gates to reach a plea agreement; Gates's testimony at Manafort's trial in July–August was instrumental in securing the latter's conviction on eight criminal counts. Facing a separate trial on other felony

charges in September, Manafort reached his own plea agreement with the Mueller investigation that month.

Also in February 2018 the Mueller investigation indicted 13 Russian nationals and three Russian organizations on charges of conspiring to defraud the United States by interfering in its political and electoral processes, including the 2016 election. The indictment charged that the individual defendants, working in part through facilities provided by the Internet Research Agency (IRA) in St. Petersburg, used hundreds of fictitious and stolen social media identities to spread “derogatory information” about Clinton and to support Trump. According to the indictment, they also engaged in efforts to discourage minorities from voting, promoted allegations of voter fraud by the Democratic Party, purchased political advertisements on social media, and used false U.S. identities to organize on-the-ground political rallies in several states.

Acting on a referral by the Mueller investigation, in April the FBI raided the home and office of Michael Cohen, Trump’s personal attorney, seizing business records and recordings of telephone conversations between Cohen and his clients, including Trump. According to press reports, Cohen was being investigated on charges of tax evasion, bank fraud, and violations of campaign finance law in connection with his role in making or arranging hush-money payments in 2016 to Stormy Daniels and the model Karen McDougal in fulfillment of nondisclosure agreements concerning their alleged affairs with Trump in 2006–07. In March both women filed lawsuits seeking to have their agreements declared invalid. Cohen eventually pleaded guilty to eight criminal counts in August 2018 in a hearing at which he stated under oath that Trump had directed him to make or arrange payments to Daniels and McDougal. (Following the end of his first presidential term in 2021, Trump himself was indicted on state criminal charges of falsifying business records to conceal the Trump Organization’s reimbursement of Cohen for the hush-money payment to Daniels.)

In July 2018 Mueller indicted 12 Russian military intelligence officers for conspiring to interfere in the 2016 election by stealing thousands of emails and other documents from computer servers of the Democratic Party and the Clinton campaign and publicly releasing them through fictitious social media identities and WikiLeaks. The indictment also charged the officers with breaking into the computer network of at least one state board of elections and stealing data on approximately 500,000 voters. (In a secret May 2017 report, later leaked to the press, the National Security Agency [NSA] determined that a total of 39 state boards of election had been targeted.) The announcement of the indictment prompted Trump to again express doubt that Russia was responsible for the interference, as he had done on several occasions since the beginning of the Russia investigation, and to again assert that the FBI was corrupt and dishonest for not pursuing a criminal investigation of Clinton.

In September 2018 Papadopoulos was sentenced to serve 14 days in a minimum-security federal prison for lying to the FBI, becoming the first Trump campaign official to be jailed in connection with the Russia investigation. Two months later, in November, Mueller informed a trial judge that Manafort had violated his plea agreement by again lying in interviews with investigators and by making false statements before a grand jury. Manafort was eventually sentenced to a combined 7.5 years in prison by two federal courts in March 2019. Later that month he was charged with an additional 16 state felonies by the district attorney for Manhattan. Meanwhile, in November 2018, Cohen pleaded guilty to separate charges of lying to Congress for having told the House and Senate intelligence committees that Trump’s efforts to build a hotel in Moscow had ended in January 2016, when, in fact, they had continued until at least June of that year, by which time Trump had become the presumptive

Republican presidential nominee. Cohen was sentenced to three years in prison in December 2018.

Also in November 2018, Trump fired Sessions and appointed as acting attorney general Matthew Whitaker, Sessions's former chief of staff, who had been an outspoken critic of the Russia investigation before joining the Justice Department. Controversy over whether Whitaker should recuse himself from the investigation was soon overshadowed, however, by Trump's nomination in December of William Barr as Sessions's permanent successor. Barr, who had served (1991–93) as attorney general in the George H.W. Bush administration, was known for his extreme view of executive power—one that entailed, among other things, that presidents cannot commit obstruction of justice through the exercise of the discretionary powers granted to them by the Constitution. Notably, Barr relied upon that theory to question the legitimacy of the Mueller investigation in an unsolicited memo that he submitted to the Justice Department in June 2018. The memo, which came to light soon after Barr's nomination, immediately drew criticism from Democrats, who viewed it as an attempt to curry favor with the Trump administration and as a signal of Barr's apparent willingness to shut down the Mueller inquiry if Trump so ordered. At his confirmation hearings Barr pledged that he would not interfere in the Russia investigation but refused to say whether he would release Mueller's final report to the public. He was confirmed by the Republican-controlled Senate in February 2019 in a mostly party-line vote.

Approximately five weeks after his confirmation, Barr informed Congress that Mueller had submitted a final report on the results of his investigation and that there would be no additional indictments. (By that time, Mueller's team had indicted 34 individuals and three businesses on nearly 200 criminal charges and obtained seven guilty pleas.) Two days later Barr sent to Congress an unusual written summary of the report's contents, in which he stated that Mueller had not found sufficient evidence to establish a charge of conspiracy regarding the Trump campaign's interactions with Russia and that Mueller had not made a traditional recommendation about whether Trump should be prosecuted for obstruction of justice. Absent that recommendation, he continued, he and Rosenstein had themselves determined that the evidence presented in Mueller's report was "not sufficient to establish that the President committed an obstruction-of-justice offense." Barr's public release of the summary at about the same time, and its wide coverage in the press, encouraged many Americans to assume that Mueller's report had found no serious wrongdoing by the president, though others remained skeptical. According to press reports in late April, Mueller had privately written to Barr soon after the summary became public to complain that Barr's characterization of the report to Congress "did not fully capture the context, nature, and substance of this Office's work and conclusions" and had created "public confusion about critical aspects of the results of our investigation."

On April 18, nearly one month after his letter to Congress, Barr released a redacted version of the Mueller report. House Democrats welcomed the release but insisted that Barr make available to them all confidential grand jury materials and the redacted passages related to them. After Barr refused, the House Judiciary Committee sued the Justice Department and obtained a court order in October requiring the release of the grand jury materials. That order was later upheld by a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, a decision that the Justice Department appealed to the Supreme Court in July. In late November, after Biden's victory over Trump in the 2020 presidential election, the Court removed the case from its argument calendar at the request of the Judiciary Committee.

The two volumes of Mueller's report reflected the dual mandates of his appointment as special counsel: the first detailed the goals and methods of the Russian attack on the 2016 presidential election, and the second outlined several potentially obstructive actions taken by Trump in connection with the FBI's investigation of Russian interference (begun in July 2016) and the subsequent investigation led by Mueller (begun in May 2017).

Mueller's office concluded in the first volume that there was insufficient evidence to establish that "members of the Trump campaign conspired or coordinated with the Russian government" despite "numerous links" between the two as detailed in the report. In the second volume, Mueller explained that his office had decided not to recommend charges of obstruction of justice against Trump because Justice Department regulations prohibited the indictment or criminal prosecution of a sitting president and because the office deemed it unfair to accuse Trump of a crime outside the context of a formal trial, where he would have the opportunity to answer the charges against him. Nevertheless, Mueller emphasized in the conclusion of the second volume that

if we had confidence after a thorough investigation of the facts that the President clearly did not commit obstruction of justice, we would so state. Based on the facts and the applicable legal standards, we are unable to reach that judgment. Accordingly, while this report does not conclude that the President committed a crime, it also does not exonerate him.

Although the Mueller report appeared to document numerous instances of impeachable behavior by Trump, Democrats in the House were initially divided over whether a formal impeachment inquiry should be opened. Despite demands for immediate action from several liberal Democrats, the House leadership and most other Democratic members preferred a more cautious approach, arguing that most Americans were opposed to impeachment and that Trump could not be removed from office anyway, because he was certain to be acquitted in the Republican-controlled Senate. The latter view, which House Speaker Nancy Pelosi had advocated even before the release of the Mueller report, remained the prevailing position within the Democratic Party until the late summer of 2019 (*see below* Ukraine scandal).

In December 2019 the Justice Department's Office of the Inspector General released a report on its investigation of the FBI's actions during the early stages of the Russia investigation (then code-named "Crossfire Hurricane"). The report addressed, among other topics, whether the FBI had observed proper procedures in opening Crossfire Hurricane and four individual investigations of members of the Trump campaign (Papadopoulos, Carter Page, Manafort, and Flynn) and whether the FBI had placed any undercover agents within the Trump campaign to gain information about possible links and coordination with the Russian government. Although the report concluded that the investigation had been legitimately opened and that there was no evidence of political bias or of FBI "spying" on the Trump campaign, it also faulted the FBI and the Justice Department for serious errors and omissions and at least one case of apparent criminal wrongdoing in its handling of applications (to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court [FISC]) for warrants to surveil Page, then a Trump campaign adviser.

In an extraordinary decision in May 2020, the Justice Department moved to drop its case against Flynn on the grounds that his statements to the FBI were not "materially" relevant to the bureau's investigation and that, in any event, the investigation of Flynn

itself lacked any legitimate counterintelligence or criminal purpose. Although the district court's refusal to drop the case was eventually upheld by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, the case became moot after Trump pardoned Flynn in late November 2020. In the last weeks of his presidency, Trump also granted pardons to Manafort and to Roger Stone, a friend and adviser who had been convicted of lying to Congress, obstruction, and witness tampering in connection with the House Intelligence Committee's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 election.

Other investigations

As Mueller's investigation proceeded, and through the release of his report in March, several House committees—including the Judiciary Committee, the Select Committee on Intelligence, the Ways and Means Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Committee on Oversight and Reform, and the Financial Services Committee—were conducting their own inquiries into possible tax and financial crimes by Trump, the Trump Organization, the Trump inaugural committee, and the charitable Trump Foundation (dissolved in 2018), evidence of which had arisen from Mueller's investigation and from congressional testimony by Cohen and other Trump associates. At the same time, the office of the U.S. District Attorney for the Southern District of New York (SDNY) continued its separate inquiry into possible tax fraud and violations of campaign-finance law by Trump in connection with the alleged hush-money payments to Daniels and McDougal (that investigation, however, was abruptly closed without explanation in July 2019). Other federal prosecutors, as well as state and local authorities, were looking into possible lawbreaking by Trump in connection with questionable donations to Trump's inaugural committee, an alleged offer of a presidential pardon to Cohen, misuse of charitable assets by the Trump Foundation, accusations that Trump inflated the value of his assets in four major Trump Organization projects, apparently illegal tax schemes by the Trump family (*see above* Early life and business career), and other matters. By the summer of 2019 approximately 30 criminal or civil investigations of Trump and his family or associates were underway.

Since the early months of that year, however, the Trump administration had regularly refused to provide documents or witness testimony requested or subpoenaed by Democratic-led House committees investigating alleged corruption, abuse of power, and obstruction of justice by Trump or the Trump administration. In the wake of the public release in April of the redacted Mueller report, Trump publicly affirmed his administration's refusal to cooperate with the House investigations, declaring that "we're fighting all the subpoenas." He and congressional Republicans frequently insisted that all such inquiries were illegitimate politically motivated attempts to embarrass Trump or to overturn the results of the 2016 election. Although past administrations, including the Richard Nixon administration, had also regularly defied congressional oversight, particularly with claims of executive privilege, none had so broadly rejected, on explicitly partisan grounds, any congressional oversight whatsoever. Some constitutional scholars warned that Trump's refusal to recognize any legitimate purpose to Congress's investigations of his administration threatened to undermine the constitutionally established separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Soon after Pelosi announced the beginning of a formal impeachment investigation of Trump in

September 2019 (*see below* Ukraine scandal), the White House counsel, Pat Cipollone, announced in a letter to her and other House leaders that the Trump administration would refuse to cooperate with the inquiry in any way, primarily because it allegedly did not afford Trump the due process guarantees provided to defendants in criminal trials. The House investigation, however, was not a trial.

After Michael Cohen's testimony to Congress in February 2019 that Trump had regularly inflated or deflated the value of his assets in order to obtain bank loans or to reduce his real estate taxes, respectively, the House Oversight Committee in March requested 10 years of Trump's financial records from Trump's accounting firm, Mazars, which responded that it could not legally provide the desired records. The committee's subsequent subpoena was challenged by Trump in a lawsuit against Mazars and the Oversight Committee but ultimately upheld by a U.S. district court and the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. Responding to an emergency appeal to the Supreme Court by Trump's attorneys, Chief Justice John Roberts, Jr., indefinitely stayed the subpoena while the Court considered whether to review the judge's decision. Meanwhile, two other House committees, on Financial Services and Intelligence, issued subpoenas to Deutsche Bank, Trump's primary lender since the late 1990s, seeking nearly 10 years of tax returns and other financial documents; the Financial Services Committee also subpoenaed the U.S. bank Capital One for similar information. Trump's lawsuit to prevent the two banks from releasing his financial information was rejected by a district court and, on appeal, by the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. In a third case, Trump sued New York state officials (and preemptively the House Ways and Means Committee) to block enforcement of a grand jury subpoena to Mazars for eight years of his state tax returns, arguing that a sitting president is immune from state criminal subpoenas. After a district court dismissed that doctrine as "repugnant to the nation's governmental structure and constitutional values" and the Second Circuit affirmed, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed in December 2019 to hear all three cases, consolidating the first two as *Trump* v. *Mazars*. The Court ultimately declined to invalidate the subpoenas in *Mazars* but remanded the cases to the lower courts for further consideration of their implications for the separation of powers between Congress and the president. In *Trump* v. *Vance* the Court rejected Trump's assertion of immunity but again remanded the case to permit him to challenge the subpoena on other grounds.

Health care

An early goal of the Trump administration, as reflected in Trump's first executive order, was the repeal of Obamacare (the Affordable Care Act, or ACA), which Trump had long derided—even before announcing his presidential bid—as an expensive failure. Trump pledged during his campaign that he would replace the ACA with a bill that would provide better coverage at lower premiums, and he promised that no one would lose health insurance under his plan. However, the details of the bill, called in the House of Representatives the American Health Care Act (AHCA), proved contentious even within his own party. Because Trump had not worked out a specific plan of his own, he was forced to rely on Republicans in the House to draft a substantive bill that would reduce government involvement in the health insurance market without depriving millions of Americans of the coverage they had acquired

under the ACA. The Republicans did not have a detailed alternative in hand, however, resulting in a delay in Trump's promised repeal of the law.

In early March 2017 House Republicans introduced their plan, which featured elimination of the ACA's "individual mandate" (the requirement that most Americans obtain health insurance or pay a penalty), a reduction in individual tax credits for the purchase of insurance, cuts in federal Medicaid funding, and nearly $1 trillion in tax cuts over a 10-year period, including $274 billion in cuts for persons earning at least $200,000 a year. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) initially estimated that the plan would reduce the federal deficit by $337 billion over 10 years as compared with current law but would also increase the number of uninsured people by 24 million over the same period. The bill immediately faced objections from both moderate and conservative Republicans. The former worried that too many people would lose affordable coverage, while the latter complained that the plan left too many burdensome provisions of the ACA in place. The anxieties of moderates in particular were amplified by the angry feedback they received at town hall meetings throughout the country from constituents who feared the loss of their health insurance. Unable to bridge the differences between the two factions, in late March the House leadership withdrew the bill without a vote—a major defeat for Trump, who had made repeal and replacement of the ACA a centerpiece of his campaign.

Six weeks later the House narrowly passed a revised version of the AHCA over the unanimous opposition of Democrats. A subsequent CBO analysis projected that the new version would reduce the deficit by $119 billion over 10 years as compared with current law and increase the number of uninsured people by 23 million.

Soon after the AHCA was passed, Republicans in the Senate, working largely in secret and without input from Democrats, began crafting their own replacement for the ACA, initially called the Better Care Reconciliation Act (BCRA). Like the AHCA, the BCRA, in numerous versions under various names, would have decreased the deficit but significantly increased the number of uninsured, and it would have increased insurance premiums in the first year after its passage, according to analyses released by the CBO in late June. The BCRA thus faced the same criticisms that had beset the House measure, revealing deep divisions between Senate Republicans who wished to limit the loss of health insurance in their states and those who aimed to dismantle as much of the current law as possible. Eventually, within a single week in late July, the Senate voted on three bills: a repeal of major provisions of the ACA without immediate replacement; a relatively comprehensive repeal and replacement of the ACA; and a more modest "skinny" repeal and replacement. Despite considerable political pressure on Senate Republicans from the Trump administration, all three measures failed.

Having been unsuccessful in their attempts to repeal and replace the ACA, Republicans in Congress and the Trump administration pursued a series of measures intended to cumulatively undermine the law by making the health insurance it provided less accessible, less affordable, and less effective (through reductions in coverage and other measures), a strategy that Trump described as allowing Obamacare to "explode." Those changes, some of which predated the failure of Republican alternatives to the ACA in the Senate, included cutting funding for advertising and for assistance with enrollment in Obamacare; drastically reducing open enrollment periods; ending cost-sharing subsidies that enabled insurance companies to reduce out-of-pocket expenses for low- and middle-income Americans; and repealing (effective in 2019) the ACA's "individual mandate," which had required

all Americans to obtain health insurance or pay a penalty. (The last measure was part of Republican tax legislation drafted in secret and passed without Democratic support in December 2017; Trump signed the measure later that month. A subsequent analysis by the CBO determined that the legislation, which among other things reduced the corporate tax rate from 35 to 21 percent, would increase the federal deficit by approximately $1.8 trillion over a 10-year period.) In November 2017 a study by the CBO had estimated that repealing the individual mandate and making no other changes to the ACA would increase the number of uninsured people by 13 million after 10 years and raise premiums by 10 percent in most years through 2027. Other changes included allowing states to impose work requirements on people receiving Medicaid; allowing the creation of “association health plans” that would offer fewer essential health benefits than plans under the ACA and charge higher premiums to certain enrollees based on factors such as gender, occupation, and age; and permitting the sale of short-term plans that would provide minimal benefits and would not cover medical services for preexisting conditions.

Environmental policy

Donald J. Trump's inauguration as the 45th U.S. presidentDonald Trump being sworn in as the 45th president of the United States.

One of the areas in which the Trump administration was able to move quickly to implement its policies was the environment, in part because many of the changes it sought could be accomplished through executive action by Trump or his appointees. Other changes were undertaken through legislation adopted by Congress, whose Republican majority generally shared Trump’s environmental views. In January, for example, Trump signed memoranda to hasten approval and completion of the Dakota Access and Keystone XL oil pipelines, both of which had been blocked by the Obama administration on environmental grounds. In February Trump signed legislation to

block an Interior Department rule that would have restricted the dumping of toxic mining waste into streams and other waterways. In March Trump signed an executive order that rescinded various Obama-era policies and programs related to climate change, including a 2016 freeze on new coal leases on federal lands. In the same month, EPA administrator Pruitt withdrew an EPA request that oil and natural gas companies report methane emissions from their facilities and rejected a total ban on the pesticide chlorpyrifos, against the advice of the EPA's own scientists. Other significant decisions included drastically reducing the size of national monuments created by Presidents Obama and Clinton; rescinding the Obama administration's Clean Power Plan, a set of EPA regulations that had mandated a 32 percent reduction in carbon emissions by the U.S. power sector between 2005 and 2030; revoking fuel-efficiency standards for cars and light trucks developed by the EPA during the Obama administration; and proposing numerous changes to the Endangered Species Act (ESA) that would weaken legal protections for endangered and threatened animals and make listing species as threatened more difficult.

Undoubtedly the most momentous environmental decision of the first Trump administration was his announcement in June that the United States would withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change, under which the United States and 194 other countries had agreed to a broad range of measures intended to limit potentially catastrophic increases in global average temperatures during the 21st century and to mitigate the economic consequences of global warming. Trump contended that the agreement would harm the American economy (through government-mandated reductions in the country's greenhouse gas emissions) and was in other respects unfair and even demeaning to the United States—historically the largest emitter of greenhouse gases and in the early 21st century the second largest emitter after China. Trump's decision was condemned by government and political leaders, scientists, business executives, and activists throughout the world but praised by Republicans in Congress, who viewed it as a reassertion of American independence in world affairs and a repudiation of the environmental policies of the Obama administration. Like Trump, many Republican lawmakers doubted that climate change was real, while others acknowledged its reality but questioned the human origins of global warming.

Foreign relations

A major theme of Trump's presidential campaign was his view that the United States had long been treated unfairly or taken advantage of by other countries, including by some traditional U.S. allies, and that under Obama's leadership the United States had ceased to be respected in world affairs. In numerous speeches, tweets, and interviews, he threatened to impose tariffs on countries that engaged in what he deemed unfair trade practices; harshly criticized the World Trade Organization (WTO); and promised to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which he called "the worst trade deal" the United States had ever signed. He also criticized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), dismissing the alliance as "obsolete" but also insisting that other NATO countries devote more of their budgets to defense spending. In January 2017 he withdrew the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a regional trade agreement between 12 Pacific Rim countries that had been a major foreign policy achievement of the Obama

administration; Trump's action was largely symbolic, however, because the Senate had never ratified the treaty.

In January and March 2018 the Trump administration announced steep tariffs on imports of solar panels (worth $8.5 billion per year) and washing machines (worth $1 billion), aimed particularly at China and South Korea, and on imports of aluminum and steel (worth $48 billion) made in several countries, most of them U.S. allies (initial exemptions from the aluminum and steel duties granted to Canada, the European Union [EU], and Mexico were lifted in June). Dismissing warnings and criticisms from economists and business leaders that the tariffs could ignite a trade war, Trump insisted in a tweet that "trade wars are good, and easy to win." In April China imposed retaliatory tariffs on a variety of U.S. goods worth $2.4 billion annually, approximately the dollar amount of Chinese aluminum and steel imports affected by the Trump tariffs. The EU followed suit in June with tariffs on U.S. imports valued at $3.2 billion, as did Canada in July with tariffs on $12.8 billion of U.S. goods. Following its official finding that the Chinese had engaged in unfair trade practices, in June the Trump administration announced plans for tariffs on an additional $50 billion of dollars worth of Chinese products, prompting China to announce comparable duties. Threats and counterthreats of additional tariffs soon followed, and by July the two countries were engaged in a full-blown trade war.

Trump's tariffs and his antipathy to the WTO overshadowed the meeting in early June of the Group of 7 in Quebec, Canada, which was marked by tense disagreement between Trump and other G7 leaders over language regarding free trade in the meeting's final communiqué, usually a bland formality. Following Trump's early departure from the meeting, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau reiterated his country's reluctant determination to respond in kind to Trump's tariffs on aluminum and steel. Reacting to Trudeau's remarks during a flight to Singapore aboard Air Force One, Trump withdrew his endorsement of the communiqué and called Trudeau "dishonest" and "weak." In Singapore Trump held a historic meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un, the first face-to-face encounter between sitting leaders of the two countries. Although Trump declared after the meeting that "there is no longer a Nuclear Threat from North Korea," it was unclear what concrete commitments North Korea had made to nuclear disarmament. In July Trump attended the annual summit meeting of NATO in Brussels, where in a speech he called other NATO countries "delinquent" and insisted that they increase their defense spending "immediately." The meeting ended with a joint communiqué in which member countries agreed to continue their efforts to devote 2 percent of their GDP to defense spending by 2024, a goal they had agreed to in 2014.

In May 2018 Trump announced the withdrawal of the United States from a 2015 accord between Iran and five major powers—formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—that had limited Iran's uranium-enrichment activities and required it to submit to frequent international inspections of its nuclear facilities in return for the lifting of economic sanctions. After the United States killed Iran's highest-ranking security and intelligence official in a drone strike ordered by Trump, Iran announced in January 2020 that it would no longer observe the JCPOA-imposed restrictions on its enrichment activities, though it stopped short of formally exiting the agreement.

Ukraine scandal

In August 2019 an anonymous whistleblower, later determined to be an official of the CIA, filed a complaint with the inspector general of the U.S. intelligence community, Michael Atkinson, alleging that in a July 25 phone call with the newly elected president of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, Trump had attempted to extort a promise from Zelensky to interfere in the 2020 U.S. presidential election on Trump's behalf. Specifically, according to the complaint, Trump strongly implied that some $400 million in congressionally mandated security assistance to Ukraine would not be provided unless Zelensky carried out two requests, which Trump introduced by saying, "I would like you to do us a favor though…." The first request was that Zelensky search for a computer server used by the Democratic National Committee that supposedly had been hidden in Ukraine after the Internet security firm CrowdStrike determined in 2016 that it had been broken into by hackers based in Russia. According to the CrowdStrike conspiracy theory, which originated as a disinformation campaign by Russia, the missing server contained evidence that the hackers were in fact Ukrainian and that Democrats and CrowdStrike had conspired to falsely blame Russia for interfering in the 2016 presidential election.

(*What is a quid pro quo and is it always bad? Read examples from history.*)

The second request was that Zelensky investigate Biden's allegedly corrupt motive for pressuring the Ukrainian government in 2015, while Biden was serving as vice president in the Obama administration, to fire the country's prosecutor general, Viktor Shokin. According to the Burisma conspiracy theory, as it came to be known, Biden called for Shokin's removal only in order to halt an investigation of the Ukrainian energy company Burisma Holdings, Ltd., that threatened to uncover wrongdoing by Biden's son Hunter, who was then serving on the company's board of directors. No serious evidence of wrongdoing by Biden or his son was ever produced, however. In his phone conversation, Trump also repeatedly suggested to Zelensky that in planning or conducting the requested investigations he deal directly with Attorney General Barr and Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani.

In September 2019, after the press began reporting that Trump's conversation with Zelensky may have involved a "quid pro quo," the aid to Ukraine was finally released, and the White House later issued what it called a "rough transcript" of the phone call, which nevertheless did not support Trump's assertion that there had been no quid pro quo. Later that month Pelosi changed her stance on the impeachment question, announcing that Trump's attempt to extort a foreign leader to interfere in a U.S. election constituted a betrayal of his oath of office and therefore warranted a formal impeachment inquiry. In testimony before the House Intelligence Committee and later the House Judiciary Committee, career civil servants in the State Department and other witnesses confirmed the outlines of the whistleblower's account of Trump's phone call and further indicated that Trump had been attempting to conduct what amounted to a separate "back channel" foreign policy through Giuliani, Barr, and others. In December the Judiciary Committee drafted two articles of impeachment against Trump, one for abuse of power and the other for obstruction of Congress. Those articles were adopted in two party-line votes by the entire House on December 18, making Trump the third president in U.S. history to be impeached. Trump was acquitted by the Senate in February 2020 after a majority of senators voted to find him not guilty on both charges. For additional discussion, *see* Ukraine scandal.

COVID-19 pandemic

In January 2020 the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the continuing spread of COVID-19—a deadly and highly contagious respiratory illness caused by a new form of the coronavirus known as novel coronavirus, or coronavirus-2 (SARS-CoV-2)—to be a global health emergency. First reported in the Chinese city of Wuhan in December 2019, the virus soon spread throughout China and then to Europe, the United States, and other regions, prompting WHO to announce in March 2020 that COVID-19 had become a global pandemic. At that time there were more than 118,000 confirmed cases of COVID-19 worldwide and nearly 4,300 deaths. By year's end those numbers had reached approximately 83 million and 1.8 million, respectively.
(*Read about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.*)
Soon after the first known case in the United States was identified in mid-January 2020, Trump was privately informed by officials within his administration that the pandemic could result in massive numbers of American deaths and severe damage to the U.S. economy. Those warnings were repeated to Trump for several weeks through February and early March as the numbers of positive tests for the coronavirus and confirmed cases of COVID-19 in the country continued to rise.

At the end of January, Trump imposed a partial entry ban on foreign travelers who had recently visited China. However, he initially neglected to implement the aggressive measures that had been recommended to him to slow the spread of the coronavirus and reduce the number of likely deaths. Such proposals included increasing the country's testing capacity and developing a national strategy for testing, contact tracing, and quarantining; using his authority under the Defense Production Act (DPA) of 1950 to increase production of personal protective equipment (PPE) for medical personnel and ventilators for critically ill patients; establishing a national purchasing and distribution system to allocate PPE and ventilators to states and localities according to need; and issuing national science-based guidelines for closing businesses and schools, social distancing, mask wearing, and other safety measures. In many of his public statements, Trump downplayed the threat posed by the pandemic, the extent of its spread in the United States, and the severity of COVID-19 itself. In other statements, some made in tweets and at press briefings in April following meetings of the White House coronavirus task force (first convened in late January), he promoted supposed alternative remedies for the virus that were known to be ineffective, unproved, or even deadly, and he made other false claims that expert members of the task force were obliged to contradict.
After WHO's global pandemic announcement, Trump declared a national emergency, suspended travel to the United States from several European countries, and recommended that Americans practice social distancing for the remainder of March (he later extended that period to April 30). At the end of March he invoked the DPA to officially direct the automobile manufacturer General Motors to produce ventilators. By then, many states had already closed businesses and schools, restricted public gatherings, issued stay-at-home orders, and mandated mask wearing in public spaces. States and individual hospitals were also redoubling their efforts to find increasingly scarce ventilators and respirators after Trump told state governors in a conference call that they should make their own arrangements to obtain such equipment.

The widespread business closings and the shift to work-from-home arrangements in some industries resulted in massive layoffs, eventually producing unemployment levels not seen since the early 1930s and a deep recession. In late March Congress passed, and Trump signed into law, a $2.2 trillion economic relief package, the CARES (Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security) Act, which included a loan program for small businesses, an increase in unemployment benefits through July, one-time direct payments to households, increased funding for food-stamp and child-nutrition programs, and financial aid to state and local governments, which had been overwhelmed by unemployment claims and unprecedented demands for emergency services. Two months later the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives adopted a more extensive ($3 trillion) relief measure, the HEROES (Health and Economic Recovery Omnibus Emergency Solutions) Act, whose provisions included a vote-by-mail option in all federal elections beginning in November and additional funding for the U.S. Postal Service, which was then handling greatly increased numbers of mail-in (or absentee) ballots cast by primary-election voters wishing to avoid exposure to the coronavirus in voting lines and polling stations. Senate Republicans, however, refused to take up the measure, in part because it failed to protect reopened businesses against potential lawsuits by workers who contracted COVID-19 on the job. In late December, after several months of inaction, Congress finally passed scaled-back relief legislation, including a modest temporary increase in unemployment benefits.

Through the spring and summer, while occasionally acknowledging the real scope and seriousness of the pandemic, Trump continued to predict the imminent disappearance of the coronavirus; to dispute or misrepresent official numbers of positive tests, confirmed cases, and deaths in the United States; to promote conspiracy theories that attributed high official numbers to a variety of patently false causes; and to criticize public health officials whose assessments or recommendations did not reflect positively on his leadership. In April and May, as the numbers of new COVID-19 cases and deaths nationwide began to plateau, Trump pushed the states to quickly rescind the public health measures that had helped to slow the spread of the coronavirus, portraying state-imposed business closings and especially mask mandates as violations of economic freedom and individual liberty. Trump's misrepresentations inspired many of his supporters to hold anti-lockdown demonstrations and to flout state and local mask-wearing orders and limits on public gatherings. Trump's own refusal to wear a mask in public, a pointed signal of his contempt for such regulations, led many of his supporters, including several Republican governors and lawmakers, to regard the refusal to wear a mask in public as a kind of political statement—an expression of allegiance to Trump and the Republican Party.

In May and June the governors of several states, mostly in the South, responded to Trump's pressure by relaxing or lifting pandemic-related restrictions—in particular, mask-wearing orders. Partly as a result of those premature changes, a second surge of the pandemic—a spike in positive test rates and in numbers of COVID-19 cases, hospitalizations, and deaths—occurred in those and a few other states, forcing governors to reimpose restrictions they had declared unnecessary only a few weeks before.

In early October, during the final weeks of his presidential campaign, Trump himself tested positive for the coronavirus and developed COVID-19. He was admitted to Walter Reed Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, with

respiratory symptoms and was reportedly treated there with advanced experimental drugs unavailable to almost all other Americans. Released at his insistence after only three days, he eventually resumed his campaign rallies before mostly unmasked supporters in several states. As before, Trump declined to wear a mask in public. Meanwhile, a third surge of the pandemic, which experts had warned would be far more deadly than the second, had begun. By the end of December 2020, more than 350,000 Americans had died of the illness.

Presidential election of 2020

Campaigns and litigation

Facing no serious challengers in the Republican presidential primaries of 2020, Trump became the party's presumptive nominee in March, having by then collected the minimum number of delegates necessary to win the nomination. He was formally nominated at the Republican National Convention in late August. In an unusual decision, the Republican National Committee declined to write a platform for the 2020 election, instead adopting the same platform it had issued in 2016 (despite its ironically dated criticisms of the "current" president) with an accompanying resolution declaring that "the Republican Party has and will continue to enthusiastically support the President's America-first agenda." Shortly before the start of the Republican convention, the Trump campaign released a list of Trump's "core priorities" for a second term, including "Create 10 Million New Jobs in 10 Months," "Develop a [COVID-19] Vaccine by The End of 2020," "Return to Normal in 2021," "Protect Social Security and Medicare," "Bring Violent Extremist Groups Like ANTIFA to Justice," and "Require New Immigrants to Be Able to Support Themselves Financially." Throughout his campaign Trump also kept up a steady stream of insults and name-calling aimed at Biden, who became the Democratic Party's presumptive presidential nominee in April and was formally nominated at his party's national convention in mid-August. Biden promised that as president he would, among other things, bring the COVID-19 pandemic under control, reverse Trump's policies on immigration and the environment, repair the country's frayed relations with foreign allies, repeal the 2017 corporate tax cut, strengthen voting rights, and expand access to health insurance under Obamacare.

The COVID-19 pandemic was understandably a dominant issue in the election. Biden accused Trump of ignoring the early spread of the illness in the United States, mismanaging the nation's pandemic response, and resisting appropriate input and leadership from government scientific and health experts. Trump, for his part, initially accused Democrats of perpetrating a "hoax" by exaggerating the extent of infection and the danger of the illness. Through the remainder of his campaign, he continued to allege that Biden and other Democrats were overstating the severity of the health crisis for political advantage. A parallel issue was the adequacy of pandemic-related economic relief for individuals, businesses, and state and local governments.

The pandemic also prompted governors and election officials in several states to postpone primary elections or to implement changes in election procedures to enable voters to cast their ballots safely. Such changes included extending voter registration deadlines and early voting periods; loosening or eliminating requirements for obtaining or casting mail-in ballots, which millions of voters were expected to use as an

alternative to in-person voting; authorizing the use of drop boxes for returning mail-in ballots; and extending postelection deadlines for receipt of mail-in ballots, whose delivery was expected to be slowed by postal service delays and overwhelming demand. A smaller but still significant number of states declined to change their election procedures or did so in ways that arguably made voting more difficult or less safe than in other states. In October 2020, for example, the Republican governor of Texas, Greg Abbott, issued a directive that limited mail-in ballot drop boxes to one per county.

Pandemic-related changes to state election procedures were intensively litigated. Some were adopted in response to orders issued by federal or state courts, whose rulings were then upheld or struck down on appeal; others were initiated by state authorities and then challenged in the courts. In general, challenges to such changes were lodged by Republican election and government officials, state Republican parties and the Republican National Committee, and the Trump campaign, usually on the grounds that the changes usurped the constitutional authority of state legislatures to establish electoral laws and procedures or that they invited voter fraud (none of the suits, however, presented any evidence of significant fraud). Democrats generally defended the changes as both constitutional and necessary to ensure the opportunity to vote amid an extraordinary public health emergency; they also alleged that Republican opposition to the changes amounted to a form of voter suppression that could unfairly turn the election in Trump's favor in swing states. In all, more than 300 election-related lawsuits were filed by both Democrats and Republicans prior to election day. The vast majority of Republican challenges were eventually dismissed.

Underlying the strategies of both parties was the accurate perception that Democratic voters were more likely to use mail-in ballots than Republican voters. Trump's oft-repeated but baseless claim that mail-in voting was rife with fraud and abuse only magnified Democratic concerns about alleged Republican voter suppression. So too did the appointment in May 2020 of a new postmaster general, Louis DeJoy, a major Trump donor, who immediately implemented service cuts and other operational changes in the U.S. Postal Service that slowed mail delivery throughout the country.

Trump's attacks on mail-in voting and on the postal service itself were one element of a broader accusation that he had emphasized during the 2016 presidential campaign and continued in the 2020 campaign and beyond: that the November election would be "rigged" by Democrats, resulting in "the most INACCURATE & FRAUDULENT Election in history," as he stated in a July 2020 tweet. In dozens of other tweets and at numerous campaign rallies, interviews, and press encounters, Trump claimed that thousands of mail-in ballots would be stolen or forged by foreign countries and that Democratic election officials would neglect to send mail-in ballots to Republicans and would commit election fraud by intentionally miscounting mail-in ballots. In the summer and fall of 2020 Trump notably refused to commit himself to accepting a Biden victory in November, which seemed likely, given Biden's consistent and sizable lead over Trump in nationwide opinion polls. Trump insisted, to the contrary, that the only way the Democrats could win would be through fraud, at one point suggesting in a tweet that the election should be delayed "until people can properly, securely and safely vote???" On other occasions he asserted that he should be permitted to extend his first term to make up for the distraction of the Russia investigation.

Trump's promotion of what amounted to a conspiracy theory of Democratic vote rigging prompted criticism and varying levels of concern among Democrats as well as Trump's conservative critics, including a small but vocal minority of Republican pundits and journalists. Some believed that Trump was merely setting the stage for a

face-saving end to his presidency; others speculated that he would use lawsuits alleging election fraud in a dubious strategy to invalidate mail-in votes in swing states or to delay certification of state elections long enough to enable Republican-controlled state legislatures to take the extreme (albeit constitutional) step of replacing slates of pro-Biden electors chosen by voters with the legislatures' own slates of pro-Trump electors. Still others feared a scenario in which Trump would simply refuse to leave office, provoking a constitutional crisis in which (in a worst-case scenario) the U.S. military would become involved. An abiding and widely shared concern, particularly among historians and political scholars, was that Trump's apparent conspiracy mongering would undermine Americans' trust in democratic institutions. American democracy would be severely damaged, they argued, if a significant segment of either major party consistently refused to accept defeat in elections for president or any other high office.

The 2020 presidential election was unique and historic for the vast number of voters who cast ballots—whether in person or via mail, whether through early voting or on election day—and consequently for the vote totals of both the winning and losing candidates, Biden and Trump, respectively. Trump ultimately received more than 74 million votes and Biden more than 81 million—the latter figure being the highest for any presidential candidate in U.S. history. On the eve of the election, Trump continued to trail Biden in opinion polls in most swing states, though by thinner margins than in polls the previous summer. As voting proceeded, however, it became clear that the vote totals in some states would be far closer than polls had indicated. For a few days after election day (November 3), the outcome remained uncertain, in part because of the vast number of mail-in ballots (more than 65 million nationwide), which naturally took longer to count than in-person ballots. On November 7 the Associated Press and the major U.S. television networks called the election for Biden, who, in their analysis, had by then secured 270 electoral votes, the minimum number needed to win the presidency. The eventual vote of the Electoral College, which took place on December 14, was 306 for Biden and 232 for Trump.

Aftermath

At a press encounter in the early morning of November 4, Trump declared himself the winner of the election and denounced the counting of mail-in ballots as a "fraud on the American people." During the next several weeks he continually accused Biden and the Democrats of having stolen the presidential election and repeated far-fetched conspiracy theories about ballot stuffing, dead voters, and malicious voting-machine software that had deleted or changed millions of votes for Trump. In addition, he personally pressured election officials and other authorities in Michigan, Georgia, and Pennsylvania to delay certifying or to overturn elections in their states and later attacked those among them who declined to cooperate.

In February 2023 a judge in Georgia ordered the partial release of the final report of a special-purpose grand jury convened in 2022 to investigate possible criminal interference in the 2020 presidential election in Georgia by Trump and his allies. In the released portions of the report, the grand jury concluded that "no widespread fraud took place in the Georgia 2020 presidential election that could result in overturning that election." The grand jury also reported its belief that "perjury may have been committed by one or more witnesses testifying before it."

Although nearly all preelection Republican lawsuits had been dismissed, Trump and his allies mounted scores of new challenges on similar grounds. As those efforts also failed, the Trump campaign conceived a more ambitious legal strategy. In late November a team of Trump-supporting lawyers drafted a complaint designed to be submitted directly to the Supreme Court on the basis of its original jurisdiction in cases involving disputes between the states. Eventually filed by Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton in early December, the complaint alleged that pandemic-related changes to electoral procedures in four swing states that had voted for Biden—Pennsylvania, Georgia, Michigan, and Wisconsin—were illegal and unconstitutional and had so increased the potential for voter fraud that Biden's victories in those states must be overturned. On December 11 the Court tersely dismissed the suit for lack of standing. Trump's legal efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, but his postelection narrative of election fraud and conspiracy, thematically continuous with the false claims of vote rigging that he had been making for months, was accepted by his base of dedicated supporters. Even the less ardent among Trump voters were sympathetic to the notion that Biden had somehow cheated to win the presidential election. According to an opinion poll taken in mid-November, more than 50 percent of all Republicans believed that Trump had "rightfully" won the election; another poll, in December, found that 77 percent of Republicans believed that there had been widespread election fraud.

As vote counting continued, various groups of radicalized Trump supporters quickly coalesced around the idea that forceful protests and even violent direct action were necessary and justified to stop the counting of fraudulent ballots and prevent Biden from taking office. A short-lived Facebook group calling itself "Stop the Steal" was created on November 4 and grew to some 320,000 members in less than 24 hours before the social media company shut it down because of posts containing disinformation and calls for violence. Stop the Steal enthusiasts soon migrated to other (renamed) Facebook groups and other social media venues, where they repeated and elaborated conspiracy theories about the election and organized on-the-ground demonstrations in several cities, including at polling stations where supposedly fraudulent vote counting was underway.

After the electors from each state cast their votes for president and vice president on December 14, giving Biden an Electoral College victory of 306 to 232, Trump and his allies, as well as leaders of Stop the Steal and other pro-Trump groups across the country, turned their attention to the last, formal step in the election of a U.S. president, the ceremonial opening and counting of the electoral votes of each state in a joint session of Congress presided over by the vice president, Mike Pence, on January 6. Some Trump allies reportedly advised the president—incorrectly—that the vice president's role in the ceremony entailed that Pence would have the constitutional authority to determine which slate of electors, Democratic or Republican, to accept from any given state. A federal lawsuit seeking a judgment to that effect, filed in late December by Texas Republican Rep. Louie Gohmert, was dismissed for lack of standing.

Meanwhile, in several tweets beginning in mid-December, Trump encouraged his supporters to attend a rally—initially planned by a pro-Trump group, Women for America First—in Washington, D.C., on January 6 to protest Congress's confirmation of Biden's victory. In one of the tweets, Trump stated, "Be there, will be wild!" At the rally, held at a public park near the White House, a crowd of thousands, including members of white supremacist and right-wing militia groups, listened to speeches by Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani and Trump's sons Donald, Jr., and Eric, among others.

In his own address, Trump repeated well-worn falsehoods and conspiracy theories about election fraud, called on Pence to block Congress's confirmation of the Electoral College vote—declaring that if Pence failed to act, the crowd would not let the confirmation take place ("We're just not going to let that happen")—encouraged the crowd to "walk down Pennsylvania Avenue" to the Capitol building, and urged his audience to "fight like hell" or "you're not going to have a country anymore." Although Trump did not explicitly direct those in attendance to commit illegal acts, his generally incendiary language suggested to at least some of his supporters that they would be justified in violently attacking Congress to prevent Biden's victory.

What Caused the January 6, 2021, Capitol Attack? : On the afternoon of January 6, 2021, supporters of Donald Trump stormed the United States Capitol building.

Even before Trump finished his address, a violent mob began storming the perimeter of the Capitol building, where the House and Senate were then debating a doomed challenge by Republican lawmakers to the slate of electors from Arizona, which had voted for Biden. The mob grew larger as more people arrived from the rally at which Trump had spoken. Capitol police were quickly overwhelmed, and for the next several hours rioters vandalized and looted various parts of the complex, including the Senate chamber and the offices of Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and others. One rioter was shot and killed by police, and four others, including a Capitol police officer, later died of injuries sustained in the assault. After the complex was cleared that evening, Congress resumed the confirmation process, and Biden was certified as the winner of the presidential election of 2020 in the early morning hours of January 7. On January 8 Trump was permanently banned from Twitter for having posted tweets before, during, and after the assault that the company deemed to be in violation of its policy against glorification of violence. (Trump's Twitter account was later reinstated by the South African-born American billionaire Elon Musk, who purchased the company in 2022.)

Less than one week later the House of Representatives, by a vote of 232 to 197, adopted a single article of impeachment against Trump for "incitement of insurrection,"

making him the first president in U.S. history to be impeached twice. At his Senate trial in February, which began three weeks after he left office on January 20, there was some debate about whether the Senate could try a president who was no longer in office. Trump was ultimately acquitted after only 57 senators, 10 short of the required two-thirds majority, voted to find him guilty.

Two days after the insurrection of January 6, which had failed to prevent Congress from certifying the results of the 2020 presidential election, Trump announced that he would not attend Biden's inauguration. He thereby defied a tradition nearly as old as the United States, one understood to symbolize the peaceful transfer of power and thus the strength and continuity of American democracy. (Trump was the first U.S. president to decline to attend his successor's inauguration since 1869, when Pres. Andrew Johnson refused to witness the swearing in of Ulysses S. Grant.) Trump and first lady Melania Trump left the White House on the morning of January 20, a few hours before Biden's inauguration ceremony, and returned to their residence at Mar-a-Lago.
Unlike most former presidents in the months following their departure from office, Trump did not attempt to keep a low public profile in deference to his successor. Indeed, beginning with an address at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in February 2021, Trump delivered several public speeches in which he sharply criticized the new Biden administration, denounced Republican officeholders who had criticized or opposed him (including the 10 Republican House members who had voted to impeach him for inciting the January 6 U.S. Capitol attack), repeated his well-worn narrative of voter fraud in the 2020 election, and hinted that he intended to run for president again in 2024.

Despite his real-life electoral defeat and the ignominious circumstances of his departure from office, Trump retained a sizable base of dedicated supporters, which he continued to cultivate at his own campaign-style rallies and other events. Trump took advantage of his popularity among Republicans to become an effective kingmaker within the party, a role that he exercised by granting or withholding endorsements of individual Republican candidates for federal, state, and even local offices, many of whom traveled to Mar-a-Lago to seek his approval. (Trump's endorsed candidates tended to fare well in the primary elections of 2022 but were only partially successful overall in the November midterm elections.) Trump also amassed huge sums of money from millions of individual donors through his political action committee (PAC) Save America and Make America Great Again, Inc. and other organizations.

Later indictments, civil suits, and trials

From the start of his campaign for a second presidential term, Trump was forced to contend with ongoing criminal investigations and civil suits stemming from his conduct before, during, and after his first presidency. Among the major criminal probes were Justice Department investigations, conducted from November 2022 by special counsel Jack Smith, dealing with Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 presidential election and his illegal removal from the White House of numerous

classified documents, which were discovered at Mar-a-Lago during an FBI search of the property in August 2022.

Meanwhile, the district attorney of Fulton county, Georgia, pursued a parallel criminal investigation into efforts by Trump and his associates to pressure Georgia government officials into reversing or invalidating Biden's electoral victory in the state. Another state criminal investigation, focusing on the falsification of business records related to the hush-money payment to Daniels, was revived by the district attorney of Manhattan in November 2022 after the Trump Organization's chief financial officer, Allen Weisselberg agreed to testify against the firm in a trial on charges of tax fraud and other crimes. The Trump Organization was convicted on all counts in December. In September 2022 the attorney general of New York state filed a $250 million civil suit accusing Trump, three of Trump's children, and the Trump Organization of business fraud in connection with misrepresentations of properties and other assets designed to secure favorable loan and insurance rates and to minimize tax liabilities. Trump also faced a civil suit accusing him of sexual abuse and defamation brought by the writer E. Jean Carroll, who alleged that Trump had raped her in a department-store dressing room in the mid-1990s.

In May 2023 Trump was found liable in the civil sexual-abuse and defamation case and was ordered to pay Carroll $5 million. Despite that ruling, Trump continued to publicly insult and disparage Carroll, who then filed a second defamation suit. In January 2024 Trump was again found liable and was ordered to pay Carroll more than $83 million. Two years later, in May 2026, the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which had earlier refused to overturn the defamation award, allowed Trump to delay his payment pending a possible review of the case by Supreme Court.
In February 2024, after being found liable in the civil business-fraud case, Trump was ordered to pay more than $350 million in penalties and interest and barred from serving as an officer or director of any company in New York state, including the Trump Organization, for three years. In August 2025 a New York appeals court panel affirmed the lower court's ruling that Trump and his associates were guilty of business fraud but dismissed his financial penalties, which had increased with interest to more than $500 million.

Presidential mug shot : Former president Donald J. Trump as he appeared in a mug shot taken in August 2023 at the Fulton County Courthouse in Georgia. Trump was charged along with 18 others in a plot to overturn the 2020 presidential election results in that state.

In March 2023 Trump was indicted on 34 felony counts of falsifying business records to conceal the Trump Organization's reimbursement of Cohen for the latter's payment of hush money to Daniels. Under New York state law, the acts of falsification amounted to felonies rather than misdemeanors because they were intended to commit or conceal other crimes, including violating federal campaign contribution limits, falsifying additional business records used to effectuate the hush money payment, influencing the 2016 presidential election through illegal means, and violating state tax law. The indictment marked the first time in U.S. history that a former president was charged with a crime.

In June 2023 Trump was indicted by a grand jury in Miami on federal criminal charges related to his removal of classified documents from the White House upon leaving office. The indictment marked the first time in U.S. history that a former president was charged with a federal crime.

In August 2023 Trump was indicted by a grand jury in Washington, D.C., on federal criminal charges related to his efforts to overturn the 2020 presidential election. The indictment charged him with obstruction of an official proceeding and three counts of conspiracy: to obstruct an official proceeding, to defraud the United States, and to impede the free exercise of the right to vote and to have one's vote counted. Later that month, Trump and 18 of his associates were indicted by a grand jury in Fulton county, Georgia, on criminal charges related to Trump's efforts to reverse Biden's electoral victory in that state.

The ensuing trials in three of Trump's criminal cases—the federal and state cases concerning his efforts to overturn the 2020 election and the case involving the hush-money payment to Daniels—were originally scheduled to begin in March and May 2024. (On May 7, the judge in the federal case concerning Trump's removal of classified documents from the White House indefinitely postponed the start of the trial, which had been scheduled for May 20.) In each instance, however, Trump's legal team filed numerous motions or appeals designed to delay the start of the trial until after the election or to dismiss the case altogether. Trump's legal strategy proved successful.

In January 2024 the federal case concerning Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election, whose trial date had been scheduled for March 4, was indefinitely postponed after Trump appealed the district court's ruling rejecting his contention that he should be immune from prosecution for actions he committed while serving as president. In February a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit agreed with the district court that Trump did not possess absolute, or permanent, immunity and thus could be prosecuted as a private citizen for his efforts as president to overturn the 2020 election. Trump then asked the U.S. Supreme Court to put the panel's ruling on hold while he filed a petition for review by the full appeals court. The Supreme Court instead chose to hear the case itself, scheduling oral arguments for the end of April 2024.

The Court's decision in *Trump* v. *United States*, issued in July, held that former presidents are entitled to absolute immunity from criminal prosecution for actions that involve the exercise of their "core constitutional powers" and to "presumptive immunity" for all other official acts. The Court did not provide a specific definition of an official presidential act but instead offered a set of general principles and observations for use by the district court, to which it remanded the case to determine which of the acts for which Trump was being prosecuted qualified as official. The Court did conclude, however, that Trump should be "absolutely immune from prosecution" for allegedly pressuring the Justice Department to support his claims of voter fraud, because any president's interaction with members of the Justice Department would constitute an official act. The remanding of the case to the district court further delayed Trump's trial, virtually ensuring that it would extend beyond the presidential election in November 2024.

In August 2024 special counsel Smith filed a superseding indictment of Trump with the district court on charges related to Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election. In keeping with the Supreme Court's ruling, the new indictment dropped specific counts relating Trump's pressuring of the Justice Department but preserved the original indictment's general charges of obstruction of an official proceeding and conspiracy to obstruct an official proceeding, to defraud the United States, and to impede the free exercise of the right to vote and to have one's vote counted. In October 2024, the district-court judge in the case, Tanya Sue Chutkan, publicly released a redacted version of the superseding indictment, which provided additional details in support of Smith's contention that Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election did not constitute protected official acts.

Following Trump's victory in the presidential election of November 2024, Smith filed a request with Chutkan asking that, in light of Trump's impending inauguration as president, the superseding indictment related to Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election be "dismissed without prejudice," meaning that the charges against Trump would be dropped for the duration of his second term but could be revived once his second term is over. Smith's motion reflected a policy of the Justice Department prohibiting the criminal prosecution of sitting presidents.

In another case concerning Trump's role in the January 6 attack, *Trump* v. *Anderson*, the Supreme Court in March 2024 overturned a ruling by the Colorado Supreme Court that had removed Trump from the state's Republican primary ballot on the grounds that Trump had disqualified himself under Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868). That section prohibits any person from "hold[ing] any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state" if that person has "previously taken an oath…to support the Constitution of the United States" and subsequently "engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof."

In March 2024 the hush-money case, whose trial date had been scheduled for March 25, was postponed to April 15 following a request by the Manhattan district attorney's office to allow Trump's legal team to review a set of records from an earlier federal investigation focusing on the role of Cohen in the hush-money payment to Daniels. The judge in the case rejected Trump's motion for dismissal, disputing his claim that prosecutors had improperly withheld federal records from Trump's attorneys. As the

starting date of the trial drew closer, Trump performed various legal maneuvers aimed at dismissing the case or significantly delaying the trial, including filing a civil suit against the judge for issuing and then expanding a gag order preventing Trump from verbally attacking witnesses, jurors, and the families of the judge and the Manhattan district attorney, among others. None of Trump's tactics were successful, and the trial began as scheduled. On May 30, 2024, the jury in the trial found Trump guilty on all 34 counts of falsifying business records. Trump thus became the first former president to be convicted of a crime.

Following the Supreme Court's ruling in *Trump* v. *United States*, Trump's attorneys in the hush-money case requested that his sentencing be delayed to allow the judge, Juan M. Merchan, to consider overturning Trump's conviction on the basis of the Court's finding that presidents are presumptively immune from prosecution for acts determined to be official. Merchan agreed to postpone the sentencing to September 18. Early that month, however, following another request from Trump's attorneys, Merchan agreed to delay the sentencing again, this time to November 26, well after the 2024 presidential election. Meanwhile, Merchan had also scheduled for November 12 a ruling on whether to erase Trump's conviction altogether. Following Trump's victory, his legal team requested another postponement of that decision while they prepared arguments based on Trump's election as president. Merchan granted the team another week. On November 22, Merchan delayed Trump's sentencing yet again to allow both sides more time to prepare arguments for or against overturning his conviction. On December 16, Merchan finally rejected Trump's effort to have his conviction overturned on the basis of the Supreme Court's ruling on presidential immunity.

On January 3, 2025, Merchan formally scheduled Trump's sentencing for January 10, dismissing the Trump team's contentions that as a president-elect Trump is entitled to the same immunity from prosecution as a sitting president and that Trump's sentencing would severely disrupt the presidential transition process. Merchan also indicated in his decision that he would sentence Trump to an "unconditional discharge," meaning that Trump would not face prison, probation, or a fine, though he would officially become a convicted felon. Merchan's decision was then affirmed by a state appeals court judge and by the state's highest court, the New York Court of Appeals. In a last-ditch effort, Trump's team filed an emergency appeal with the Supreme Court. In an unsigned order issued on January 9, one day before Trump's scheduled sentencing, the Court rejected Trump's request by a vote of 5 to 4.

In July 2024 the judge in the classified documents case, Aileen Cannon, dismissed Trump's indictment on the basis of her finding that U.S. Attorney General Merrick Garland's appointment of special counsel Smith, who was responsible for Trump's indictment, was illegitimate under the appointments clause of the U.S. Constitution. Smith later appealed Cannon's ruling to the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals. In November, however, he requested that the Eleventh Circuit remove Trump from the codefendants in the case, again citing Trump's upcoming second term.

Soon after the midterm elections of 2022, Trump announced his candidacy for the 2024 Republican presidential nomination. He initially faced several challengers within his party; by June 2023 nearly a dozen Republicans other than Trump had begun their own presidential campaigns. They included Nikki Haley, who had served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under Trump (2017–18) and as governor of South Carolina (2011–17); Ron DeSantis, the governor of Florida (2019–); former U.S. vice president (2017–21) Mike Pence; Doug Burgum, the governor of North Dakota (2016–); and former New Jersey governor (2010–18) and 2016 Republican presidential primary contender Chris Christie. Mindful of Trump's continued popularity among Republican voters, most of his primary challengers avoided criticizing him directly or forcefully. They instead presented themselves as reliable conservatives who did not face any of the serious legal challenges that threatened to eliminate support for Trump among independent voters. As Trump's indictments were handed down, however, his popularity among Republicans did not decline significantly, as his challengers had expected. Indeed, some polls showed that his support had increased.

During the remainder of 2023, Trump continued to dominate his rivals in polls of Republican voters, despite his refusal to participate in presidential primary debates sponsored by the Republican National Committee and the steady progress of the legal cases against him. A significant proportion of Republican voters continued to accept Trump's oft-repeated (but unsupported) claims that the criminal and civil charges against him were false and politically motivated, and many reacted positively to Trump's suggestions that he would seek retribution for the prosecutions if elected president. By the end of the year, most other Republican presidential candidates, including Pence, Burgum, and Christie, had abandoned their campaigns, and in January 2024 DeSantis also dropped out of the race. Haley, the sole remaining Trump challenger, finally suspended her campaign in March, though she did not immediately endorse Trump.

On July 13, 2024, while speaking at a campaign rally in Pennsylvania, Trump was injured in an assassination attempt by a young man who fired a semiautomatic rifle. After being hit in the ear, Trump was whisked to safety by U.S. Secret Service agents. Although his injury was minor, a person attending the rally and the shooter himself were killed. The attempt took place just two days before the scheduled start of the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at which Trump officially became his party's presidential nominee. On the opening day of the convention, Trump selected Ohio Senator J.D. Vance, the author of the best-selling book *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis* (2016), as his vice-presidential running mate.

On September 15, 2024, the FBI announced that it was investigating a second apparent assassination attempt earlier that day while Trump was golfing with a friend at the Trump International Golf Club in West Palm Beach, Florida, near Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate. Trump was not injured, and the suspect, Ryan Wesley Routh, was soon apprehended. In September 2025, a Florida jury found Routh guilty of attempting to kill Trump, among other charges.

Joe Biden In the East Room of the White House on December 6, 2021, President Joe Biden delivers remarks about proposed legislation designed to reduce prescription drug prices.

Biden announced his bid for reelection in April 2023. His campaign emphasized his administration's success in restoring economic growth and significantly reducing unemployment from the high levels reached during the recession caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as Democrats' legislative achievements in the American Rescue Plan Act (2021), the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (2021), and the Inflation Reduction Act (2022).
In his primary campaign appearances Biden accused Republicans of planning to drastically cut Social Security and Medicare, condemned restrictions on voting rights adopted in Republican-controlled states (*see* voter suppression), criticized efforts by Republican state governments to limit the rights of members of the LGBTQ community, and vowed to codify the right to abortion in the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court's reversal of *Roe* v. *Wade* (1973) in 2022 (*see* *Dobbs* v. *Jackson Women's Health Organization*).

Largely because of the economic damage resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, including the breakdown of global supply chains, the United States and many other countries experienced high rates of inflation in the early 2020s. After reaching a high point of 9.1 percent in June 2022, inflation gradually declined to 2.4 percent by September 2024. Despite the economy's general improvement, the public continued to worry about inflation, thus contributing to a general perception that Biden was mismanaging the economy, which in turn kept his public approval rating unusually low—less than 50 percent—during most of his presidency.
Trump, for his part, repeatedly exaggerated the high prices of gasoline and food while accusing Biden of having destroyed the U.S. economy. He also condemned the Biden administration's efforts to develop clean-energy technologies, instead vowing to increase coal, oil, and natural gas production and to eliminate Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations limiting air and water pollution from fossil fuels. In keeping with his rejection of clean energy, he repeatedly dismissed the existence of climate change as a "hoax."

Another major theme of Trump's campaign was his promise to deport all undocumented immigrants living in the United States (some 11 million people) by conducting raids on immigrant communities and employers and sending immigrants to military-controlled deportation camps. Trump's anti-immigrant stance was based on

numerous falsehoods—including that immigrants (by which he usually meant nonwhite people from non-European countries) were criminals and rapists—and on blatantly racist slurs, including that immigrants were "poisoning the blood of our country."

Trump also indicated his support for a number of policies and government structural changes articulated in Project 2025, a set of recommendations promoted by the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing think tank whose members and leadership includes many Trump allies and former Trump administration officials. Trump emphasized in particular his intention to replace tens of thousands of career civil servants in policy-related positions with political loyalists who would eagerly do his bidding. Trump had attempted such a change near the end of his administration under Schedule F, a controversial effort to strip civil servants of job protections that prevented them from being fired "without cause." Trump's stated targets in Schedule F's revival included the Justice Department and the FBI, whose officers were responsible for his criminal indictments in the 2020-election and classified documents cases. Democrats and even some Republicans strongly objected to Trump's plan on the ground that it would hugely expand his authority, enabling him to exact revenge on prosecutors and political enemies and to effectively prevent other federal employees and elected officials, including members of Congress, from pursuing policies he opposes.

Shortly before Biden formally declared his candidacy, two challengers announced their own bids for the Democratic nomination: Marianne Williamson, a social activist and self-help author who had been a fringe candidate for the Democratic nomination in 2020, and Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., an environmental activist and lawyer and the son of Robert F. Kennedy, the U.S. attorney general and U.S. senator from Massachusetts who was assassinated during his campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1968. Despite Biden's low level of support among Democrats, neither alternative candidate was viewed as a serious threat to his nomination. In October 2023 Kennedy announced his entry into the 2024 presidential election as an independent candidate. In February 2024 Williamson ended her presidential campaign after receiving very few votes in early Democratic primaries, and in August Kennedy suspended his campaign and endorsed Trump.

Trump faced far more challengers to his nomination than Biden did to his: by June 2023 nearly a dozen Republicans other than Trump had declared their candidacy. They included Nikki Haley, who had served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under Trump (2017–18) and as governor of South Carolina (2011–17); Ron DeSantis, the governor of Florida (2019–); former U.S. vice president (2017–21) Mike Pence; and former New Jersey governor (2010–18) and 2016 Republican presidential primary contender Chris Christie. As more than 50 percent of Republican voters supported Trump (and approximately 40 percent identified themselves as MAGA members), most of his primary challengers avoided criticizing him directly or forcefully. They instead presented themselves as reliable conservatives who did not face any of the serious legal challenges that threatened to eliminate support for Trump among independent voters. As Trump's indictments were handed down, however, his popularity among Republicans did not decline significantly—indeed, many polls showed that his support had increased or solidified.

During the remainder of 2023 Trump continued to dominate his primary rivals, despite his refusal to participate in debates sponsored by the Republican National Committee and the steady progress of the legal cases against him. A significant proportion of Republican voters accepted Trump's oft-repeated (but unsupported) claims that the criminal and civil charges against him were false and politically motivated, and many reacted positively to Trump's vow to seek retribution for the prosecutions if he were elected president. By the end of the year most other Republican presidential candidates, including Pence and Christie, had abandoned their campaigns.

After Trump easily won the Republican Iowa caucus in January 2024, DeSantis dropped out of the race, leaving only one other Trump challenger, Nikki Haley, who finally suspended her campaign in March, though she initially declined to endorse Trump's candidacy. Meanwhile, Biden had been victorious in all but one Democratic primary.

By March 12, following their victories in primary elections held in Georgia, Mississippi, and Washington state, both Biden and Trump had accumulated enough delegates to win their parties' presidential nominations. At the Republican National Convention in July 2024, Trump officially became his party's presidential nominee.

Despite Trump's conviction in the criminal hush-money case, the vast majority of Republicans, as well as some independent and swing voters, continued to support him. Indeed, from late 2023 Trump maintained a slight lead over Biden in several nationwide presidential election polls, while Biden's average approval rating remained low as compared to other recent first-term presidents—a fact that analysts had attributed in part to the perception that Biden was mismanaging the economy and to the belief of many Americans (including some Democrats) that Biden was simply too old to competently serve as president. In June 2024, the latter concern was reinforced by Biden's poor performance in a nationally televised debate with Trump. Although Trump himself did not debate well—repeating many falsehoods and consistently failing to answer moderators' questions—Biden's stumbling, meandering, and raspy-voiced responses made him seem much weaker, both physically and mentally, than his opponent. After the debate, some prominent Democrats and several Democratic-leaning journalists, commentators, and news organizations, including the *New York Times*, called upon Biden to withdraw from the race.

Biden initially was defiant, delivering speeches and holding press conferences to try to reverse the damage done by his debate performance. But over the course of a month, the drumbeat of calls for him to step down grew louder. On July 21, he announced his withdrawal from the race and declared his support for Harris. In doing so Biden became the first president not to seek reelection since Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968.

The candidate and the coach Kamala Harris and Tim Walz appearing together at a rally in Pennsylvania on the day that Harris chose Walz to be her running mate in the 2024 U.S. presidential election, August 6, 2024.

Shortly after Biden's announcement, the Democratic National Committee approved a plan to officially nominate its presidential and vice-presidential candidates by a virtual vote of delegates in early August. Harris secured her presidential nomination with 99 percent of the vote, thus becoming the first Black woman and the first Asian American in U.S. history to win the presidential nomination of a major party. She then announced her selection of Tim Walz, the Democratic governor of Minnesota, as her vice-presidential running mate.

Harris's nomination was greeted with joy by many Democrats, who were impressed and inspired by her youth and dedication to traditional liberal causes. By September 2024, Harris had raised more than $1 billion in campaign contributions, and her approval ratings soon rivaled those of Trump. Yet, despite the general optimism she inspired, some Democrats and independents remained dissatisfied with her apparent lack of detailed plans for the country's political and economic future, while many Democrats, like most Americans, remained concerned about inflation. Meanwhile, Trump shifted his personal insults from Biden to Harris while continuing to emphasize the anti-Democratic themes of his earlier campaign.

Numerous polls conducted shortly before the November election indicated that Harris and Trump were neck and neck both nationally and in swing states. On election day (November 5, 2024), Trump won the national popular vote by 1.8 million and the Electoral College vote by 86 (312 to 226). Despite his later claims that he had gained a popular "mandate" in a "landslide" win, his margin of victory in the popular vote, 1.5 percent, was narrow, being the smallest of any candidate with a popular-vote victory since Richard M. Nixon in 1968.

Trump's second presidential term

Soon after his election to a second term, and well before his inauguration in January 2025, Trump identified persons whom he planned to nominate to cabinet-level departments, agencies, and offices and to other key executive positions. Although his intended nominees were dedicated Trump supporters, many had unorthodox backgrounds and limited experience for the positions. For example, Matt Gaetz, Trump's first choice for U.S. attorney general, had been investigated by the Justice Department and a House committee for alleged sexual

misconduct; Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., Trump's choice for secretary of health and human services, was an anti-vaccine activist who downplayed the dangers of COVID-19 and disputed the effectiveness of COVID-19 vaccines; and Pete Hegseth, Trump's choice for secretary of defense, was a Fox News personality who had been accused of sexual assault and had a reputation for excessive drinking. (Gaetz declined his selection as attorney general amid mounting controversy regarding his background, while Kennedy and Hegseth were later confirmed by the Senate.) Like the early cabinet members of Trump's first administration, some of Trump's proposed nominees had also been outspoken critics of the departments or agencies they would lead. Another similarity was the enormous wealth of cabinet members: by the time of his second inauguration, Trump's proposed cabinet greatly exceeded the record set by his first cabinet as the richest in U.S. history. The speed with which Trump announced his nominees, and his undisguised regard for personal loyalty, was widely seen as an early indication of his determination to aggressively pursue the major changes in government structure and policy that he had promised during his campaign.

Executive orders

Major Executive Orders Issued by U.S. Pres. Donald Trump During His Second Term

Trump's declared intention to change government structure and policy was confirmed almost immediately after his inauguration, when he began issuing dozens of far-reaching executive orders and memoranda, some of which called for actions or changes that were immediately challenged in court (*see* Major Executive Orders Issued by U.S. Pres. Donald Trump During His Second Term of Office [2025–]). Among the most controversial orders was one that, if allowed to stand, would end birthright citizenship in the United States (the unconditional acquisition of U.S. citizenship by any person born in the country), as established in the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 ("All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside"). Executive Order 14160, "Protecting the Meaning and Value of American Citizenship," denied citizenship to persons born in the United States whose biological parents are not themselves U.S. citizens or legally permanent residents. Trump's order was targeted in several lawsuits and soon blocked in nationwide injunctions issued by three federal district court judges, each of whom found the order to be obviously or at least probably unconstitutional. After appellate courts refused to reverse or delay the injunctions, the Trump administration asked the Supreme Court to intervene, arguing that the injunctions should apply only to individual plaintiffs or at most to residents of the states in which the injunctions were issued. The Court added Trump's request to the cases of its 2024–25 term and heard oral arguments from both sides on May 15, 2025.

In its decision on June 27, the Court addressed the question of whether the federal judges involved were empowered to issue nationwide injunctions against Trump's executive order—holding that "universal injunctions likely exceed the equitable authority that Congress has granted to federal courts"—but did not decide the underlying issue of whether Trump's order was in violation of the citizenship clause. The immediate, though temporary, effect of the ruling was to enable the Trump administration to continue denying birthright citizenship to about 4.4 million U.S.-born

children with at least one undocumented parent. In a separate petition filed in September 2025, Trump asked the Supreme Court to review two lower court decisions finding that the order was unconstitutional under the citizenship clause. In December the Court agreed to hear the case in its 2025–26 term.

Major Supreme Court Cases of the 2025–26 Term

Through other early executive orders, Trump

- imposed 25 percent tariffs on goods from Canada and Mexico and 10 percent tariffs on goods from China (in later executive orders and memoranda, Trump expanded tariffs to nearly all U.S. trading partners and repeatedly modified—i.e., reduced, increased, stayed, or made product-related exceptions to—existing tariffs on Canada, Mexico, China, and many other countries);
- attempted to prevent gender transition care for persons under 19 years of age, in part by forbidding government insurance programs from financing such treatment;
- mandated that government agencies recognize only two "biological" sexes, male and female;
- denied federal funding to schools that allow transgender student athletes to compete as members of girls' or women's sports teams;
- ordered a plan to prevent teachers and administrators in K–12 schools from informing students of the existence of racial and ethnic discrimination and bias or accepting a student's transgender or nonbinary identity;
- terminated diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs in all federal agencies and the U.S. military;
- withdrew the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement (2015);
- declared a "national energy emergency" to facilitate oil and gas drilling (in fulfillment of his campaign pledge to "drill baby drill!") and to overrule Biden-era restrictions on drilling and mining in Alaska;
- declared another national emergency at the southern border of the United States, calling for the "efficient and expedited removal of [undocumented] aliens" and the defunding or prosecution of "sanctuary jurisdictions";
- mandated the renaming of the Gulf of Mexico as the "Gulf of America" and the restoration of "Mount McKinley" as the name of Denali;
- effectively reinstated Schedule F, an executive order from the end of Trump's first term that reclassified career federal civil servants as "political appointees" who could be removed without cause (i.e., for reasons unrelated to their performance or behavior);
- declared English to be the official language of the United States;
- directed the secretary of education to "take all necessary steps to facilitate the closure of the Department of Education," including the transfer of its major functions to other departments or agencies or to state governments;
- called for the elimination of sanctuary jurisdictions, which limit the state or local enforcement of federal immigration laws in order to protect undocumented immigrants; and
- ordered the rescinding of federal funding for two nationwide sources of public media, National Public Radio (NPR) and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS).

The tariffs imposed through Trump's executive orders were challenged in a consolidated case, *Learning Resources* v. *Trump*, argued before the Supreme Court on November 5, 2025. On February 20, 2026, the Court ruled (6–3) that the federal law that Trump had cited as the legitimate basis of his tariff orders, the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) of 1977, did not authorize presidents to impose tariffs. On the same day, Trump criticized the Court's decision and vowed to impose a worldwide tariff of 10 percent under an existing trade law, Section 122 of the Trade Act of 1974. Unlike the IEEPA, however, Section 122 limits the size and duration of presidential tariffs to 15 percent and 150 days, respectively. One day later, on February 21, Trump increased the new tariff to 15 percent.

DOGE

What are tariffs and how do they work? Export and import duties marked each phase of the U.S.-China standoff.

In another highly controversial and legally disputed executive order, Trump created a new advisory organization, the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), whose official purpose was to "moderniz[e] Federal technology and software to maximize governmental efficiency and productivity." Headed by Trump's outspoken supporter Elon Musk—the owner of X (formerly Twitter), the CEO of SpaceX and Tesla, and the world's richest person—DOGE was almost immediately sued by a public-interest group for violating a 1970s law governing the membership and transparency of federal advisory committees. In conversations with Trump from the summer of 2024, Musk promoted the idea of a new federal department that would make the government more efficient by identifying what Musk considered "wasteful" spending. After Trump's election in November 2024, Musk publicly announced his goal of reducing government spending by $2 trillion. In keeping with Musk's rather expansive vision of "modernizing Federal technology and software," his staff members demanded and were eventually granted access to sensitive government databases, including those used by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as to the payment system of the U.S. Treasury Department. Some critics thus viewed DOGE as a surreptitious means by which Musk, on Trump's behalf, could take direct financial control of all executive departments and agencies. DOGE eventually directed the firing of thousands of career civil servants and drastic budget cuts for several federal departments and agencies. Musk's reign at DOGE was short-lived, however. He stepped down from DOGE after just a few months in May 2025, declaring in an interview that he was "disappointed" with Trump's signature budget bill—the

"One Big Beautiful Bill Act" (OBBBA)—for potentially increasing the budget deficit and undermining the cost-cutting measures that DOGE had implemented.

ICE raids and deportations

Trump's order regarding sanctuary jurisdictions was in keeping with his campaign promise of mass deportations. In a revival of his efforts during his first term, the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency and newly appointed "border czar" Tom Homan, who had served as the head of ICE during Trump's first term, worked at rounding up, detaining, and deporting as many undocumented immigrants as possible. ICE agents and other federal officers conducted numerous raids on communities and workplaces; they also targeted schools, hospitals, churches, and even immigrant courthouses, where undocumented immigrants were normally permitted to request temporary or permanent residence. Such raids were actively opposed by residents and leaders of sanctuary jurisdictions. In July 2025 Trump signed the OBBBA into law, thereby providing $75 billion in extra funding for ICE over a four year period.

In response to ICE raids conducted in downtown Los Angeles (in the sanctuary state of California) in early June 2025, local residents began demonstrations against immigrant arrests, and some early protesters committed violent acts against local police officers, who then broke up large crowds. Without consulting California's Democratic governor Gavin Newsom, Trump ordered the deployment of 4,000 National Guard troops in the city to assist local police. Trump later deployed ICE agents, National Guard troops, and federal officers in several other cities and rural areas across the country.

In the summer of 2025, a federal district court in Los Angeles issued a temporary restraining order to ensure that ICE agents stopped and detained people solely on the basis of a reasonable suspicion of their undocumented status rather than their race or ethnicity, their spoken language, their accent, or their jobs or workplaces. After a federal appeals court refused to reverse the lower court's order, Trump's solicitor general asked for emergency relief from the Supreme Court. In a controversial "shadow docket" ruling, the Court temporarily lifted the district court's order.

Protesters in Portland, OregonMany protesters wore inflatable frog costumes during "No Kings" rallies on October 18, 2025, as a sign of resistance.

As ICE operations expanded, dozens of videos surfaced of masked agents smashing car windows, dragging people out of vehicles, and using other means of force to apprehend supposedly undocumented immigrants or to combat American protesters.

The Trump administration's immigration crackdown became one of several issues addressed in historically large demonstrations in some 2,000 cities and towns throughout the country. The so-called "No Kings" rallies of 2025 took place on June 14—the date of an unusual military parade that Trump had scheduled in honor of the 250th anniversary of the U.S. Army (June 14 was also Trump's 79th birthday)—and October 18, and a third rally occurred on March 28, 2026. The three rallies were among the ten largest single-day demonstrations in the history of the United States.

Demonstration on behalf of Renee Nicole Good Protesters take part in a vigil for Renee Nicole Good in Oakland, California, on Wednesday, Jan. 7, 2025. Good, a legal observer, was fatally shot by an ICE agent in Minneapolis, Minnesota on the same day.

In January 2026 an ICE agent shot and killed an American citizen, Renee Nicole Good, at an ICE protest in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Only a few days later, her death—and the shooting of two Venezuelan immigrants in Portland, Oregon—prompted more than 1,000 additional demonstrations against ICE and Trump's immigration policies. Later in January, Alex Pretti, an ICU nurse and American citizen, was shot and killed by federal officers at a Minneapolis protest.

Trump's direction of traditionally independent departments and agencies

While issuing his plethora of executive orders, Trump took steps toward fulfilling other campaign promises, including his vow to remove Justice Department officials and FBI officers involved in the prosecution of January 6 rioters and the investigation and indictment of Trump himself—for attempting to overturn the 2020 presidential

election and for removing classified documents from the White House (the last two cases were dropped before Trump's inauguration).

In one of the first executive orders of his second term, Trump directed the U.S. attorney general to review investigations and prosecutions by law-enforcement or intelligence agencies under the Biden administration. The order cited as an example the Justice Department's prosecution of nearly 1,600 participants in the January 6 attack. On the day he signed the order, Trump also pardoned nearly all of the rioters and commuted the sentences or dismissed the pending indictments of others. The Justice Department and other federal agencies then removed officials directly or indirectly involved in the earlier cases against Trump. The department also filed charges against former FBI director James Comey, who had overseen the FBI's investigation of Russia's influence over Trump's 2016 campaign; Democratic Sen. Adam Schiff, who as a member of the House of Representatives (2001–24) had played a prominent role in various investigations of Trump; and New York attorney general Letitia James, who had successfully prosecuted Trump for civil and criminal business fraud. The charges in all three cases were later dismissed.

Trump filed or threatened numerous criminal and civil charges against his political opponents, against law firms or individual lawyers involved in his indictments or prosecutions, against news media, against networks that aired popular programs in which he was criticized or satirized, and against businesses, state and local governments, and schools with diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs. He also filed civil suits and cut federal funding for colleges and universities. Faced with such punishment, some schools agreed to modify their hiring practices and revise their academic programs to include clearly conservative faculty and ideas. In the view of many scholars, however, the Trump administration weakened the American tradition of academic freedom.

In January 2026 Trump sued the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the U.S. Department of the Treasury for $10 billion, citing the disclosure of information showing that he had paid little or nothing in federal income taxes in the years prior to his first presidential term (*see above* Early life and business career). The IRS contractor who had leaked Trump's returns to news outlets between 2018 and 2020 was convicted of stealing the information and sentenced to five years in prison in 2025. Trump's suit was quite controversial, in part because the targeted departments were led by Trump loyalists who were unlikely to oppose him in court. In May 2026, while a district court judge conducted an initial examination to determine whether the suit should be heard or dismissed, the Trump administration announced its own settlement, which established a $1.8 billion fund to compensate Trump supporters who claimed to have been unfairly investigated or prosecuted and prohibited further audits of earlier tax returns by Trump, his sons, and the Trump Organization. Later that month, the judge who had initially assessed Trump's suit decided to reopen the case to determine whether it amounted to an act of fraud. In addition, another judge issued an order prohibiting the fund's creation until a direct legal challenge could be heard in June.

Partisan redistricting

Following the decennial census of 2020, the dominant political parties in many states took advantage of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Rucho* v. *Common Cause* (2019), which declared that disputes regarding political gerrymandering (the redrawing of electoral districts in a way that gives one party a clear advantage over another) were not decidable by federal courts. Some state governments controlled by a single party then openly gerrymandered congressional districts to increase the party's representation in Congress.

In the summer of 2025, Trump urged the state of Texas to hold a special redistricting session five years before the next decennial census. As he publicly acknowledged, the purpose of the gerrymandering would be to add five more Republican congressional representatives in the midterm elections of 2026, thus preventing Democrats from overcoming the Republicans' narrow majority in the House of Representatives. Trump also urged other Republican-controlled states to conduct similar gerrymanders. In response, California's Democratic governor Gavin Newsom announced that his state would conduct its own redistricting to prevent Republicans from unjustly retaining their House majority. A few other Democratic governors, accusing Republicans of undermining American democracy, also indicated their willingness to facilitate political gerrymandering in their states. After a federal district court in Texas issued a preliminary injunction preventing the state from using its 2025 map in the midterm elections—on the ground that the new map was based on racial gerrymandering—Texas filed an emergency appeal with the Supreme Court, asking that it stay the lower court's order. On December 4, 2025, the Court granted the state's request. Exactly two months later, on February 4, 2026, the Court denied a request by California Republicans to stay a lower court's order permitting California to use its new congressional map (adopted in November 2025) in the midterm elections.

In a later monumental decision, *Louisiana* v. *Callais* (2026), the Supreme Court declared that Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which had been designed to end racially discriminatory voting practices, does not justify racial gerrymandering in the states for the purpose of increasing or maintaining the voting power of minority populations (e.g., by creating minority-majority voting districts), because doing so would amount to discrimination against the states' racial majorities. Nor does Section 2 prevent redistricting that happens to reduce the voting power of minorities, according to the Court, as long as it is officially undertaken for a different purpose, as in political gerrymandering. Following the *Callais* ruling, additional states performed or at least considered gerrymandering on political grounds.

Trump's elimination of climate change regulation by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

In keeping with Trump's campaign promises to revive oil and gas drilling in the United States and his executive order declaring a "national energy emergency" (*see above*, Trump's second presidential term: Executive orders), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), now directed by Trump loyalists, officially revoked its historic "endangerment finding" of 2009, which justified the regulation of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions under the Clean Air Act (1970). The finding declared that such pollution poses a serious threat to human health and welfare by causing significant climate change. Trump's agency thus eliminated

the power of any future EPA to regulate harmful emissions from the operation of oil and gas industries and the burning of fossil fuels.

Trump's emergency petitions to the Supreme Court

Trump's campaign for a second presidential term is notable for his promises of wide-ranging and significant changes to the country's domestic and foreign policies and to the size, structure, and power of the executive branch itself. Many of the changes he initiated, however, were immediately challenged in state and federal courts on the ground that the corresponding orders were illegal or unconstitutional. In several cases, the court issued an injunction that temporarily prohibited enforcement of the order; an appeals court then declined to lift the injunction; and Trump or his administration then filed an emergency petition with Supreme Court, asking that it lift the injunction itself as soon as possible.

During the first year of his second term (2025–), Trump and his administration filed more than 30 emergency petitions, a record number as compared to other presidents and far more than predecessors Biden, Obama, or Bush. By early January of 2026, the Supreme Court had granted, at least in part, 29 emergency petitions filed by Trump or his administration.

Epstein files

The Epstein Files: A Timeline

During his 2024 campaign Trump agreed in various interviews to release information obtained in criminal investigations of Jeffrey Epstein, a financier, convicted sex offender, and former friend of Trump. After being arrested on federal sex-trafficking charges in 2019, Epstein killed himself in a Manhattan jail cell, where he had been awaiting trial. Trump's campaign promise greatly excited his supporters, who hoped the files would reveal more about Epstein's activities and ties to numerous high-powered politicians and businesspeople, including former President Bill Clinton.

For several months into Trump's second term (2025–), the administration failed to release the Epstein files it had promised, though it did supply information that had already been made public during and after investigations by state and federal agencies. Many MAGA members were greatly angered, suspecting that Trump was attempting to conceal his real relation and activities with Epstein. In July Trump further angered MAGA members in a post on Truth Social, his own social media site, in which he criticized his supporters for demanding the release of "Epstein files" that, he claimed, had actually been created by his Democratic enemies. In November 2025, after Congress reconvened following the longest government shutdown in U.S. history, Democratic members of the House Oversight Committee released three e-mails by Epstein indicating that his friendship with Trump might have been closer and lasted longer than Trump had claimed. On the same day, Republican members released some 20,000 Epstein files, many of which contained mentions of Trump.

Soon afterward, facing public pressure, Trump reversed his opposition to the passage of a bill called the Epstein Files Transparency Act, which required the release of all of the Justice Department's Epstein files, with exceptions only for ongoing investigations, national security, and the protection of survivors' identities. The bill, requiring the

release all documents by December 19, was passed by the House and Senate on November 18 and signed into law by Trump the next day.

Although hundreds of thousands of document pages were released on December 19, they included some previously released material, and hundreds of pages were completely black, having been redacted. Almost immediately, some lawmakers and Epstein survivors decried the release as incomplete. Deputy Attorney General Todd Blanche then acknowledged that the Justice Department had not completed its review of the files, saying he expected that the review would take several more weeks. At the end of January 2026 Blanche announced the Justice Department's new release of more than 3 million document pages, as well as about 2,000 videos and 180,000 images.

Venezuela, Greenland, and Iran

In early September 2025 the U.S. military began a series of strikes against Venezuelan vessels suspected of smuggling illegal drugs into the United States. During the next four months an estimated 30 bombings of civilian boats in the Caribbean and eastern Pacific resulted in the deaths of more than 100 people. Although Trump claimed to be preventing the dangerous accumulation of fentanyl and cocaine in the country, he provided no evidence that the boats destroyed in the bombings had been carrying illegal drugs.

Trump also ordered the deployment of military vessels in the Caribbean to prevent oil tankers from leaving or entering Venezuelan ports. A blockade was necessary, according to the Trump administration, to prevent Venezuela from using oil exports to fund its drug smuggling activities.

The arraignment of Nicolás Maduro and Cilia Flores :Courtroom sketch of Nicolás Maduro (foreground) and Cilia Flores (seated, right) during their arraignment at a federal court in Manhattan, January 5, 2026.

In early January 2026, the U.S. military captured Venezuela's president, Nicolás Maduro, and his wife, Cilia Flores, and flew them to the United States, where Maduro and others, including Flores, faced charges related to drug trafficking. Trump then proclaimed that the United States would "run" Venezuela until a "safe, judicious, and proper" transition could take place, with a particular focus on allowing American oil companies to manage the oil-rich country's struggling nationalized industry.

Soon after the military raid in Venezuela, Trump repeated his earlier declarations regarding America's need to "acquire" Greenland, an administrative division of the kingdom of Denmark and the largest island in the world. According to Trump, ownership of Greenland was necessary to ensure the national security of the United States, given that control of the island could be used to prevent military operations in the Arctic Ocean by Russia or China. While Trump repeatedly announced his desire to purchase Greenland from Denmark, he also threatened to take the island by force should Denmark refuse such a sale. Trump's plans for Greenland were vigorously opposed by Denmark and other member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

In late February 2026 the United States and Israel launched a series of coordinated attacks against Iran, aiming to destroy its nuclear facilities and to overthrow its government. The strikes followed Trump's repeated threats to invade the country unless it agreed to dismantle its nuclear program. Trump also promised to support mass antigovernment protests throughout Iran that had begun in late December 2025, declaring at one point that "help is on its way." The attacks on February 28 resulted in the death of Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and many other Iranian officials, as well as more than 160 children and staff in a girls' school near an Iranian naval base. Operation Epic Fury, as the United States labeled its offensive, soon became a massive military conflict, as coordinated bombings and missile attacks continued throughout the country while Iran conducted its own missile attacks against military and civilian targets in Israel and other countries. One result of the conflict was the blockage of the Strait of Hormuz, through which oil was shipped to countries around the world. Oil shortages and increased oil prices followed immediately after that.

For months after the start of the war, Trump repeatedly announced both imminent peace deals with Iran and immediate attacks on the country should it continue military operations or fail to agree to Trump's demands. In June of 2026 the U.S. and Iran reached a "Memorandum of Understanding" that officially put an end to the war and established a 60-day period of continued negotiations regarding Iran's nuclear capabilities.

Return of the emoluments clause controversy

Also from the start of his second term, Democrats and a few Republicans resumed their criticism of Trump over the U.S. Constitution's emoluments clause, which generally prohibits federal officeholders from accepting gifts, payments, or other items of value from foreign states or rulers without congressional permission. Trump's actions included acceptance of unreported foreign donations to the inaugural ceremony of his second term; his promotion of a cryptocurrency meme coin ($TRUMP) available to foreign customers through World Liberty Financial, his family's cryptocurrency firm (First Lady Melania Trump introduced her own meme coin, $MELANIA, shortly thereafter); and his announced intention to accept a $400 million Boeing 747-8 airplane from the government of Qatar as a luxurious replacement of Air Force One. In defense of some of his activities, Trump's allies pointed out that he was not in direct control of any firm from which he might benefit financially (there are "no conflicts of interest," according to a presidential spokesperson, because Trump's

"assets are in a trust managed by his children"). Trump himself defended his acceptance of Qatar's Boeing 747 by claiming that the U.S. government would otherwise have to spend a great deal of money to replace the current Air Force One, which he deemed "much less impressive" than the official planes of other countries.

A possible third assassination attempt

Shooting at the White House Correspondents' Dinner : Pres. Donald Trump is evacuated from a hotel ballroom where the White House Correspondents' Dinner was taking place, April 25, 2026.

On April 25, 2026, at the annual White House Correspondent's Dinner in Washington, D.C., Trump and other attendants were quickly escorted out of the ballroom where the dinner was taking place, in response to nearby gunfire between a shooter and law enforcement officers. The shooter did not enter the ballroom and was immediately detained. No one in the ballroom was injured, though an officer wearing a bullet-proof vest was shot and later briefly hospitalized.

Style and rhetoric

Trump's personal style is unusual, if not unique, among national political figures in modern U.S. history. In part reflecting his experiences as a prominent figure in the New York real estate industry, Trump is fiercely competitive as well as intensely concerned with demonstrating his success and accomplishments to others. Indeed, from the very beginning of his career, he has cultivated and cherished his reputation as a shrewd businessman, an image that often aided him in his real estate dealings and which he eventually exploited as a brand beginning in the 1990s. That concern, however, has been accompanied by an unusual sensitivity to criticism and a tendency to retaliate harshly against those who, in his view, betrayed him or treated him unfairly. His longtime mentor, friend, and legal adviser Roy Cohn (who had assisted Joseph McCarthy's investigations of alleged communist subversion in the U.S. government in the 1950s) encouraged him in the latter regard, counseling him on numerous occasions never to apologize (because it is a sign of weakness) and always to hit back harder than you are hit, as Trump put the lesson in *The Art of the Deal*. As he declared in a tweet in 2012, "When someone attacks me, I always attack back…except 100× more. This has nothing to do with a tirade but rather, a way of life!"

In keeping with his bellicose and confrontational style, Trump in his business career characteristically used blunt language as a weapon against his rivals and adversaries, pointedly insulting or belittling them in the press in retaliation for their real or perceived slights. Perhaps surprisingly, Trump did not significantly alter his style or temper his rhetoric upon his entry into politics, notwithstanding the conventional view that success in politics is necessarily a matter of persuasion and compromise rather than "hitting back harder." The advent of Twitter in 2006 eventually gave Trump (who joined the service in 2009) a larger platform for his unfiltered political comments, once he began regularly tweeting about politics in about 2011. During the presidential primaries and in the 2015–16 election campaign, Trump frequently used his Twitter account, which had more than 40 million followers, to angrily attack individual Democrats, his Republican rivals and critics, members of the news media, and others in comments that were widely perceived as aggressive, boastful, petty, vindictive, and vulgar. Trump similarly declined to filter himself in speeches, once even mocking the physical disability of a reporter he disliked.

Another unique feature of Trump's rhetoric is the extremely large number of his public statements that have been shown to be false or misleading by the press or by independent fact-checking organizations (*The Washington Post* counted more than 30,500 such claims during Trump's first presidential term). Although Trump's detractors, including some in the Republican Party, admonished him for what they considered his undignified behavior, their criticism only provoked him to make fresh attacks. Despite some speculation after his election that the weight of the presidential office and his eventual need for tangible political and diplomatic successes would lead him to adopt a more conventional demeanor, his confrontational style and rhetoric continued unchanged during his presidency, and the targets of his abuse only expanded. Trump's frequent expressions of contempt for Democrats, along with his general unwillingness to compromise with Democratic leaders in Congress, considerably worsened partisan divisions in American politics, according to many analysts. In any event, Trump certainly distinguished himself from previous U.S. presidents by his heavy use of social media. He was the first president to rely on Twitter (now X) as a primary means of communication with his political supporters and the press, using it even as a venue for semiofficial presidential statements.

Trump's rhetoric has also raised serious concerns among members of both parties about its potential damage to Americans' faith in democratic institutions, particularly freedom of the press and the rule of law. From early in his first presidential term, Trump has dismissed accurate but unfavorable press reports about him as "fake news," implying that the news organizations in question knowingly published falsehoods. After his election, Trump frequently condemned most major news organizations as "the enemy of the American people," a phrase reminiscent of totalitarian societies. The effect of his accusations was to engender distrust and hostility among his supporters toward major media outlets other than Fox News, which generally supported Trump in its reporting and which he regularly watched. Many political scientists and media scholars also pointed to more general problems, claiming that Trump's efforts to portray the press as untrustworthy had created broad confusion and uncertainty among the electorate about what was true—or even a passive and resigned attitude about the possibility of ever knowing what was true. They also worried that Trump's rhetoric would so diminish public confidence in the press that it would cease to effectively serve as a check on governmental power, the role that the

founders of the country had envisioned for it. Analogous concerns were raised about Trump's treatment of his perceived enemies in the FBI, the Justice Department, and the judiciary. His rhetoric, critics feared, would encourage people to view those traditionally apolitical and independent institutions as untrustworthy and incapable of carrying out their responsibilities objectively and impartially.

Another controversial feature of Trump's rhetoric, one that drew especially heavy criticism from civil rights organizations, was his regular appeals to racist stereotypes, his frequent indulgence in racist slurs aimed at immigrant groups, and his refusal to consistently condemn violence aimed at people of color, including several acts of police brutality against African Americans that prompted large protests in cities across the United States in the summer of 2020 (*see* Black Lives Matter). Indeed, Trump repeatedly mischaracterized the mostly peaceful demonstrations against police brutality and in support of racial justice as mob violence by anarchist thugs. Trump's detractors condemned him for such behavior and warned that he was stirring up racial animosities among his supporters and other Americans and encouraging those who already harbored such prejudices to express them more freely in public or even to act on them violently. In the final months of the 2016 presidential campaign, in the period shortly after Trump's election, and during the first three years of Trump's first term, there were notable increases in hate crimes throughout the country—ranging from vandalism and assaults to bomb threats and mass shootings—particularly against Jews, Muslims, African Americans, Latinos, and LGBTQ persons, as indicated in various studies, including the FBI's annual hate crime report. Although the validity and implications of such statistics were disputed, many researchers and journalists agreed that Trump's rhetoric had changed the country's political culture by making the public expression of hate-based and extremist attitudes more acceptable. Trump himself, meanwhile, denied that his speeches had any such effect, proclaiming on more than one occasion that he was "the least racist person" in the world.

Donald Trump Wearing a MAGA (Make America Great Again) red hat, Donald Trump speaks to supporters at a campaign rally in Fountain Hills, Arizona, March 2016.

United States Presidential Election of 2016

United States Presidential Election of 2016, American presidential election held on November 8, 2016, in which Republican Donald Trump lost the popular vote to Democrat Hillary Clinton by more than 2.8 million votes but won 30 states and the decisive electoral college with 304 electoral votes to Clinton's 227 and thus became the 45th president of the United States.

The tumultuous, abrasive 2016 campaign defied established political norms. Clinton's campaign featured superior organization and fund-raising—and almost every election-eve poll pointed to a comfortable victory for her—but Trump's anti-Washington appeal to white working-class voters outside major cities in pivotal manufacturing states proved to be the key factor in what several publications called "the most stunning upset in American history." The election of an outsider with no political job experience represented a major repudiation of business as usual by both parties in Washington, D.C.

At various times Trump blamed party establishments for costly intervention in foreign conflicts, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, stagnant real wages, excessive political correctness, and failure to enforce immigration laws. Bypassing traditional information sources by use of social media, including his personal Twitter account, Trump often set the agenda for coverage of his campaign. He frequently communicated spontaneously and instinctively—not to mention emotionally—without apparent benefit of in-depth calculation or staff advice, and he often later modified or even contradicted previous positions without being penalized by supporters.

At a glance: the election of 2016

Background

2016 Republican U.S. presidential nomination candidates : Candidates for the 2016 Republican U.S. presidential nomination: (top row, left to right) Ted Cruz, Ben Carson, Marco Rubio, Jeb Bush, and Rand Paul; (bottom row, left to right) Scott Walker, Chris Christie, Donald Trump, Mike Huckabee, and John Kasich.

As the political parties began their nomination process in 2015, the Republican Party (GOP) looked to be in a solid position. Many voters expressed a desire for change. Moreover, Democrats seemed likely to put forward an uninspiring candidate. Outgoing Pres. Barack Obama had presided over eight years of steady economic expansion following the 2008 worldwide financial meltdown, but many new jobs were not full-time, and the recovery was slow by historical standards. The president's signature domestic accomplishment, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, or "Obamacare," was failing financially. With Chinese, Russian, and Iranian influence surging, the U.S. appeared to be in retreat from its traditional foreign policy dominance. Republican prospects appeared so promising that an unprecedented 17 presidential candidates, many of them successful governors or senators, threw their hats into the ring, guaranteeing a complicated winnowing-down process.

Bernie Sanders : U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders speaking with supporters at a rally at Southern New Hampshire University in Hooksett, New Hampshire, January 2016.

By contrast, with her mainstream credentials burnished by four years as Obama's secretary of state, Clinton enjoyed solid backing from the Democratic establishment. A surprising and spirited challenge emerged, however, from Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, a self-proclaimed Democratic Socialist. He campaigned on reducing economic inequality, opposing trade agreements, easing student debt, and cracking down on Wall Street interests, a significant source of Clinton support. Sanders, who energized both young and grassroots voters, stayed in the race until the convention, pushing Clinton to adopt more-progressive policies.

Trump's initial decision to run was greeted with derision by some GOP strategists. He had never held elective office and appeared out of sync with the party's conservative base. Trump was a onetime supporter of abortion rights who had only recently changed his views, and he openly acknowledged having made campaign contributions to Democrats to buy political influence. He ridiculed opponents in both parties—often in personal terms that were widely viewed as politically incorrect—and made inflated promises and statements whose likelihood or veracity was questioned by major media.

Republican primaries

As the primary process began in 2015, Clinton and former Florida governor Jeb Bush each quickly raised over $100 million in campaign contributions and were strong favorites for their party's nomination. Trump soon emerged at the top of the crowded GOP field, however, thanks to a brash antiestablishment style that proved irresistible to cable-television news outlets and magnetized middle-income voters. Even as aides and advisers urged caution, Trump was unpredictable and rarely scripted. Remarks that he made about Mexican immigrants ("They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people") alienated Latino voters. He repeatedly promised to build "a big, beautiful" border wall and to force Mexico to pay for it. He called for a ban on Muslim immigration. He employed unscripted humor, telling one rally, "We're gonna win, win, win! And we're gonna make America great again!" "Make America Great Again" became the oft-repeated slogan of Trump's campaign.

Trump's use of personal invective was, at times, devastating. The "laid-back" Bush had no effective comeback for Trump's accusation that he was "low energy," and he was among the early primary dropouts. Trump's assaults on Sen. Marco Rubio ("Little Marco") and Sen. Ted Cruz ("Lyin' Ted") were equally telling. Even when he outraged many observers by insulting rival Carly Fiorina's physical appearance, Trump refused to apologize.

Cruz won Iowa, the first caucus state, but Trump followed up with victories in New Hampshire and across the South, including South Carolina, where evangelical Christians were numerous. Cruz won several additional states, mostly lower-turnout caucus battles. Trump won Florida, Rubio's home state, and Cruz withdrew in early May, effectively ceding the nomination to Trump. His abrasive tactics, however, helped to build a solid core of "Never Trumpers" among the GOP establishment, including officials from the presidential administrations of both George H.W. Bush and George W. Bush and large donors to their campaigns. Additionally, Trump's constant ridicule of national news media (whom he called "among the most dishonest people that I've ever met") was met with unprecedented negative news stories and press opposition.

Conventions

As the two parties staged their conventions in July, Clinton established a large lead over Trump in opinion polls nationwide and in 11 important swing states. The Republican convention in Cleveland was only mildly successful, marred by lackluster staging and signs of GOP disunity. Ohio Gov. John Kasich, yet another of Trump's vanquished Republican opponents, was among numerous party luminaries refusing to attend the convention (even though it was in his own state), and Senator Cruz was booed off the stage when he failed to issue an outright endorsement of Trump. Trump's wife, Melania, was accused of plagiarizing part of her speech from Michelle Obama.

By contrast, the Democratic convention in Philadelphia featured well-received addresses from former president Bill Clinton, Vice Pres. Joe Biden, and both Obamas.

In response, Trump promptly unleashed Twitter attacks on the Muslim parents of a U.S. soldier killed in Iraq after they criticized him at the Democratic convention. The Trump campaign spent days defending the tweets at a time when he lagged in the polls and needed to establish his campaign issues.

General election campaign

At one low point in August, news reports suggested that Trump's second campaign manager, Paul Manafort, may have taken cash payments from a pro-Russia Ukrainian political party. Trump reshuffled his team again and began relying heavily on his vice presidential pick, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, plus Steve Bannon, a former executive of the conservative news network Breitbart News, and new campaign manager Kellyanne Conway.

•**Read more:** *How the election of 2016 was marked by not one, but two, "October surprises."*

As is often the case, campaign mistakes produced the most news. Clinton told a fund-raising audience in September that half of Trump's supporters belonged in a "basket of deplorables…. Racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic, you name it." After the remark was castigated as condescending, Clinton issued an apology but stood by her general sentiments. She also sustained a setback when she apparently collapsed while leaving a memorial event for the September 11 attacks in New York City, the incident underscoring Trump's hints that she was not up to the rigors of the presidency. Clinton aides later revealed she was recovering from pneumonia.

Trump was embarrassed by the release of an unaired tape from a 2005 episode of television's *Access Hollywood* that showed him, then headlining a reality TV show, privately bragging about taking sexual liberties with women ("When you're a star…you can do anything…. Grab them by the pussy"). Trump first dismissed the conversation as "locker room banter," and he claimed that Bill Clinton had made even lewder remarks about women. When Trump denied that he had ever made unwanted advances, more than a dozen women stepped forward to accuse him of doing exactly that.

With a month remaining in the campaign, WikiLeaks again intervened, undertaking the release of nearly 50,000 e-mails from the account of John Podesta, Clinton's campaign manager, who had fallen for a password phishing operation. By that time federal agents strongly suspected that Russian actors were WikiLeaks' sources. The e-mails were largely irritants, revealing staff doubts about Clinton Foundation ethics, journalists cozying up to Podesta, and acting DNC head Donna Brazile furnishing Clinton with debate questions obtained from her part-time perch as a Cable News Network (CNN) contributor. But the daily drip clearly interfered with the Clinton campaign's efforts to drive its own message in the final weeks.

Donald Trump campaigning in 2016 : Donald Trump at a rally in Akron, Ohio, August 2016.

By October Trump's new team had persuaded the candidate to modify his stream-of-consciousness style and to deliver his rally speeches with the use of a teleprompter. This ensured that every speech would have a substantive policy framework focused on his core strategy—appealing to middle-class, mostly white voters in Midwestern states hard hit by globalization and job losses. Trump campaigned energetically in Ohio, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania (all won by Democrat Obama in 2012; see) and also made frequent stops in North Carolina and Florida. He emphasized his opposition to "one-sided" and "unfair" trade deals that he blamed for job losses, and he began promising to "drain the swamp" in Washington, D.C., of corrupt politicians and outside interests. Trump also made some efforts to court African American voters—who traditionally voted Democratic—citing abysmal crime and school quality in minority neighborhoods and asking, "What the hell do you have to lose?"

Hillary Clinton Hillary Clinton at a campaign rally, 2016.

While Trump advocated change, Clinton largely promised a continuation of Obama's policies. She advocated even more attention to climate change and improvements to—but not the revocation of—Obamacare. Polls showed Clinton winning three largely uneventful debates in which she demonstrated a superior grasp of issues and details. Her campaign crowds, however, were usually smaller and less enthusiastic than were Trump's.

A long-standing controversy over Clinton's use, while secretary of state, of a private e-mail server located in her Chappaqua, New York, home erupted again in a late campaign surprise. Existence of the server had been discovered two years after Clinton left office by a GOP-dominated House committee investigating the 2012 attack

on a U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya. At that point Clinton had turned over some 31,000 e-mails to investigators but ordered an equal number of personal e-mails destroyed. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began a prolonged investigation that had little effect on the Democratic nomination (largely because Sanders declared that "the American people are sick and tired of hearing about your damn e-mails").
In early July 2016 FBI Director James Comey finally issued his report, declaring that while Clinton had been "extremely careless" in her handling of national security information, he lacked proof of any criminal intent by Clinton or her team. Attorney General Loretta Lynch (who had held a controversial unscheduled meeting the previous week with Bill Clinton in a jet parked at the Phoenix airport) announced that Hillary would not be prosecuted. When Comey explained his decision to a raucous House committee hearing, he took heavy fire from Republicans. On October 28, just 11 days prior to the election, Comey wrote a letter to Congress announcing that the FBI was reopening the server matter after having found a trove of new e-mails on a laptop owned by Anthony Weiner, a disgraced former congressman married to top Clinton aide Huma Abedin. Comey's letter was sent over the objections of top Justice Department officials. Two days before election day, Comey declared that the e-mails did not change the investigation's conclusions and again closed the case; the e-mails reportedly were duplicates of already-examined documents.

Hillary Clinton Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton pausing as she speaks during a campaign rally in Raleigh, North Carolina, November 8, 2016.

In the wake of the unsettling episode, Clinton's lead—which had reached six points in some surveys—eroded. Final preelection polling indicated that she held a modest lead of around 3.2 percent in the national popular vote but enjoyed a solid advantage in most swing states where election campaigning was centered. On election eve, among 11 targeted states, Trump had a clear lead in only two—Ohio and Iowa. But as polls closed on November 8, closely fought Florida and North Carolina joined the Trump column, followed unexpectedly by Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan. States targeted by Clinton that usually voted Republican, including Georgia and Arizona, held firm for the GOP. Voting also produced continued Republican control of Congress but with slightly reduced margins in both the House and the Senate.

Donald Trump and Mike Pence Donald Trump and Mike Pence on election night in 2016. Their relationship grew strained after the 2020 election when Trump asked Pence to halt the certification of the election results. Pence refused and was sought out by rioters on Capitol Hill on January 6, 2021.

Exit polls revealed that Trump had won a record 58 percent share of the diminishing white vote (to 37 percent for Clinton) and had actually performed slightly better among Latinos and blacks than had 2012 GOP nominee Mitt Romney. Clinton had a 52–43 percent advantage among voters with a college degree, while Trump won the nondegreed vote by eight points. On issues, Clinton had an 11-point advantage on ability to handle the economy, viewed as the most important issue. Trump won the day by portraying himself as a change agent, prevailing by 83–14 percent among the two-fifths of voters who said that ability to "bring needed change" was the most important quality they were seeking. Overall, the two candidates were the least popular candidates in recent history, with personal disapproval ratings on election day of 54 percent for Clinton and 61 percent for Trump.

Aftermath

Trump's largely unexpected victory further exacerbated a deep political divide in the U.S., prompting explosions of anger and frustration among Democrats, progressives, academics, urban residents, and entertainment industry figures. Clinton and her allies had raised and spent a record $1.2 billion during the election, nearly double the resources accumulated by the winner, and Clinton supporters lashed out at the results, variously blaming Comey, Russian computer hacking, "fake news" generated by questionable Internet sites, and the undemocratic nature of the electoral college for her defeat. Clinton's 2.8 million popular vote margin, unprecedented for a losing candidate, was concentrated in states with large urban populations and included a 4.2 million vote margin in California alone.

For their part, Republicans largely dismissed the criticisms as postelection efforts to undermine the legitimacy of Trump's pending presidency. The Democratic loss, they argued, was actually caused by numerous Clinton camp shortcomings, ranging from Clinton's e-mail server decisions and her uninspiring stump performances to her failure to actively campaign in closely fought states with large blue-collar cohorts such as Michigan and especially Wisconsin, which she never visited at all during the general election campaign.

Under prompting from Democrats, the heads of 17 U.S. intelligence agencies agreed that Russia had engaged in a systematic effort to influence the election in Trump's favor, including the hacking incidents. The revelations prompted demands for an investigation by the new Congress in 2017.

Trump and the MAGA revolution

Donald Trump Donald Trump speaking at a rally in Hershey, Pennsylvania, a month after winning the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

The 2016 presidential election was a watershed moment for the Republican Party. The party's nomination was captured by businessman and television personality Donald Trump, who easily defeated more-mainstream Republican candidates such as Jeb Bush and Ted Cruz in the primaries. Trump's far-right social positions and outspoken hostility toward immigrants made a number of mainstream Republicans concerned that he was setting the party up for a Goldwater-esque landslide electoral defeat. But, to the surprise of most political pundits, he won the Electoral College despite amassing almost three million fewer popular votes than Democrat Hillary Clinton, giving Republicans the presidency for the first time in eight years to go alongside the party's retention of power in both chambers of Congress. Trump continued to defy political norms after taking office, and his presidency was plagued by controversy, especially allegations that his campaign had colluded with Russia to secure his election. Although he enjoyed solid support among Republicans, some believed that he was causing irreparable harm to the party. His overall approval ratings were typically low, and in the 2018 midterms Democrats retook control of the House.

During Trump's presidency, the party fractured between Republican traditionalists and the emerging pro-Trump MAGA (Make America Great Again) movement. In September 2019 it was revealed that Trump had attempted to pressure Ukrainian Pres. Volodymyr Zelensky into launching an investigation into presumptive Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden in exchange for the release of hundreds of millions of dollars in congressionally approved security assistance. The subsequent investigation of the Ukraine scandal led to Trump's impeachment in the House in December 2019, although he was acquitted in the Senate the following month. As the COVID-19 pandemic killed hundreds of thousands of Americans and brought the

economy to a standstill in 2020, Trump drew criticism for downplaying the effects of the disease and for the scattershot federal response. After Biden was victorious in the 2020 presidential election, Trump refused to concede, instead promoting a web of baseless conspiracy theories about election interference.

The January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol : Supporters of defeated incumbent Pres. Donald Trump erected a gallows outside the U.S. Capitol on the morning of January 6, 2021.

On January 6, 2021, thousands of Trump supporters violently stormed the U.S. Capitol during a joint session of Congress, temporarily halting the certification of the election results and disrupting the peaceful transfer of power. A week later, Trump was impeached by the House for a second time—in this case, for his role in inspiring the attack on the Capitol. Unlike the first impeachment, in which voting broke down largely along party lines, several prominent Republicans—including Liz Cheney in the House and Susan Collins and Ben Sasse in the Senate—voted to convict Trump of "incitement of insurrection." Trump was ultimately acquitted in the Senate. In the immediate aftermath of the attack on the Capitol, it seemed that Trump's political career was finished, but before long, current and prospective Republican office holders were journeying to Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida to seek his endorsement. Trump and the MAGA movement had survived January 6, but Republican candidates underperformed in the 2022 midterm elections. Although the Republicans won control of the House, it was by a narrow margin, and Democrats retained control of the Senate.

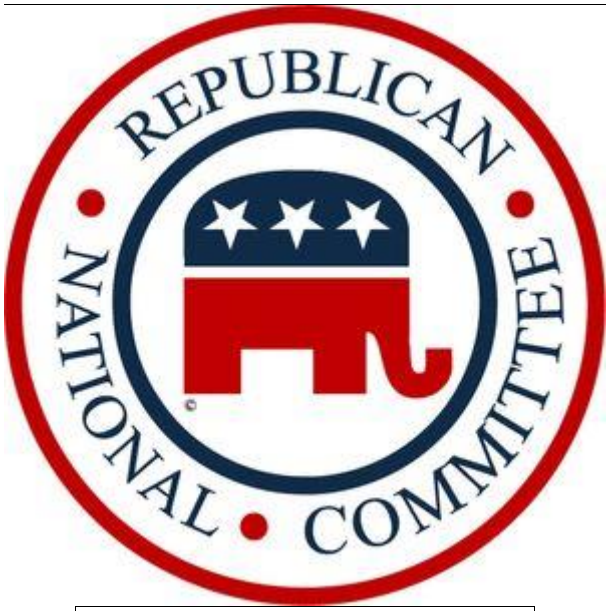
Policy and structure

Although its founders refused to recognize the right of states and territories to practice slavery, the modern Republican Party supports states' rights against the power of the federal government in most cases, and it opposes the federal regulation of traditionally state and local matters, such as policing and education. Because the party is highly decentralized (as is the Democratic Party), it encompasses a wide variety of opinion on certain issues, though it is ideologically more unified at the national level than the Democratic Party is. The Republicans advocate reduced taxes as a means of stimulating the economy and advancing individual economic freedom. They tend to oppose extensive government regulation of the economy, government-funded social programs, affirmative action, and policies aimed at strengthening the rights of workers. Many Republicans, though not all, favor increased government regulation of the private, noneconomic lives of citizens in some areas, such as abortion, though most

Republicans also strongly oppose gun-control legislation. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to support organized prayer in public schools and to oppose the legal recognition of equal rights for gays and lesbians (*see* gay rights movement). Regarding foreign policy, the Republican Party traditionally has supported a strong national defense and the aggressive pursuit of U.S. national security interests, even when it entails acting unilaterally or in opposition to the views of the international community.

Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party formulate their platforms quadrennially at national political conventions, which are held to nominate the parties' presidential candidates. The conventions take place in the summer of each presidential election year; by tradition, the incumbent party holds its convention second. The Republican National Convention typically gathers some 2,000 delegates who are selected during the winter and spring.

Until the 1970s, few nationwide rules governed the selection of delegates to the Republican National Convention. After the Democratic Party adopted a system based on state primaries and caucuses, the Republicans followed suit. More than 40 states now select delegates to the Republican convention through primary elections, while several other states choose delegates through caucuses. Virtually all Republican primaries allocate delegates on a "winner-take-all" basis, so that the candidate who wins the most votes in a state is awarded all the delegates of that state. In contrast, almost all Democratic primaries allocate delegates based on the proportion of the vote each candidate receives. As a result, the Republicans tend to choose their presidential nominees more quickly than the Democrats do, often long before the summer nominating convention, leaving the convention simply to ratify the winner of the primaries.



Republican National Committee logo

In addition to confirming the party's presidential nominee and adopting the party platform, the national convention formally chooses a national committee to organize the next convention and to govern the party until the next convention is held. The Republican National Committee (RNC) consists of about 150 party leaders representing all U.S. states and territories. Its chairman is typically named by the party's presidential nominee and then formally elected by the committee. Republican

members of the House and the Senate organize themselves into party conferences that elect the party leaders of each chamber. In keeping with the decentralized nature of the party, each chamber also creates separate committees to raise and disburse funds for House and Senate election campaigns. Although Republican congressional party organizations maintain close informal relationships with the RNC, they are formally separate from it and not subject to its control. Similarly, state party organizations are not subject to direct control by the national committee.

Donald Trump

Official portrait, 2025

45th & 47th President of the United States

Incumbent

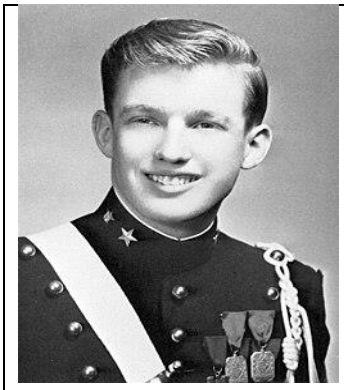
Assumed office
January 20, 2025

Vice President JD Vance

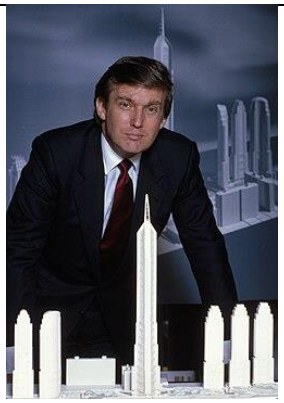
Preceded by Joe Biden

In office January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2021	
Vice President	Mike Pence
Preceded by	Barack Obama
Succeeded by	Joe Biden
Personal details	
Born	Donald John Trump June 14, 1946 (age 80) Queens, New York City, U.S.
Party	Republican (1969–1978, 1987–1999, 2009–2011, 2012–present)
Other political affiliations	• Reform (1999–2001) • Democratic (2001–2009) • Independent (2011–2012)
Spouses	• Ivana Zelníčková (m. 1977; div. 1990) • Marla Maples (m. 1993; div. 1999) • Melania Knauss

	(m. 2005)
Children	• Donald Jr. • Ivanka • Eric • Tiffany • Barron
Parents	• Fred Trump • Mary Anne MacLeod
Relatives	Trump family
Education	University of Pennsylvania (BS)
Occupation	• Politician • businessman • media personality
Signature	
Website	• White House website • Presidential library • White House archives (2017–2021)



1964 yearbook photo



In 1985 with a model of one of his aborted Manhattan development projects[35]

Entrance of the Trump Taj Mahal (now the Hard Rock Hotel & Casino) in Atlantic City, New Jersey

1985 New Jersey Generals press conference in Trump Tower

Star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame

Speaking at CPAC, February 2011

Children, sleeping mats, and foil blankets in wire mesh compartment, Ursula detention facility, June 2018

G7 leaders at the 45th summit in France, 2019

Shaking hands with Russian president Vladimir Putin during the 2018 summit in Helsinki, Finland

Conducting a COVID-19 press briefing with members of the White House Coronavirus Task Force on March 15, 2020

Displaying the headline "Trump acquitted" in 2020

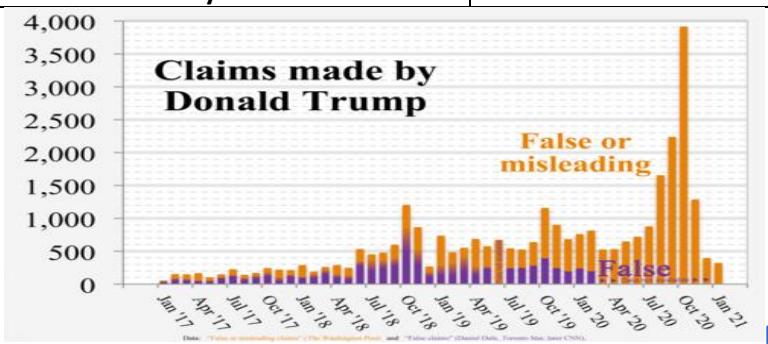
A crowd of Trump supporters during the attack

Classified intelligence material found during search of Mar-a-Lago

Taking the presidential oath of office, administered by Chief Justice John Roberts, on January 20, 2025

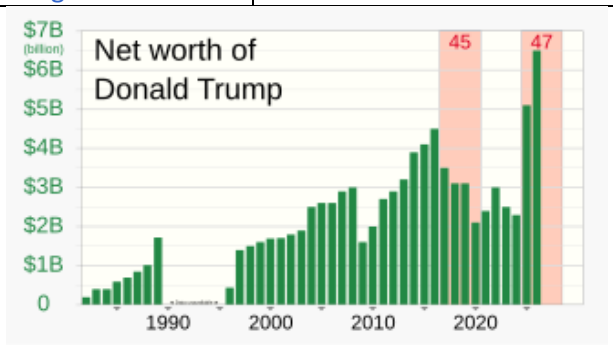
Banner at the Department of Justice as of February 2026

With a group of officials and advisors walking from the White House to St. John's Church, following the forced removal of protesters at Lafayette Square in June 2020



Fact-checkers from *The Washington Post*,[598] the *Toronto Star*,[599] and CNN[600] compiled data on "false or misleading claims" (orange background) and "false claims" (violet foreground).

Trump and wife Ivana at 1985 state dinner for King Fahd of Saudi Arabia with President Ronald Reagan and First Lady Nancy Reagan



Net worth over time, as estimated by *Forbes*[680][681]

April 2026 post

Joe Biden

46th President of the United States

[20 January 2021 <::> 20 January 2025]

Please visit:

01] https://www.bidenlibrary.gov/bidens/president-joseph-r-biden

02] https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/joseph-r-biden-jr

03] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Joe-Biden

04] President Biden Addresses a Joint Session of Congress
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bh87V3f0FaA [1:24:14]

05] Former President Joe Biden delivers remarks in South Carolina
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDkwoMLWEio [5:15:09]

06] Former President Joe Biden speaks at portrait unveiling in Syracuse
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zA25aFMaWHo [38:06]

07] Joe Biden: Former US president gives first interview since leaving the White House
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INuwqHzBFC0 [29:52]

Joe Biden (born November 20, 1942, Scranton, Pennsylvania, U.S.) is the 46th president of the United States (2021–25) and was the 47th vice president of the United States (2009–17) in the Democratic administration of Pres. Barack Obama. He previously represented Delaware in the U.S. Senate (1973–2009).

In April 2023 Joe Biden formally announced his bid for reelection as president in 2024. In July 2024, however, following his poor performance in a nationally televised debate with Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump—and under intense pressure from several leading Democrats—Biden ended his candidacy and endorsed Vice Pres. Kamala Harris to be the Democratic Party's presidential nominee. In ending his campaign, Biden became the first president since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968 to not seek reelection. Although Harris was more popular than Biden among Democratic voters, she lost the presidential election to Trump.

In an interview in early January 2025, Biden expressed regret over his decision to withdraw his candidacy, claiming that he would have beaten Trump. One week later, Biden delivered a nationally televised farewell address from the White House in which he warned of an ascending oligarchy in the United States. Without mentioning Trump, Biden deplored the efforts of ultra-wealthy individuals, including tech-company billionaires, to misuse their considerable influence to serve their own interests. Biden also decried the "crumbling" of the free press and the abandonment of fact-checking on popular social media platforms, citing "an avalanche of misinformation and disinformation" and the smothering of truth "by lies told for power and for profit."

Early life and career in the Senate

Barack Obama and Joe Biden : Joe Biden (right) talking with Barack Obama during a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 2005.

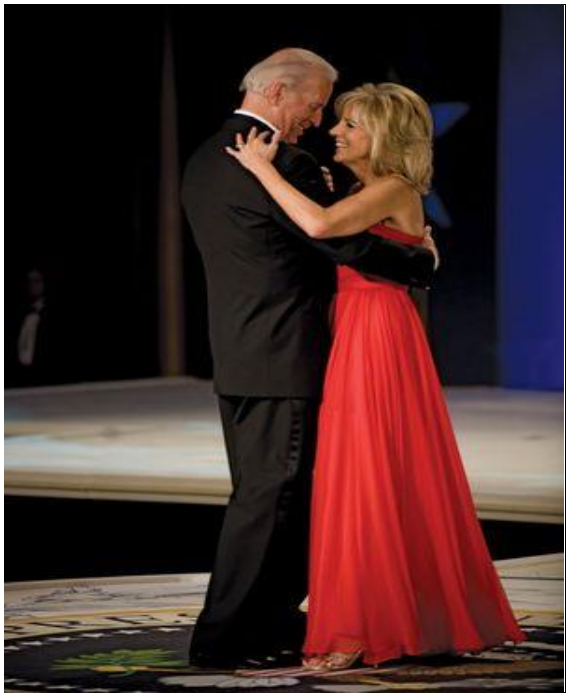
Biden, who was raised in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and New Castle county, Delaware, received a bachelor's degree from the University of Delaware in 1965 and a law degree from Syracuse University in New York in 1968. During this time he married (1966) Neilia Hunter, and the couple later had three children.

After graduating from law school, Biden returned to Delaware to work as an attorney before quickly turning to politics, serving on the New Castle county council from 1970 to 1972. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1972 at the age of 29, becoming the fifth youngest U.S. senator in history. About a month later his wife and infant daughter were killed in a car accident, and his two sons were seriously injured. Although he contemplated suspending his political career, Biden was persuaded to join the Senate in 1973, and he went on to win reelection six times, becoming Delaware's longest-serving senator. In 1977 he married Jill Jacobs, an educator, and they later had a daughter. In addition to his role as U.S. senator, Biden also was an adjunct professor (1991–2008) at the Wilmington, Delaware, branch of the Widener University School of Law.

2008 Democratic National Convention : Michelle and Barack Obama (couple at left) and Jill and Joe Biden at Invesco Field on the final night of the Democratic National Convention in Denver, August 28, 2008.

As a senator, Biden focused on foreign relations, criminal law, and drug policy. He served on the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, twice as its chair (2001–03; 2007–09), and on the Committee on the Judiciary, serving as its chair from 1987 to 1995. He was particularly outspoken on issues related to the Kosovo conflict of the late 1990s, urging U.S. action against Serbian forces to protect Kosovars against an offensive by Serbian Pres. Slobodan Milošević. On the Iraq War (2003–11) Biden proposed a partition plan as a way to maintain a united, peaceful Iraq. Biden also was a member of the International Narcotics Control Caucus and was the lead senator in writing the law that established the office of "drug czar," a position that oversees national drug-control policy.

Presidential runs and vice presidency



Joe and Jill Biden : At the Commander in Chief's Inaugural Ball in Washington, D.C., on January 20, 2009, Vice Pres. Joe Biden dances with his wife, Jill Biden.

U.S. Vice Pres. Joe Biden with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh : Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (center) and his wife, Gursharan Kaur (second from left), U.S. Vice Pres. Joe Biden (right) with his wife, Jill Biden (second from right), and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (left), 2009.

Joe and Jill Biden with Barack and Michelle Obama : Barack and Michelle Obama (couple at right) and Jill and Joe Biden waving to the crowd at the Lincoln Memorial, January 18, 2009, Washington, D.C.

Joe Biden and Dick Cheney : Outgoing Vice Pres. Dick Cheney (left) with Vice President-elect Joe Biden, November 2008.

Biden pursued the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination but withdrew after it was revealed that parts of his campaign stump speech had been plagiarized from British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock without appropriate attribution. His 2008 presidential campaign never gained momentum, and he withdrew from the race after placing fifth in the Iowa Democratic caucus in January of that year. (For coverage of the 2008 election, *see* United States Presidential Election of 2008.) After Obama amassed enough delegates to secure the Democratic presidential nomination, Biden emerged as a front-runner to be Obama's vice presidential running mate. On August 23 Obama officially announced his selection of Biden as the Democratic Party's vice presidential nominee, and on August 27 Obama and Biden secured the Democratic Party's nomination. On November 4 the Obama-Biden ticket defeated John McCain and his running mate, Sarah Palin, and Biden also easily won reelection to his U.S. Senate seat. He resigned from the Senate post shortly before taking the oath of office as vice president on January 20, 2009. In November 2012 Obama and Biden were reelected for a second term, defeating the Republican ticket of Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan.

Joe Biden, Barack Obama, and Elena Kagan : Elena Kagan (right), shortly before her official nomination as a Supreme Court justice, with Joe Biden (left) and Barack Obama, May 2010.

Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act : Pres. Barack Obama (center left) and Vice Pres. Joe Biden (center right) reacting after the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, March 21, 2010.

As vice president Biden played an active role in the Obama administration, serving as an influential adviser to Obama and a vocal supporter of his initiatives. In addition, he was tasked with notable assignments. He helped avert several budget crises and played a key role in shaping U.S. policy in Iraq. In 2015 his eldest son, Beau, died from brain cancer; Biden recounted the experience in *Promise Me, Dad: A Year of Hope, Hardship, and Purpose* (2017). Several months later, Biden—who enjoyed high favorability ratings, partly due to a candor and affable manner that resonated with the public—announced that he would not enter the 2016 presidential election, noting that the family was still grieving. Instead, he campaigned for Hillary Clinton, who ultimately lost the election to Donald Trump.

Barack Obama and Joe Biden : Joe Biden (right) and Barack Obama on the White House grounds, May 2009.

Biden's close relationship with Obama was evident when the latter surprised him with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, with distinction, on January 12, 2017, just days before they left office. When Obama presented the rarely given honor he referred to Biden as "my brother." Later that year Biden and his wife established the Biden Foundation, a charitable group involved in various causes.

Presidential election of 2020

Biden remained involved in politics and was a vocal critic of President Trump. Biden himself faced censure when, in 2019, various women accused him of inappropriate physical contact, notably hugging and kissing. Although his response was widely derided—"I'm sorry I didn't understand more....I'm not sorry for anything that I have ever done. I've never been disrespectful intentionally to a man or a woman"—his popularity remained high. Amid growing speculation that he would run for president in 2020, Biden announced his candidacy in April 2019, joining a crowded Democratic field.

Biden immediately became a front-runner, and he pursued a platform that was considered moderate, especially as compared with such candidates as Bernie Sanders. A poor performance in the party's first debate in June 2019, however, raised questions

about Biden, and his support dipped. After the first three nomination contests in early 2020, Sanders seemed poised to become the party's nominee. However, worries about Sanders's electability in the general election galvanized moderate voters, and in South Carolina in late February Biden won a resounding victory. Numerous candidates subsequently dropped out, and by early March it had become a two-person race between Biden and Sanders. As Biden registered more wins, he soon took a commanding lead in delegates. After the rapid spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States stalled the campaigns, Sanders dropped out in April, and Biden became the presumptive Democratic nominee.

Kamala Harris's path to the U.S. vice presidency : Learn more about U.S. Vice Pres. Kamala Harris.

In the ensuing months Biden outlined a platform that included a number of policies that appealed to progressives. He notably supported government aid to low-income communities, ambitious climate-change legislation, affordable child care, and the expansion of federal health insurance plans, such as the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, which had been enacted during Obama's presidency. During this time Biden gained a somewhat sizable lead over Trump in nationwide polls, in part due to criticism of the president's response to the COVID-19 pandemic, which had caused an economic downturn that rivalled the Great Depression. In August 2020 Biden chose Kamala Harris as his running mate—she became the first African American woman to appear on a major party's national ticket—and later that month, he officially was named the Democratic presidential nominee. Although preelection polling had shown Biden with a significant lead in key battleground states, the actual contest proved to be much closer. Nevertheless, Biden and Harris succeeded in rebuilding the so-called "Blue Wall" through the Midwestern Rust Belt states, and on November 7, four days after the election, Biden secured the 270 electoral votes necessary to capture the presidency. Biden's eventual electoral vote total was 306 to Trump's 232; Biden won the popular vote by more than seven million votes.

Trump and several other Republican leaders subsequently challenged the election results, claiming massive voter fraud. Although a number of lawsuits were filed, no evidence was provided to support the allegations, and the vast majority of the cases were dismissed. During this time, Biden and Harris began the transition to a new administration, announcing an agenda and selecting staff. By early December all states had certified the election results, and the process then moved to Congress for final certification. Amid Trump's repeated calls for Republicans to overturn the election, a group of Republican congressional members, notably including Senators Josh Hawley (Missouri) and Ted Cruz (Texas), announced that they would challenge the electors of various states. As the proceedings began on January 6, 2021, a large crowd of Trump supporters marched to the U.S. Capitol from a rally near the White House, where Trump had delivered an incendiary speech repeating false allegations of voter fraud by Democrats and urging his supporters to "fight like hell." Overwhelming Capitol police, the rioters stormed the complex and vandalized and looted the interior, resulting in the deaths of five people, including one Capitol police officer (*see* January 6 U.S. Capitol attack). After several hours the building was finally secured, and Biden and Harris were certified

as the winners. Two weeks later, amid a massive security presence, Biden was sworn in as president.

At a glance: the Biden presidency

Presidency

The 2020 election was marked by a historically large voter turnout, made possible in part by modifications in voting procedures initiated in many states to ensure that voters could cast their ballots safely amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Significantly more Democrats voted in the 2020 election than in previous presidential contests, and the Democratic Party not only won the presidential election but also maintained its control of the U.S. House of Representatives and took control of the U.S. Senate from Republicans, though only by the slimmest of margins (the resulting Senate membership was evenly divided between the two parties at 50 senators each, but tie votes could be broken by Vice President Harris, acting in her constitutional role as president of the Senate). In the view of many Democrats, particularly progressives, the party's simultaneous control of the presidency and both houses of Congress afforded it a rare opportunity to pass transformative legislation that promised to make American society more democratic, equitable, and just.

Joe Biden's path to the U.S. presidency : Learn more about the life and career of Joe Biden, the 46th president of the United States.

During the first weeks of his presidency, Biden signed a raft of executive orders, actions, and memoranda, many of which rescinded policies of the Trump administration, particularly in the areas of immigration, health care, and the environment. Notably, on his first day in office, Biden issued executive orders that reentered the United States into the Paris Agreement on climate change and canceled the country's withdrawal from the World Health Organization.

In March 2021 the Biden administration used budget reconciliation (a process that prevents certain budget-related bills in the Senate from being filibustered) to secure passage by Congress, without Republican support, of a $1.9 trillion

pandemic relief bill, the American Rescue Plan. The law included, among other measures, one-time payments for lower- and middle-income Americans; extended unemployment benefits; an expanded child tax credit; financial aid to state and local governments, schools, and child care providers; housing assistance; and additional funding for coronavirus testing, contact tracing, and vaccine distribution.

Biden supported three significant pieces of voting rights and electoral-reform legislation: the For the People Act, passed by the House in March 2021; the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act, passed by the House in August; and the Freedom to Vote Act, introduced in the Senate in September. (The first two bills were later versions of legislation passed by the House in 2019.) All three bills were blocked in the Senate by Republican filibusters, which could be overcome only with the support of at least 60 senators. The bills were designed to prevent states from adopting egregious voter suppression laws, to eliminate partisan and racial gerrymandering, and to make elections more transparent by requiring "dark money" organizations to disclose their donors (*see* campaign finance; campaign finance laws). The failure of the electoral-reform measures, which Democrats viewed as essential to preserving American democracy, prompted progressive and

even some moderate Democrats to urge the elimination of the filibuster, which is not established in the U.S. Constitution and can be ended by the Senate in a simple majority vote.

In August 2021 the Senate passed the bipartisan Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act, a drastically scaled-back ($550 billion) version of a wide-ranging infrastructure plan announced by Biden in March. Its smaller scale was made necessary by objections from Republicans and conservative Democrats to spending levels, tax increases on corporations and the wealthy, and several social spending provisions. The bill then languished in the House for months as progressive, moderate, and conservative Democrats debated its provisions. In early November, following important off-year elections in which Democrats suffered several unexpected defeats, Biden and Democratic House leaders intensified their efforts to reconcile their party's factions, arguing that some tangible legislative achievement was necessary to retain the support of swing voters. After progressives finally conceded, the infrastructure bill was passed and sent to Biden for his signature. (In November 2022 Democrats lost control of the House to Republicans but retained their slim control of the Senate, gaining one seat.)

In August 2022 the Biden administration again relied on budget reconciliation to secure passage of the Inflation Reduction Act, which incorporated some elements of an earlier bill, the Build Back Better Act, that had been defeated in the Senate after its rejection by conservative Democratic Sen. Joe Manchin. The Inflation Reduction Act included provisions designed to promote the development of clean-energy technologies; to lower prescription drug prices, in part by empowering Medicare to negotiate the purchase of certain drugs from pharmaceutical companies; to extend the administration's earlier increase of medical-insurance subsidies provided under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (2010); and to increase federal tax revenue by imposing a minimum corporate tax rate of 15 percent and strengthening tax-law enforcement with thousands of additional Internal Revenue Service (IRS) officials. The legislation, which represents the largest government investment in climate-change prevention in U.S. history, was projected to reduce U.S. greenhouse gas emissions by 40 percent (from 2005) by 2030.

In part because of continued supply-chain disruptions related to the COVID-19 pandemic, and in part because the country's economy grew at a fast pace during the first years of Biden's presidency (in 2021 gross domestic product [GDP] grew by 5.7

percent, the highest annual rate in 37 years), inflation remained a persistent problem, eventually leading the Federal Reserve (the country's central bank) to impose an extended series of interest-rate increases. Despite significant wage increases, rapid job growth, and greatly reduced unemployment, public worries regarding inflation contributed to a common perception that Biden was mismanaging the economy, which in turn contributed to his low public approval rating—less than 50 percent—during most of his presidency. By the end of 2023, the country's inflation rate had declined to 4.1 percent, but Biden's approval rating (according Gallup polls) was only 39 percent, the second lowest of any modern U.S. president after a third year in office.

By mid-2024 Biden had nominated more than 240 individuals to vacant seats on the federal judiciary, and nearly 200 of his nominees had been confirmed by the U.S. Senate. After Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer announced in January 2022 that he would retire at the end of the Court's 2021–22 term, Biden repeated his intention—first voiced as a campaign pledge—to nominate a Black woman to the Court. In February he nominated Ketanji Brown Jackson, whom he had earlier appointed (in 2021) to the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. Jackson's nomination was

confirmed by a Senate vote of 53 to 47, and in June she was sworn in as the first Black female Supreme Court justice.

Biden signs an LGBTQ executive order : An executive order on advancing equality for LGBTQ individuals is signed by U.S. Pres. Joe Biden as Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg (left), Vice Pres. Kamala Harris (second from left), and first lady Jill Biden (third from right) look on during a pride event at the East Room of the White House, June 15, 2022.

On December 13, 2022, Biden signed into law the Respect for Marriage Act. The act formally repealed the federal Defense of Marriage Act (1996), which had defined marriage as a legal union between one man and one woman and had permitted states to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other states. Biden had also appointed as U.S. secretary of transportation Pete Buttigieg, the first openly gay cabinet member in American history, who had unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 2020. Biden also had the first all-female communications team, the face of whom was White House press secretary Jen Psaki, who

joined MSNBC as a commentator after her time in the administration.

Among Biden's early goals in foreign policy were to repair frayed relations with several U.S. allies, to cooperate in global efforts to ameliorate climate change, and, in general, to return the United States to a position of global economic and political leadership. Biden had also promised during his campaign that he would withdraw all remaining U.S. troops from Afghanistan, finally ending nearly 20 years of U.S. military involvement in the country during all phases of the Afghanistan War, the longest military conflict ever fought by the United States. In April 2021 Biden announced a withdrawal of all U.S. troops by September 11—an extension of the May 1 withdrawal deadline negotiated with the Taliban by the Trump administration in 2020. By early August, after Biden had advanced the withdrawal deadline to August 31, the Taliban had begun to take military control of several Afghan provinces, and soon thereafter the Afghan capital, Kabul, was captured and the national government collapsed. Chaos ensued as the airport in Kabul was flooded with desperate Afghan refugees seeking to flee the country on American evacuation flights. During and after the withdrawal, the Biden administration was criticized by Republican and some Democratic leaders for having misjudged the strength and

resolve of both the Taliban and the Afghan government and security forces.

In the Oval Office : Vice Pres. Kamala Harris shares a laugh with Pres. Joe Biden in the Oval Office in January 2023.

In 2022, following Russia's military invasion of Ukraine, Biden imposed harsh economic sanctions on Russia and initiated the first of many military weapons transfers and other security assistance to Ukraine. By the end of 2023 Congress had approved $113 billion in military, economic, and humanitarian aid to the country at Biden's request. His support for Ukraine and its leader, Volodymyr Zelensky, contrasted with the attitude of far-right Republicans, particularly members of the Trump-led MAGA movement, who generally supported Russian Pres. Vladimir Putin and Viktor Orbán, the authoritarian leader of Hungary. Trump's long-standing admiration for Putin and his lack of sympathy for Ukraine were reflected in the opposition of

Trump's congressional allies to Biden's request for additional military assistance to Ukraine in October 2023. After months of debate, Congress finally approved an aid package that included $61 billion for Ukraine.

The aid package also contained $15 billion in additional military assistance for Israel, which had been engaged in a war against Hamas, the Palestinian militant group in control of the Gaza Strip, since the latter's military assault on Israel on October 7, 2023 (*see* Israel-Hamas War). Hamas's attack resulted in the deaths of more than 1,200 Israeli citizens. Israel responded with a massive ground invasion beginning in the northern Gaza Strip, nearly continuous airstrikes, and an intensified blockade preventing water, food, medicine, electricity, and fuel from entering the territory. By early May 2024, more than 35,000 Palestinians, most of whom were civilians, had been reported dead. Biden initially condemned Hamas's attack and expressed unequivocal support for Israel while also requesting brief pauses in Israeli military action to permit humanitarian aid and civilian evacuations. As the war continued, Israel faced international condemnation for its numerous attacks on civilian targets (which it generally claimed were housing Hamas fighters) and the humanitarian crisis created by its blockade, and Biden faced criticism from some

Democrats for not insisting that Israel accept a cease-fire. In February 2024, Biden indicated his opposition to Israel's declared intention to invade Rafah, a city in the southwestern Gaza Strip that had become a refuge for massive numbers of fleeing civilians. The invasion proceeded anyway, beginning in early May.

As the Israel-Hamas War continued, growing numbers of Americans opposed the country's unconditional military assistance to Israel, and Biden was faulted by many Democrats for his apparent lack of influence over Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and for showing insufficient concern over Israeli military atrocities. The war also provoked student protests on dozens of college campuses across the United States, some of which became violent. Political analysts generally agree that America's involvement in the Israel-Hamas War has contributed to Biden's persistently low approval rating. Biden's hopes of serving a second term as president, never a certainty, collapsed in a period of four weeks in the summer of 2024. National polling as early as the fall of 2023 showed Trump with a slight lead over Biden. Biden's approval ratings remained low compared with other first-term presidents—a fact that analysts had attributed to the country's chaotic withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021, to the widespread perception that Biden

was mismanaging the economy, and to the belief of many Americans (including some Democrats) that Biden was simply too old to competently serve as president. On June 27, 2024, the last concern was reinforced by Biden's poor performance in his first televised debate with Trump. Although Trump himself did not debate well (repeating many falsehoods and consistently failing to answer moderators' questions), Biden's stumbling, meandering, and raspy-voiced responses made him seem much weaker, both physically and mentally, than his opponent. After the debate, some prominent Democrats and several Democratic-leaning journalists, commentators, and news organizations, including *The New York Times*, called upon Biden to withdraw from the race.

•**Read more:** *How the "October surprise" of the 2024 election came early.*

Biden initially was defiant, doing speeches and holding news conferences to try to reverse the damage done by his debate performance. But over the course of a month that included an attempted assassination of Trump, the drumbeat of calls for Biden to step down grew louder. On July 21, he announced that he was withdrawing from the race and throwing his support to Harris, becoming the first president to not seek reelection since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968.

In an address to the nation, he explained his decision while never naming his opponent.

I revere this office, but I love my country more. It's been the honor of my life to serve as your president. But in the defense of democracy, which is at stake, I think it's more important than any title. I draw strength and I find joy in working for the American people. But this sacred task of perfecting our union is not about me, it's about you. Your families, your futures. It's about "we the people."

Post presidency

Biden left office on January 20, 2025, when Donald Trump became only the second U.S. president to serve two non-consecutive terms. On May 18, 2025, Biden announced that he had been diagnosed with Stage 4 prostate cancer that had spread to his bones. That same week journalists Jake Tapper and Alex Thompson published *Original Sin: President Biden's Decline, Its Cover-Up, and His Disastrous Choice to Run Again*, a damningly detailed account of his physical and cognitive decline during the last months of his presidency.

Biden and his second wife, Jill, met in 1975 and married in 1977.

Biden shaking hands with President Ronald Reagan in 1984

Biden speaking at the signing of the 1994 Crime Bill with President Bill Clinton

Senator Biden accompanies President Clinton and other officials to Bosnia and Herzegovina in December 1997.

Biden speaks at the August 23, 2008, vice presidential announcement at the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois.

Biden, Obama and the national security team gathered in the White House Situation Room to monitor the progress of the May 2011 mission to kill Osama bin Laden

Biden attending the state funeral of George H. W. Bush in December 2018

Biden and Ketanji Brown Jackson watching the U.S. Senate vote on her confirmation, April 2022

MONTANA
1859
1848
IOWA
KANSAS
ARKANSAS

TIMELINE OF U.S. HISTORY

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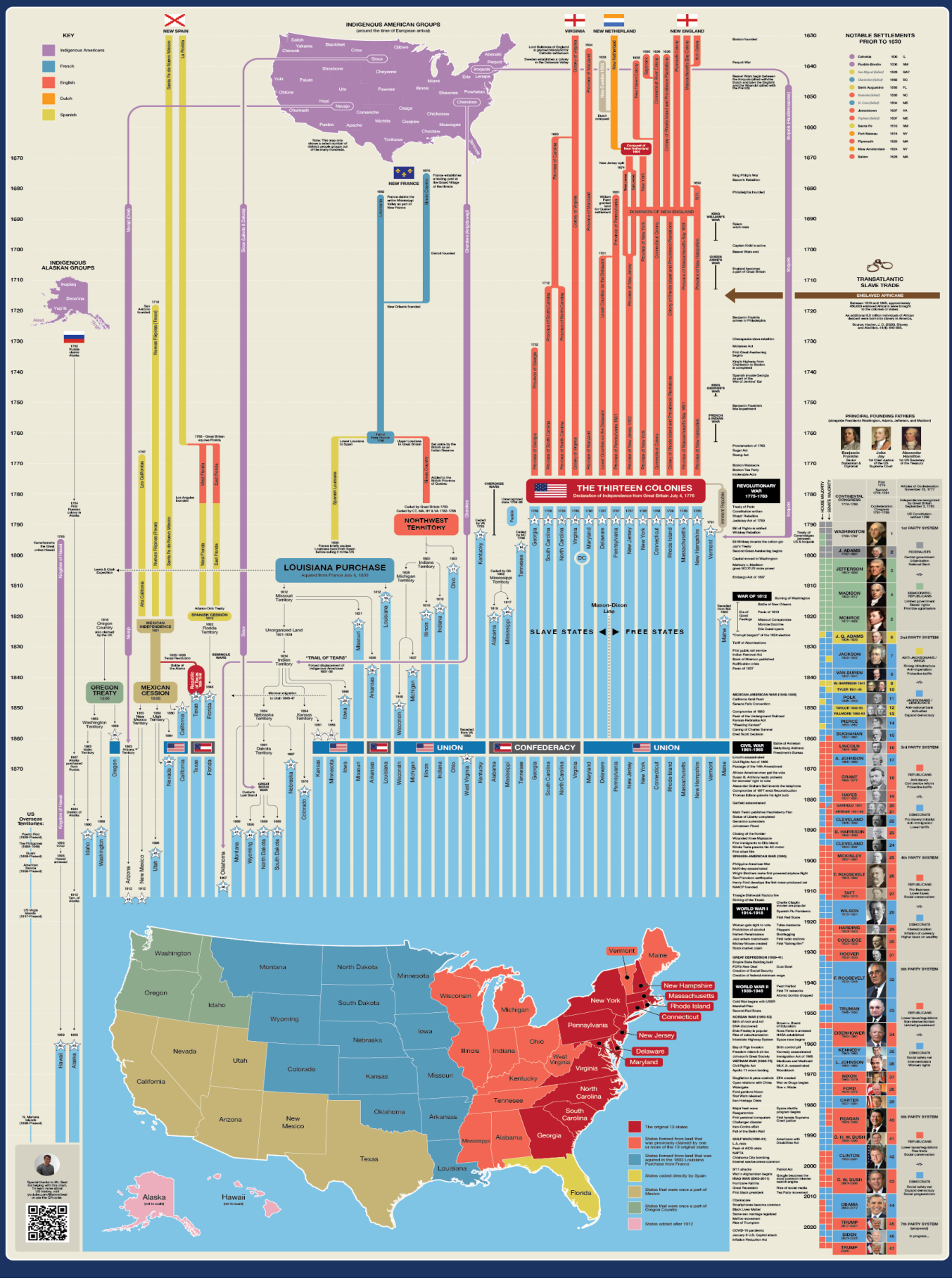

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